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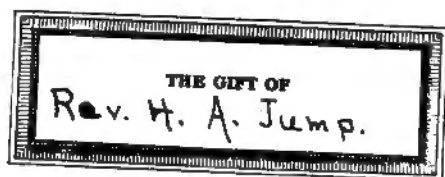
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REV. JAMES L. BARTON, D.D., LL.D.
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VOLUME OF PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
**Fourth International
Congregational Council**

HELD IN
BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS
June 29—July 6, 1920

Compiled and arranged by
TRUMAN J. SPENCER
Assistant Secretary of the National Council



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Boston, June 29—July 6, 1920

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Isley, Mrs. Merrill, Fredonia
Morgan, J. W., Emporia
Pettyjohn, C. F., Olathe
Pettyjohn, Mrs. C. F., Olathe
Rahill, Rev. John Wells, Topeka
Rollins, Rev. Walter H., Wichita
Ross, Rev. George G., Hutchison
Thayer, Rev. Henry E., McPherson
Wells, Rev. C. B., Wichita
Wells, Mrs. C. B., Wichita
Wilkie, Mrs. J. R., Emporia
Womer, Pres. P. P., Topeka
Womer, Mrs. P. P., Topeka

KENTUCKY

Harris, E. G., Louisville
Huston, J. C., Evarts
McQuarrie, Rev. Neil, Corbin
Trosper, Rev. J. M., Evarts
Turner, Miss Daisie, Evarts
Turner, W. C., Evarts
Weed, Chaplain Earle H., Camp Zachary Taylor

LOUISIANA

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Herod, Rev. James A., Abbeville
Olden, Rev. G. D., Lake Charles

MAINE

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Ashby, Rev. Thompson E., Brunswick
Barrows, Mary, Fryeburg
Bass, Mrs. Willard S., Wilton
Beaven, Frank, South Berwick
Boody, Mrs. A. L., Portland
Booth, Rev. Harold G., York Village
Brown, Herbert J., Portland
Bunker, Mrs. Edna P., North Anson
Bull, Rev. W. I., Ashland
Bull, Mrs. W. I., Ashland
Campbell, Rev. W. J., Portland
Capron, Rev. Harold S., Bangor
Clark, Rev. Clarence H., Frankfort
Coleman, Rev. Will S., Kennebunk
Conklin, Rev. D. T., Elliot
Denio, Francis B., Bangor
Denio, Mrs. Francis B., Bangor
Donnell, Rev. Albert, Castine
Earnshaw, Rev. Albert F., Portland
Graham, Rev. John, Kittery Point
Greene, Rev. Louis, Lincoln
Gregory, Mrs. J. C., Presque Isle
Gregory, Louis, Presque Isle
Gross, Rev. Daniel I., Portland
Hallock, Rev. Leavitt H., Portland
Hallock, Mrs. Leavitt H., Portland
Harbutt, Rev. Chas., Portland
Hitchcock, Rev. H. S., Sanford
Hudson, Rev. Dorr A., Westbrook
Hutchins, Rev. Melvin S., Phillips
Jones, Mrs. Augusta I., Brewer
Kimball, Mrs. S. S., Bangor
Kinney, Rev. Geo., Auburn
Kinney, Mrs. Geo., Auburn
MacDonald, Rev. A. P., Bar Harbor
Macdonald, Rev. R. A., Calais
McCann, H. L., Portland
McElhiney, Rev. Charles H., Skowhegan
Miller, Rev. Paris E., South Berwick
Mitchell, Prof. Wilmot B., Brunswick
Moulton, Prof. Warren J., Bangor

Packard, Rev. H. L., New Castle
 Palmer, Rev. W. H., Wilton
 Palmer, Mrs. W. H., Wilton
 Richards, Miss Annie G., North Yarmouth
 Richards, Rev. J. S., North Yarmouth
 Sherman, Mrs. O. W., New Castle
 Skofield, Mrs. Josephine D., Portland
 Swett, Miss Georgianna, Auburn
 Taylor, H. W., Farmington.
 Thompson, Rev. A. M., Houlton
 Trust, Rev. Harry, Biddeford
 Trust, Mrs. Harry, Biddeford
 Turner, Mrs. Julian E., Brewer
 Wait, Mrs. Walter R., North Anson
 Walker, Mrs. Charles F., Scarborough
 Ward, Miss Susan Hayes, South Berwick

MARYLAND

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 Baker, Mrs. J. Henry, Baltimore
 Baker, John Tull, Baltimore

MASSACHUSETTS

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 Abbe, Miss M. C., Brockton
 Abbott, Ralph F., Danvers
 Ackerman, Rev. Arthur W., Natick
 Ackerman, Mrs. Arthur W., Natick
 Adadourian, Rev. Haig, Manomet
 Adadourian, Mrs. Haig, Manomet
 Adalian, Mrs. D. H., Brighton
 Adams, Miss Alice D., Brookline
 Adams, Charles M., Roxbury
 Adams, E. T., Chelmsford
 Adams, Mrs. E. T., Chelmsford
 Adams, W. E., Chelmsford
 Adrian, Miss Marion G., Taunton
 Adriaance, Rev. Samuel, Winchester
 Ainsworth, Miss, Hyde Park
 Ainsworth, Rev. Israel, Beachmont
 Ainsworth, Mrs. Israel, Beachmont
 Albee, C. B., Worcester
 Alcott, William, Chelsea
 Alden, Rev. Frederick W., Plympton
 Aldrich, Miss Annie, Roxbury
 Aldrich, Charles E., Roxbury
 Aldrich, Charles E., Brookline
 Aldrich, Mrs. Charles E., Brookline
 Aldrich, E. I., Brookline
 Aldrich, Mrs. E. I., Brookline
 Aldrich, Richard, Brookline
 Aldrich, W. B., North Attleboro
 Alexander, Harriet I., Boston
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 Allbright, Mrs. M. F., Boston
 Allen, E. H., Shirley
 Allen, Mrs. E. H., Shirley
 Allen, Miss Ella M., Stoneham
 Allen, Mrs. G. Frank, Fall River
 Allen, Jr., James S., Winchester
 Allen, Mrs. James S., Winchester
 Ames, Mrs. Elijah, Marshfield
 Ames, Miss Rosella, Marshfield
 Anderson, Rev. Asher, Randolph
 Anderson, W. S., Leverett
 Annable, Irving K., Salem
 Anthony, Rev. S. W., Boston
 Anthony, Mrs. S. W., Boston
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 Archibald, Mrs. A. W., Newton
 Archibald, William D., Malden
 Archibald, Mrs. William D., Malden
 Archibald, William D., Everett
 Armstrong, Rev. Robert G., Spencer
 Atwater, C. W., Agawam
 Atwell, Henry L., Roxbury

Atwood, Alton B., Chelsea
 Atwood, F. H., Northboro
 Auryansen, Albert D., Newtonville
 Auviss, Harriette, Somerville
 Babb, Rev. Thomas E., Holden
 Babson, Miss Hester T., Boston
 Bachelder, Rev. E. E., Rockland
 Bachelder, Mrs. E. E., Rockland
 Bachelor, Albert W., Watertown
 Bachelor, Mrs. Albert W., Watertown
 Bacon, W. S., Boston
 Bacon, Mrs. W. S., Boston
 Badghdikian, Rev. A., Boston
 Bailey, Rev. Henry L., Longmeadow
 Bailey, W. H., Hyde Park
 Bailey, Mrs. W. H., Hyde Park
 Bailey, Mrs. Will, East Weymouth
 Bainbridge, Mrs. Lawler, Malden
 Bakeman, Rev. R. A., South Peabody
 Bakeman, June D., South Peabody
 Baker, Arthur, Boston
 Baker, Mrs. Arthur, Boston
 Baker, A. P., Boston
 Baker, Mrs. A. P., Boston
 Baker, Rev. F. H., Millis
 Baker, Mrs. F. H., Millis
 Baker, Miss Edith G., Hyannis
 Baker, Howard S., Whitman
 Baker, R. B., Boston
 Baker, Mrs. R. B., Boston
 Balch, Jr., John H., Newburyport
 Baldwin, Charles B., Andover
 Baldwin, Rev. C. H., Cummington
 Baldwin, Mrs. R. B., Lynn
 Ballantine, Rev. John Winthrop, Goshen
 Banton, Chester W., Waban
 Banton, Mrs. Chester W., Waban
 Barber, Miss Augusta, Framingham Center
 Barber, Elijah, Sherburne
 Barber, W. H., Stoneham
 Barber, Mrs. W. H., Stoneham
 Barrett, Mrs. W. O., Ware
 Barker, Rev. Ralph A., South Acton
 Barker, Mrs. Ralph A., South Acton
 Barlow, C. R., Boston
 Barlow, Mrs. C. R., Boston
 Barlow, Miss Esther, Worcester
 Barlow, Miss Marion E., Boston
 Barnes, C. Oliver, Lowell
 Barney, Kenneth M., Dorchester
 Barron, Miss Evelyn, Boston
 Barrows, Mrs. Henrietta, Dorchester
 Barry, Miss Alice, Roxbury
 Barry, Miss Elizabeth, Roxbury
 Bartlett, Rev. Chorman, Roxbury
 Barton, Miss Alice S., Newtonville
 Barton, Rev. James L., Boston
 Barton, P. L., Boston
 Barton, Mrs. P. L., Boston
 Bascom, Harry W., Newton
 Bascom, Mrs. Harry W., Newton
 Bassford, Miss Anna S., Melrose Highlands
 Bassett, Miss Susan A., Taunton
 Bates, Miss Abby E., Roxbury
 Bates, Mrs. Curtis, Newton
 Bates, Edw., East Weymouth
 Batson, W. V., Boston
 Batt, Miss Laura, Concord Junction
 Batt, Rev. William J., Concord Junction
 Baxter, Edna M., Boston
 Baxter, Miss O. M., East Milton
 Bayes, Rev. R. Ernest, Beverly
 Bayley, Edward B., Boston
 Beale, Rev. Arthur Stanley, Lowell
 Beale, Mrs. Arthur Stanley, Lowell
 Bean, George F., Woburn
 Bean, O. M., Woburn

Bean, Mrs. O. M., Woburn
 Beane, George W., North Weymouth
 Beane, W. E., N. Weymouth
 Beckwith, Hubert E., Groveland
 Beckwith, Mrs. Hubert E., Groveland
 Bedrosian, Rev. K., Worcester
 Bedrosian, Mrs. K., Worcester
 Bell, Rev. Enoch F., Boston
 Bell, G. E., Stoneham
 Bell, Mrs. G. E., Stoneham
 Bell, Rev. R. C., Granby
 Bell, Mrs. R. C., Granby
 Bellows, C. W., Revere
 Bement, William O., Shrewsbury
 Bement, Mrs. Ida L., Shrewsbury
 Benson, Mrs. Ella F., Neponset
 Berry, Dr. John C., Worcester
 Berry, Mrs. John C., Worcester
 Bigelow, Mrs. C. E., Leominster
 Bigelow, Dr. E. H., Framingham Center
 Bigelow, Mrs. E. H., Framingham Center
 Bigelow, Rev. E. Victor, Andover
 Bigelow, Mrs. E. Victor, Andover
 Bigelow, W. K., Salem
 Billings, Miss A. C., Three Rivers
 Billings, Mrs. E. M., Three Rivers
 Billings, Rev. O. J., Three Rivers
 Bird, Miss Anna, East Douglas
 Bird, Frank H., East Douglas
 Bird, Mrs. Frank H., East Douglas
 Biscom, Mrs. Judson, West Somerville
 Bitler, Rev. T. B., North Weymouth
 Black, Walter H., Jamaica Plain
 Blackburn, A. J., Stoneham
 Blackburn, Mrs. A. J., Stoneham
 Blackmer, Lewis E., Belchertown
 Blake, Miss Anne E., Boston
 Blake, Rev. E. T., Pembroke
 Blake, J. S., Marblehead
 Blake, Mrs. J. S., Marblehead
 Bliss, Rev. A. V., Taunton
 Bliss, Rev. Leon D., Sheffield
 Blodd, Mrs. W. J., Auburndale
 Blodgett, Miss A. E., Roslindale
 Blomfield, Rev. S. F., Easthampton
 Blomfield, Mrs. Bernice, Easthampton
 Blossom, Miss Agnes I., Cliftondale

Boyd, Mrs. Herbert W., Wareham
 Boyd, Miss Inez, Newton Highlands
 Boyd, Leonard, Newton Highlands
 Boyd, Ralph, Chelmsford
 Boyd, Mrs. Richard, Chelmsford
 Boyden, Wallace C., Newtonville
 Boyden, Mrs. Wallace C., Newtonville
 Boynton, Rev. Edward C., Worcester
 Bradstreet, Mrs. Clara A., Danvers
 Brainerd, Rice, Framingham
 Brasee, Mrs. Arthur T., Dorchester
 Bray, Rev. H. E., Framingham
 Brayton, Miss Elizabeth, Fall River
 Brayton, Mrs. H. A., Fall River
 Brayton, Miss Mary, Fall River
 Brayton, Miss Margaret, Fall River
 Brewer, Francis P., Somerville

Brewer, Mrs. Francis P., Somerville
 Bridgeman, Miss Annie, Boston
 Bridgman, Frank E., Roxbury
 Bridgman, Mrs. Frank E., Roxbury
 Briggs, Miss, Dorchester
 Briggs, Miss Amy N., Haverford
 Briggs, Mrs. Arthur A., Bradford
 Brock, George E., Boston
 Brock, Mrs. George E., Boston
 Brodeur, Clarence A., Westfield
 Brodeur, Mrs. Clarence A., Westfield
 Brooks, L. M., Roxbury
 Brooks, Mrs. M. E., Roxbury
 Broughton, Frank, Marblehead
 Brown, Miss Alice W., East Boston
 Brown, Mrs. Camilla, West Roxbury
 Brown, Charles S., Beverly
 Brown, Mrs. Ellen R., Douglas
 Brown, Fred J., Woburn
 Brown, Dr. George A., Barre
 Brown, J. B., Stoneham
 Brown, Mrs. J. B., Stoneham
 Brown, Paul M., Boston
 Brown, Mrs. Paul M., Boston
 Browne, W. C., Roxbury
 Browne, Mrs. W. C., Roxbury
 Browney, Rev. O. L., Westford
 Buckley, Miss Anne L., Boston
 Buckley, C. F., Boston
 Buckley, Mrs. C. F., Boston
 Buffum, John S., North Haverhill
 Buffum, Mrs. John S., North Haverhill
 Bull, John E., Billerica
 Burnham, Mrs. Isabel, Roxbury
 Burrows, Rev. C. N., Boxborough
 Burrows, Mrs. C. N., Boxborough
 Burrows, William, Pigeon Cove
 Burt, Mrs. Arthur H., Hyde Park
 Burt, Miss Vesta E., Taunton
 Burtner, Rev. D. E., Lynn
 Busfield, Rev. Theodore E., Plymouth
 Butler, Miss Julia A., Newtonville
 Butterfield, Mrs. E. C., Amherst
 Butterfield, Rev. R. E., Worcester
 Buttrick, Mrs. James G., Lowell
 Buttrick, Miss Helen, Lowell
 Butts, Charles, Newton
 Byington, Rev. E. H., West Roxbury
 Byington, Mrs. Helen C., West Roxbury
 Caffin, Frank H., Hyde Park
 Cahoon, Mrs. Wm. A., Neponset
 Cain, Mrs. B. B., Holbrook
 Calden, Mrs. Elizabeth, East Douglas
 Calder, Miss Helen B., Boston
 Calderwood, Rev. Charles M., Lee
 Caldwell, Mrs. Charles C., Jamaica Plain
 Caldwell, Miss Frances, Roxbury
 Caldwell, Olive, Beverly
 Cameron, Rev. A. J., Malden
 Cameron, Mrs. A. J., Malden
 Cameron, Mr., Boston
 Cameron, Miss M. G., Somerville
 Camp, Rev. Edward C., Watertown
 Camp, Harry W., Reading
 Camp, Mrs. Grace U., Reading
 Campbell, Miss Laura, Dorchester
 Campbell, Mrs. W. R., Roxbury
 Card, Dr. H. S., Boston
 Carlton, Mrs. Edmund E., East Milton
 Carter, George A., Beachmont
 Carter, Mrs. George A., Beachmont
 Cary, Rev. George E., Bradford
 Cary, Mrs. George E., Bradford
 Case, Rev. Herbert E. B., Boston
 Caswell, Mrs. S. A., Holden
 Chadwick, Mrs. Lina, Beachmont
 Chadwick, Wm., Beachmont

Chaffee, Mrs. G. W., Somerville
 Chamberlain, Miss Laura B., Cambridge
 Chamberlain, Mrs. Mary N., Roxbury
 Chandler, Alvah, Roslindale
 Chapin, Miss Annie M., Melrose
 Chapman, Mrs. Grace, Stoneham
 Chapman, Miss Martha D., Roxbury
 Chapman, R. Wollcott, West Somerville
 Chase, Mrs. C. Thurston, Lynn
 Chase, Mrs. E. C., Watertown
 Chase, William F., West Newton
 Chase, Mrs. William F., West Newton
 Chesley, Miss Bertha B., Lynn
 Chew, Thomas, Fall River
 Childs, Harold C., Beverly
 Christie, Rev. Ralph A., Northampton
 Christie, William, Pawtucket
 Church, Mrs. George, Douglas
 Churchill, Mrs. Anna, Boston
 Chute, Dr. Arthur L., Boston
 Chute, Mrs. Arthur L., Boston
 Cladwell, Claire, Beverly
 Clapp, George L., Framingham
 Clapp, Miss H. F., Stoughton
 Clapp, Rev. Richard H., Northampton
 Clark, Rev. Alden H., Boston
 Clark, Mrs. Charles, Boston
 Clark, D. C., Somerville
 Clark, Mrs. D. C., Somerville
 Clark, Mrs. F. E., Boston
 Clark, Miss Georgietta, Roxbury
 Clark, J. A., Somerville
 Clark, Mrs. J. A., Somerville
 Clark, Miss Mary E., Boston
 Clark, Mrs. Newton, Brighton
 Clarke, James C., Hyde Park
 Clarkson, Paul S., Worcester
 Cleaveland, Miss Mary N., Danvers
 Cleland, Rev. Gail, Littleton
 Cleland, Mrs. Gail, Littleton
 Cobb, Mrs. Hollis W., Worcester
 Cobleigh, Rolfe, Newton Highlands
 Cody, Richard A., Newton Highlands
 Coffin, Miss Caroline, Roxbury
 Coffin, Miss Chloe M., Edgartown
 Coffin, Rev. George H. S., Medfield
 Coffin, Lewis, East Boston
 Coffin, Mrs. Lewis, East Boston
 Cogswell, Miss Caroline, Bradford
 Cole, Philip S., North Carver
 Coles, S. M., Readville
 Collier, Rev. Christopher W., Lexington
 Collins, Lindley, Marshfield
 Commons, Rev. Walter H., Whitinsville
 Conant, Waldo E., Littleton
 Conant, Mrs. Waldo E., Littleton
 Conant, Miss Margaret, Littleton
 Cone, Charles B., Mittineague
 Cook, Albion C., Fall River
 Cook, Frank Gaylord, Boston
 Cook, Mrs. Frank Gaylord, Boston
 Cook, F. G., Cambridge
 Cooley, William H., Auburndale
 Coolidge, Miss Mary, Sherburne
 Cooper, Rev. Francis L., Lawrence
 Cooper, Mrs. Francis L., Lawrence
 Copeland, David, Jamaica Plain
 Copeland, William A., Mansfield
 Copeland, Miss Jennie, Mansfield
 Cornish, Miss A. V., South Boston
 Cottle, Miss Clara, Roxbury
 Cottle, Mrs. Clara I., Woburn
 Cotton, Irving W., Cambridge
 Covell, Rev. Arthur J., Boston
 Covell, Mrs. Arthur J., Wakefield
 Cox, Mrs. Christine, Reading
 Cox, R. J., Boston
 Cox, Mrs. R. J., Boston
 Craig, Rev. E. E., North Attleboro
 Craig, Rev. T. Currier, Wenham
 Craig, Rev. J. M., Dracut
 Craig, Mrs. J. M., Dracut
 Craighead, John, Malden
 Craighead, Mrs. John, Malden
 Craighead, Miss Joy, Malden
 Cram, Frank W., Cambridge
 Crane, Rev. Wm., Richmond
 Craven, Thomas P., Chelsea
 Creese, William H., Danvers
 Creese, Mrs. William H., Danvers
 Crocker, Charles, Malden
 Crocker, Mrs. Chas. H., Whitman
 Crockett, Arthur J., West Roxbury
 Crockett, Mrs. Alice C., West Roxbury
 Crombie, Miss Alberta J., Newton Highlands
 Crooks, Rev. Charles M., Brockton
 Crooks, Mrs. Charles M., Brockton
 Crosby, G. E., Boston
 Crosby, Mrs. G. E., Boston
 Cross, Rev. Allen E., Milford
 Cross, Rev. Judson L., Fitchburg
 Cross, Mrs. Florence I., Fitchburg
 Crowell, Mrs. S. G., Roslindale
 Crowell, Rev. Zenas, East Taunton
 Crowell, Mrs. Zenas, East Taunton
 Cryslar, Mrs. John, Roslindale
 Cudworth, Miss Bertha, Roxbury
 Cummings, Rev. Arthur G., Middleboro
 Cummings, Charles E., Haverhill
 Cummings, Rev. George H., Thorndike
 Cunningham, Arthur, East Weymouth
 Cunningham, Mrs. Arthur, East Weymouth
 Currier, T. F., Belmont
 Currier, Mrs. T. F., Belmont
 Curtis, Mrs. Abbie F., Whitman
 Curtis, Ralph E., West Roxbury
 Curtis, Mrs. M. V., West Roxbury
 Cutler, Mrs. F. M., Worcester
 Cutler, George H., Belmont
 Cutler, Mrs. George H., Belmont
 Cutler, Mrs. V. Waldo, Worcester
 Daggett, Frank W., West Somerville
 Dame, George, Roslindale
 Damon, Miss Evelyn, Somerville
 Damon, Miss Alice, Marshfield
 Damon, Miss Louise, Marshfield
 Daniels, Mrs. C. H., Boston
 Darling, Charles B., Roxbury
 Darling, Mrs. Charles B., Roxbury
 Davenport, Miss Bertha, Greenfield
 Davidson, Chas. W., Newtonville
 Davidson, Mrs. Chas. W., Newtonville
 Davie, Charles N., North Raynham
 Davis, Mrs. Anna D., Boston
 Davis, A. R., Boston
 Davis, Rev. Chas. H., Stoneham
 Davis, Mrs. Chas. H., Stoneham
 Davis, Franklin W., Roslindale
 Davis, Mrs. Mabel A., Roslindale
 Davis, Harold S., Boston
 Davis, Miss Louise, Sterling
 Davis, Miss Mildred, Waitsfield
 Davis, Mrs. W. E., Roxbury
 Davison, Rev. T. W., Atlantic
 Dawes, Miss Elizabeth B., Petersham
 Dawson, A. K., Boston
 Dawson, Mrs. T. A., Boston
 Day, Miss Alice, Worcester
 Day, Marian D., Beverly
 Dean, Annie L., Taunton
 Dear, Mrs. Agnes, Andover
 De Berry, Rev. W. N., Springfield
 DeLapp, Rev. Ambrose C., Woburn

- Deming, Rev. Vernon H., East Douglas
 Deming, Mrs. Vernon H., East Douglas
 Denham, Miss Annie, Middleboro
 Denham, Arthur H., Middleboro
 Dennison, E. G., Boston
 Dennison, Miss Marjorie, Boston
 Dennison, Mrs. W. L., Boston
 Denny, Rev. Walter B., Bridgewater
 Denny, Mrs. Walter B., Bridgewater
 Derrick, Rev. T. H., Corning
 Derry, Miss Mabel, Danvers
 Devitt, Rev. T. S., Fall River
 Devitt, Mrs. T. S., Fall River
 Dexter, Lemuel LeB., Mattapoisett
 Dexter, Mrs. Lemuel LeB., Mattapoisett
 Dibble, W. B., Lynn
 Dickerman, Mrs. Anna K., Boston
 Dickerman, F. W., Boston
 Dickerman, Mrs. F. W., Boston
 Dickerman, Miss M. Louise, Boston
 Dixon, Harry G., Neponset
 Dixon, Mrs. Ella, Neponset
 Dixon, Rev. Sarah A., Hyannis
 Doane, Dr. W. B., Boston
 Doane, Mrs. W. B., Boston
 Dodge, Miss Bertha, Charlestown
 Dodge, Mrs. John, Haverhill
 Dole, Frederick H., Medford
 Donely, John E., South Boston
 Dornan, Mrs. William W., Whitman
 Dow, Mrs. Sarah H., Cambridge
 Dowse, Mrs. J. R., Sherborn
 Drew, Mrs., East Boston
 Drew, Mrs. Edw. P., Auburndale
 Drew, Miss Mary, East Boston
 Dudley, Miss Gertrude M., Millbury
 Dudley, Howland, Belmont
 Dudley, Mrs. Howland, Belmont
 Dunbar, Mrs. S. G., North Weymouth
 Duncan, Mrs. J. T., Neponset
 Dunham, Rev. Clarence W., South Boston
 Dunham, George H., Chelsea
 Dunham, Mrs. Sophia M., Dorchester
 Dunham, William E., Dorchester
 Dunlap, G. H., Ashby
 Dunlap, Mrs. G. H., Ashby
 Dunn, Rev. Charles E., Fall River
 Dunning, Rev. Albert E., Brookline
 Durham, Dr. Benjamin, Roslindale
 Durham, Mrs. Benjamin, Roslindale
 Dustan, Dana M., Worcester
 Dustan, Mrs. Dana M., Worcester
 Dutton, Miss Emily H., Framingham
 Dutton, Rev. John G., Agawam
 Dyer, Rev. Almon J., Wakefield
 Dyer, Miss Frances J., Boston
 Earl, Henry H., Fall River
 Earle, Miss Florence E., East Weymouth
 Earle, George W., Hyde Park
 Earle, Mrs. George W., Hyde Park
 Earle, Mrs. Wm. C., East Weymouth
 Eastman, Mrs. F. L., Wollaston
 Eastman, Norman, Dorchester Lower Mills
 Eaton, Rev. Edward D., Cambridge
 Eaton, Miss E. Florence, Wakefield
 Eaton, Henry D., North Reading
 Eddy, Rev. D. Brewer, Boston
 Eddy, Will C., Auburndale
 Edmunds, E. J., Cliftondale
 Edmonds, LeRoy S., Newtonville
 Eldridge, Miss Sarah A., Marshfield
 Ellis, Miss Gertrude, Boston
 Ellis, Miss Mildred, Boston
 Emerson, Miss Mary J., Worcester
 Emerson, Philip, Lynn
 Emerson, William F., Longmeadow
 Emrich, Rev. F. E., Boston
 English, Jr., Rev. William F., Boston
 Epler, Rev. P. J., Methuen
 Esselen, Joseph, Roxbury
 Esselen, Mrs. Joseph, Roxbury
 Estabrook, Rev. W. A., Brimfield
 Evans, Prof. Daniel, Cambridge
 Evans, Rev. Edward, Holden
 Evans, Rev. Lester E., Barre
 Evans, Lester M., West Somerville
 Evans, Miss Ona, West Somerville
 Everett, Charles, Scituate
 Everett, Mrs. Charles G., Scituate
 Failey, Sr., George T., Hudson
 Fairbanks, Rev. F. J., South Royalston
 Fales, Miss Eleanor, Wrentham
 Fales, Frank M., Jamaica Plain
 Farley, Miss Ethel, Farley
 Farley, Mrs. Sadie E., Farley
 Farmer, J. Wesley, Jamaica Plain
 Farnsworth, Rev. Lynn V., Worcester
 Farr, F. A., West Medford
 Farr, Mrs. Luella H., West Medford
 Farrar, George, South Lincoln
 Farren, Rev. Merritt A., Boston
 Farwell, P. F., Boston
 Fay, Miss Carrie M., Grafton
 Fay, Lucy A., South Boston
 Fay, Miss Mary F., Grafton
 Fell, Albert W., Boston
 Fergus, Malcolm, Rockland
 Fergus, Mrs. Malcolm, Rockland
 Ferguson, Mrs. John, Andover
 Ferrier, Mrs. Harvey J., Beverly
 Findlay, Rev. John Logan, Worcester
 Fisher, G. Milton, Worcester
 Fisher, Rev. Herman P., Westboro
 Fisher, Rev. C. Williams, Stockbridge
 Fiske, George M., Auburndale
 Fitts, Mrs. John T., Scituate
 Flanders, Mrs. H. H., Fayville
 Fletcher, Mrs. I. T., Newton
 Fletcher, Rev. Orville T., Springfield
 Flint, Irving A., Falmouth
 Fogg, Mrs. Mary J., Stoneham
 Forbes, Mildred P., Chelsea
 Forbes, Rev. W. H., Dunstable
 Forbush, Frank M., Newton Center
 Forbush, Mrs. Frank M., Newton Center
 Ford, Rev. Edward T., East Weymouth
 Ford, Mrs. Edward T., East Weymouth
 Ford, Mrs. James, East Weymouth
 Forrest, Rev. Andrew, North Carver
 Fosdick, Frederick, Fitchburg
 Foster, Rev. Elliott O., Athol
 Foster, Miss Myrtle, Wakefield
 Fowle, Mrs. F. L., Weymouth
 France, Rev. William, Phillipston
 Francis, Rev. H. B., Hudson
 Francis, Mr., Roxbury
 Fraser, Rev. David, West Somerville
 Fraser, Mrs. David, West Somerville
 Fraser, Henry A., Jamaica Plain
 Fraser, Lawrence R., East Milton
 Frederickson, F. W., Belmont
 Frederickson, Mrs. F. W., Belmont
 Freese, Mrs. Grace E., Framingham
 French, Mrs. Charlotte, Stoneham
 French, Miss Fannie F., Quincy
 French, Mrs. Henry R., Lynn
 French, Dr. J. M., Milford
 French, Mrs. J. M., Milford
 Frost, Mrs. Susan B., Lawrence
 Frye, Rev. Emil B., Revere
 Fulton, Pryor, Waltham
 Fulton, Mrs. Pryor, Waltham
 Gage, Miss Charlotte, Roxbury
 Ganley, Rev. William, West Groton

Gardner, George W., Danvers
 Gardner, Prof. Harry N., Northampton
 Gates, Rev. Carl M., Wellesley Hills
 Gates, Rev. Herbert W., Boston
 Gaylord, Rev. Edward D., Dorchester
 Gaylord, Lewis M., South Hadley
 George, Miss Alice, Boston
 George, Rev. F. D., Lynnfield Center
 George, Rev. Ralph W., Pigeon Cove
 George, W. H., Boston
 George, Mrs. W. H., Boston
 Gile, Mrs. Allen, Walpole
 Gile, Miss Lucy A., Cliftondale
 Gilman, Miss, Boston
 Gilman, G. B., Milford
 Gilman, Mrs. Grace S., Milford
 Gist, Rev. Nathan H., Leominster
 Gist, Mrs. Nathan H., Leominster
 Gleason, Miss Emma, Rockland
 Glynn, Miss Lucy W., West Somerville
 Godding, Mrs. John G., Brighton
 Godfrey, Miss Mary, Roxbury
 Goodheart, Rev. S. F., Shirley
 Goodrich, C. L., Wellesley
 Goodrich, Mrs. C. L., Wellesley
 Goodrich, Rev. Lincoln B., Taunton
 Goodwin, Rev. R. Albert, Hardwick
 Goodwin, Mrs. R. Albert, Hardwick
 Goodwin, Charles W., Newburyport
 Googins, Mrs. J. C., Worcester
 Gordon, Rev. Geo. A., Winthrop
 Gordon, Mrs. Geo. A., Winthrop
 Gordon, George N., Brockton
 Gordon, Rev. W. C., Boston
 Gorver, Mrs. Richard B., West Newbury
 Gould, M. Gertrude, Danvers
 Gove, Floyd S., Marshfield
 Gove, Frederick H., Marshfield
 Gove, Rev. J. Sherman, Marshfield
 Gove, Mrs. J. Sherman, Marshfield
 Grant, John A., Jamaica Plain
 Gray, Robert, Boston
 Greeley, Rev. Leslie Campbell, Marblehead
 Green, Rev. Roy E., Hamilton
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 Blackshaw, Rev. W., London, England
 Boynton, Rev. Nehemiah, Brooklyn, N. Y.
 Brown, Rev. Charles R., New Haven, Conn.
 Brown, Rev. Hugh Elmer, Evanston, Ill.
 Buckham, Rev. John Wright, Berkeley, Cal.
 Burton, Hon. Theodore E., Cleveland, Ohio
 Butterfield, Pres. K. L., Amherst, Mass.
 Byington, Rev. Edwin H., West Roxbury, Mass.
 Calkins, Rev. Raymond, Cambridge, Mass.
 Carter, Rev. Charles F., Hartford, Conn.
 Clark, Rev. Francis E., Boston, Mass.
 Cockett, Rev. C. Bernard, Melbourne, Victoria
 Cornish, Rev. Louis C., Boston, Mass.
 Cowling, Pres. Donald J., Northfield, Minn.
 Cox, Lieut.-Gov. Channing, Boston, Mass.
 Darlaston, Rev. G. E., London, England
 Davies, Rev. Ernest, Melbourne, Victoria.
 Day, Rev. Frank J., Toronto, Ont.
 Day, Rev. William Horace, Bridgeport, Conn.
 DeForest, Miss Charlotte, Kobe, Japan
 Ebizawa, Rev. Akira, Japan
 Eliot, Rev. Samuel A., Boston, Mass.
 Falconer, Sir Robert, Toronto, Ont.
 Fisher, Bishop Frederick Bohn, New York, N. Y.
 Fox, Rev. Daniel F., Pasadena, Cal.
 Franks, Rev. E. W., Woodford Green, England
 Frear, Hon. W. F., Honolulu, Hawaii
 Garvie, Rev. A. E., London, England
 Gibbon, Rev. J. Morgan, London, England
 Gordon, Rev. George A., Boston, Mass.
 Grieve, Rev. A. J., Edinburgh, Scotland
 Griffith-Jones, Rev. E., Bradford, England
 Gunn, Rev. W. T., Toronto, Ont.
 Hadfield, Capt. J. A., London, England
 Haven, Rev. William I., New York, N. Y.
 Haworth, Sir Arthur A., Altrincham, England
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 Hill, Rev. A. C., Glasgow, Scotland
 Holmes, Rev. John Andrew, Lincoln, Neb.
 Holt, Rev. Arthur E., Boston, Mass.
 Horton, Rev. R. F., London, England
 Hyslop, Sir R. Murray, Kent, England
 Jefferson, Rev. Charles E., New York, N. Y.
 Jones, Rev. J. D., Bournemouth, England
 Jump, Rev. Herbert A., Manchester, N. H.
 Kellogg, Paul U., New York, N. Y.
 King, Pres. Henry Churchill, Oberlin Ohio
 Laubach, Rev. Frank C., Philippines
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 Lovejoy, Rev. Owen R., New York, N. Y.
 Lynch, Rev. Frederick, Spuyten Duyvil, N. Y.
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 McElveen, Rev. William T., Portland, Ore.
 McKenzie, Rev. J. G., Wolverhampton, England
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 Morrison, Rev. Stanley, Brisbane, Queensland
 Parry, Rev. K. L., Colchester, England
 Patten, Rev. J. A., Ipswich, England
 Patton, Rev. Carl S., Los Angeles, Cal.
 Peck, Hon. Epaphroditus, Bristol, Conn.
 Peel, Rev. Albert, Blackburn, England
 Piggott, Rev. W. Charter, Streatham, England
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 Proctor, Rev. H. H., Brooklyn, N. Y.
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 Sanders, Rev. Frank K., New York, N. Y.
 Shannon, Rev. Frederick F., Chicago, Ill.
 Sheldon, Rev. Charles M., Topeka, Kan.
 Shillito, Rev. G., Oldham, England
 Silcox, Rev. E. D., Toronto, Ont.
 Simango, Columbus Kamba, Mt. Silinda, So. Africa
 Smith, Prof. H. Augustine, Brookline, Mass.
 Sperry, Rev. Willard L., Boston, Mass.
 Stephenson, Rev. A. R., Melbourne, Victoria
 Stick, Rev. H. A., Adams, So. Africa
 Stocking, Rev. Jay T., Upper Montclair, N. J.
 Thomas, Pres. John M., Middlebury, Vt.
 Thompson, Rev. R. W., Bolton, England
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 Viner, Rev. A. J., Oldham, England
 Walker, Rev. W. L., Garelochhead, Scotland
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 Willett, Rev. Herbert L., New York, N. Y.
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 Wong, Anson T., New York, N. Y.
 Woolley, Pres. Mary E., South Hadley, Mass.
 Yates, Rev. Thomas, London, England

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 Bennett, A. Vincent, *Choral Director*
 Littlefield, Laura, *Soloist*
 Brocklebank, Blanche F., *Pianist*
 King, F.A.G.O., Florence R., *Pianist*
 Potter, Henrietta, *Trumpeter*
 Sawyer, Lillian, *Trumpeter*

Sopranos. — Addison, Alma A. Alexander, Sarah E. Allison, Harriet M. Anderson, Miss B. A. Ayers, Alice E. Bell, Ada H. Bell, Cora A. Blomgren, Miss Edith. Blunt, Mrs. M. N. Briggs, Florence M. Broadhurst, Mrs. J. Brooks, Ethel E. Bryant, Edith G. Capron, Louise C. Carr, Mrs. B. Preston. Chaffee, Mrs. G. W. Chandler, Miss L. S. Chase, Ethel. Child, Evelyn H. Clark, M. Alice. Coas, Adelaide H. Collins, Mrs. J. F. Cotten, E. Lucia. Cove, Hilda. Currier, Mrs. O. H. Dahl, Fanny V. Davis, Mrs. F. W. Dunn, Alice R. Dyer, Ruth E. Elliott, Mrs. George E. Evan-son, Ethel M. Farrell, Anna R. Farrington, Imma. Farrow, Alice C. Farrow, Eliza-beth M. Flanagan, Maude W. Ford, T. Bevis. Fox, Flora C. Fraleigh, Bessie. Francis, E. M. Frye, Gladys E. Gillespie, Laura B. Glynn, Lucy W. Gratcyk, Octavia. Gustin, Mrs. H. I. Guthrie, Mrs. W. E. Hagan, Beryl E. Hallin, Florence E. Hanna, Florence G. Hanna, Laura. Harrington, Mrs. Charlotte E. Harris, Mrs. E. Haskins, Mrs. L. P. Haskins, Ruth. Heath, Helen. Hering, Mrs. M. E. Higgins, Alice N. Hodgkins, Dorothy E. Howard, Ethel M. Hull, Ethel Alice. Jewell, Ina. Kimball, Jennie. Knight, Herbert H. Landers, Mrs. L. H. Lawrence, Mrs. B. M. Leighton, Laura L. Lindquist, Hilma. Lockman, Jennie M. Lockman, Lillian H. McKenna, Miss M. Evelina. McLean, Maude A. McLellan, Edith. McLeod, Evelyn. McMurtrie, Margaret. MacNeill, Harriett E. Manter, Ruth H. Marsh, Mrs. G. A. Mellin, Anna. Menard, Mrs. G. E. Merrill, Mrs. E. F. Milliken, Helen I. Moller, Agnes. Moncur, Jessie M. Murray, Ethel I. Mystrom, Anna G. Nichols, Esther. Nightingale, Florence. O'Neill, Mrs. Harry R. Page, Mrs. Lillian M. Park, S. D. Partridge, Helen E. Pengilby, Helen R. Perkins, Mary Ruth. Perry, Aurelia W. Prentice, Agnes E. Prestley, Martha. Remele, Carol. Richards, Dorothy. Richards, Ruth Richardson, Charlotte M. Robbins, Lillian M. Robbins, Marion G. Robertson, Katha-rine. Robertson, Margaret J. Robie, Mrs. A. E. Rowell, Mary V. Salmon, Evelyn A. Scholl, Mrs. Susie L. Scott, Helen D. J. Scott, Irene C. Scott, Kate. Scott, Marjory J. Sears, Mrs. A. A. Smith, Mrs. Charlotte H. Smith, Emma. Smith, Mrs. Hattie I. Stanley, Grace E. Stelefeld, Natalie. Stinson, Mrs. Julia C. Stone, Esther. Sykes, F. Mabel. Taylor, Alice E. E. Thomas, Edna K. B. Tisdale, Ella M. Tracy, Etta L. Turner, Eleanor. Usher, Bertha E. Webber, Elizabeth M. Webber, Mrs. Emma. Weeks, Charlene. Wells, Barbara A. West, Helen M. Whipple, Clara E. Whitte-more, Carlota. Whittemore, Helen. Whittemore, Lottie M. Wilmarth, Hazel M. Wil-son, Mrs. George B. Wolford, Laura M. Worth, Mrs. C. A. Worth, Ethel M.

Altos. — Arthur, Kate E. Batson, Mrs. M. E. Black, Mrs. O. F. Boothby, Olive J. Bunker, Alice M. Cotton, Bessie Lurette. Cotton, Eva M. Currier, Alice M. Ellis, Minnie A. Fostoe, Mrs. Benjamin A. Frost, Edith H. Gillette, E. Pauline. Herrington, Elizabeth. Kilbourn, Orpha J. Kirk, Mrs. E. A. Lee, Mrs. Earl. Le Gallee, Dorothy F. Low, Lucy E. Luther, Mrs. C. A. Marsters, Marjorie S. Morse, Mrs. Josiah. Newton, Mary L. Nuttall, Elsie. Nuttall, Lena J. Nuttall, Lillian. Pettigrew, Stella M. Poor, Alice. Rowe, Helen G. Ryder, Marilla. Sherman, Agnes L. Sidelinger, Edith L. Sidelinger, Gladys T. Smith, Lelia A. Taft, Miss A. J. Thayer, Mrs. W. F. Thomas, Maud E. Thompson, Gertrude F. Tubman, Robina. Tukes-bury, Grace A. Upham, Mabel F. Westcott, Alice G. Wheaton, Lillian. Whitney, Edith. Woodworth, Ella A. Wolcott, Selma E.

Tenors. — Bennett, Arthur E. Carter, S. J. Dyer, Rev. Almon J. Foster, Benja-min A. Fostoe, Charles O. Glynn, Henry F. Horne, C. H. Montgomery, Laurence B. Morton, F. M. Nightingale, Thomas. Russell, John W. Swukee, F. A. Valentine, C. E. Warner, R. A. Watson, Charles E.

Basses. — Addison, Stanley N. Anderson, B. A. Austin, Herbert S. Bacon, Ed-ward L. Blunt, Matthew M. Brewin, F. Cahoon, William A. Carlson, Lewis B. Carsons, Albert. Collins, John J. Daggett, Allen W. Davis, F. W. Dunham, Edward P. Dunham, George W. Foster, Summer T. Haskell, James A. Hobbs, Frederick W. Ingalls, Ernest L. Kenney, John. Lawrence, B. M. Magoun, H. W. Maitland, Charles R. Morrison, Daniel J. Park, L. I. Pattington, George W. Ross, W. D. Sampson, Harry D. School, F. E. Sharpe, Charles. Smith, Charles Wm. Todd, Thomas H. Walker, Adam. Warner, A. A. Whitney, Harold. Williams, Mark W.

SESSIONS OF THE INTERNATIONAL COUNCIL

YEAR	PLACE	PRESIDENT	PREACHER
1891	London	Rev. R. W. Dale, D.D.	Rev. E. P. Goodwin, D.D.
1899	Boston	James B. Angell, LL.D.	Rev. Andrew M. Fairbairn, D.D.
1908	Edinburgh	Sir Albert Spicer, Bart.	Rev. George A. Gordon, D.D.
1920	Boston	Rev. James L. Barton, D.D.	Rev. J. D. Jones, D.D.

PROGRAM

TUESDAY, JUNE 29

- 2.15 Devotional Service.
Hymn. No. 7. "From all that dwell below the skies," Isaac Watts, 1719, with Doxology, *Old Hundredth*, L. Bourgeois, 1551.
Appointment of Committees and Preliminary Business.
Election of Officers.
Addresses of Welcome:
President Henry Churchill King, Moderator of National Council of Congregational Churches of United States.
Hon. Arthur H. Wellman, Chairman Boston Committee of Arrangements.
Response by Rev. A. E. Garvie and the Moderator.
- 4.00 Service of Prayer and Praise. Led by Rev. R. F. Horton.
Hymns. No. 37. "How firm a foundation," 1781, *Portuguese Hymn*, 18th Century.
No. 60. "Glorious things of thee are spoken," John Newton, 1779, *Austria*, Haydn, 1797.
No. 2. "O worship the King, all-glorious above," Robert Grant, 1833, *Lyons*, Haydn, 1787-1806.
- 4.30 Address: "The Church and her Ministry of Mercy,"
Owen R. Lovejoy, former President U. S. Council of Social Workers.
- 8.00 Addresses: "The World of 1620 — The World of 1920,"
Rev. J. Morgan Gibbon.
Mr. Raymond Robins.
Hymns. No. 6. "All people that on earth do dwell," Wm. Kethe, 1561, *Old Hundredth*, 1551.
No. 68. "O God, beneath thy guiding hand," Bacon, 1838, *Duke Street*, Halton, 1793.
No. 50. "These things shall be — a loftier race," John A. Symonds, 1880, *Truro*, Charles Burney, 1769.
Chorus. "The Voyage of the *Mayflower*" — Nixon Waterman, R. Huntington Woodman.

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 30

- 9.00 Prayer. Business.
- 9.10 Address: "The Spiritual Import of Congregationalism,"
Rev. W. L. Walker.
- 9.35 Address: "The Recovery of the Spiritual Principle of the Church as a Condition of Spiritual Revival,"
Rev. Thomas Yates.
- 10.00 Devotional Service.
Hymns. No. 15-b. "The Lord will come and not be slow," Milton, 1648, *York*, 1615.

- No. 62. "The church's one foundation," Samuel J. Stone, 1866, *Aurelia, S.S. Wesley, 1864.*
 No. 16-a. "Joy to the world, the Lord has come," Watts, 1719, *Antioch, Handel, 1742. L. Mason, 1836.*
- 10.30 Address: "The History of the Beginnings and Development of Congregational Polity,"
 Rev. A. Peel,
 Rev. William E. Barton.
- 11.20 Address: "Woman and Present-day Needs,"
 President Mary E. Woolley.
- 11.45 Tercentenary Diplomas to those completing three years course of study were presented to about 100 persons by Rev. E. H. Byington.
- 12.30 Noon Meeting at Park Street Church.
 Address by Rev. J. Morgan Gibbon.
- 2.15 Sectional Meetings:

SECTION ONE

*At Central Congregational Church, Newbury and Berkeley Streets,
 Principal D. L. Ritchie, Presiding.*

"THE CHURCH AND HER MESSAGE"

- "The Originality of Jesus," Rev. George A. Gordon.
 "The Permanent and the Passing in the Church's Appeal," Rev. William Horace Day.
 "The Specialist in Evangelism — His Service in the Past and the Outlook for the Future," Rev. Daniel F. Fox.

SECTION TWO

*At Mt. Vernon Church, Beacon Street and Massachusetts Ave.,
 Rev. Alfred Hallack, Presiding.*

"THE CHURCH AS A TRAINING SCHOOL"

- "Leaders of the Future Church," Rev. G. E. Darlaston.
 "The Life of the Local Church in its Bearing on the Production of Effective Ministers of the Gospel," Rev. Jay T. Stocking.
 "What Measures Should We Take to Provide Leaders in the Field of Social Reconstruction?" Rev. Herbert A. Jump.
 "Is it Possible to Introduce a Church Curriculum, Covering Not Only the Period of Youth, but also a Post-graduate Course?" Rev. Charles E. McKinley.

SECTION THREE

*At Old South Church, Copley Square,
 Hon. J. M. Whitehead, Presiding.*

"GREAT BRITAIN AND AMERICA — CONSTRUCTIVE EFFORT TOWARD MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING AND GOOD-WILL"

Miss Henrietta Roelofs,
 Rev. Henry A. Atkinson,
 Rev. E. Griffith-Jones.

- 8.00 Council Sermon by Rev. J. D. Jones.
Communion Service — Conducted by:
Rev. R. F. Horton,
Rev. Oscar E. Maurer.
Hymns. No. 66. "I love thy kingdom, Lord," Timothy Dwight,
1800, *St. Thomas, A. Williams, 1793*.
No. 29. "My faith looks up to thee," Ray Palmer, 1830,
Olivet, L. Mason, 1832.
No. 24. "Jesus, thou joy of loving hearts," tr. by R.
Palmer, 1858, *Federal Street, H. K. Oliver, 1832*.
No. 17. "When I survey the wondrous cross," Watts,
1707, *Hamburg, ar. by L. Mason, 1834*.
Chorus. "God so loved the World" — *Stainer*.

THURSDAY, JULY 1

- 9.00 Prayer. Business.
9.10 Addresses: "Congregationalism in the Field of Religious Thought
— Its Present Trend and Duty,"
Rev. John Wright Buckham,
Rev. Robert Mackintosh.
10.00 Devotional Service led by Rev. W. J. Ashford.
Hymns. No. 10. "O God, our God, thou shinest here," T. H. Gill,
1846, *St. Anne, Croft, 1708*.
No. 30. "Behold a sower from afar," Washington Glad-
den, 1897, *Petersham, C. W. Poole, 1828*.
No. 41-a. "Send down thy truth, O God," E. R. Sill, 1867,
St. Thomas, A. Williams, 1763.
10.30 Address: "The Vital Issues in Present-day Theology,"
Rev. A. E. Garvie.
10.55 Address by Lieutenant-Governor Channing Cox.
11.20 Address: "Realism in Religion,"
Rev. Carl S. Patton.
12.30 Noon Meeting at Park Street Church.
Address by Rev. H. H. Proctor.
1.00 Excursion to Plymouth.
4.30 Brief Addresses by:
Rev. R. W. Thompson,
Rev. Louis C. Cornish,
Rev. Frank J. Day,
Rev. A. R. Stephenson,
Rev. C. H. Beale.
Hymns. No. 68. "O God, beneath Thy guiding hand," L. Bacon,
1838, *Duke Street, Halton, 1793*.
No. 51. "More light shall break from out Thy word," A.
E. Cross, 1920, *Truro*.
No. 9. "Our God, our help in ages past," Isaac Watts,
1719, *St. Anne, Wm. Croft, 1708*.
5.30 Supper.
8.30 A Pageant of Pilgrims. Written and directed by Esther Willard
Bates. Produced for the entertainment of the Council by
Young People of Union Congregational Church, Boston, and
Boston University, under the auspices of the Department of
Educational Publications, Congregational Publishing Society.

FRIDAY, JULY 2

- 9.00 Prayer. Business.
- 9.10 Addresses: "The Contribution of Congregationalism to Civil and Religious Liberty,"
Rev. Ashley Day Leavit,
Rev. E. Griffith-Jones.
- 10.00 Devotional Service.
Hymns. No. 27. "Give ear, ye children, to my law," Watts, *St. Martin's*, 1740.
No. 57. "Lead on, O King Eternal," E. W. Shurtleff, 1886, *Webb, George J. Webb*, 1830.
No. 51. "More light shall break from out Thy word," A. E. Cross, 1920, *Truro, Charles Burney*, 1769.
- 10.30 Address: "Continuing the Fight for Freedom,"
Rev. A. C. Hill.
- 10.55 Addresses: "Congregationalism in Education — Its History and Its Present Problems,"
Rev. A. J. Viner,
President Donald J. Cowling.
- 12.30 Noon Meeting at Park Street Church.
Address: "The Voice of God in American History,"
Rev. Frederick F. Shannon.
- 2.15 Sectional Meetings:

SECTION ONE

*At Central Congregational Church, Newbury and Berkeley Streets,
Hon. S. P. Leet, Presiding.*

"THE CHURCH AND THE NATIONS"

- "The Christian Church and the League of Nations," Sir Arthur Haworth.
"The World Organization of Protestant Influence," Rev. Frederick Lynch.
"The Puritans' Conception of Democracy," Hon. Epaphroditus Peck.

SECTION TWO

*At Mt. Vernon Church, Beacon Street and Massachusetts Ave.,
Prof. W. J. Moulton, Presiding.*

"CURRENT PROBLEMS OF CHRISTIAN EDUCATION"

- "The Relation Between Church and College,"
Rev. A. J. Grieve,
President John M. Thomas.
"How to Organize and Promote the Religious Life of a Christian College,"
Prof. Luther A. Weigle.
"Potential Developments in the Religious Life of State Universities,"
Rev. John Andrew Holmes.

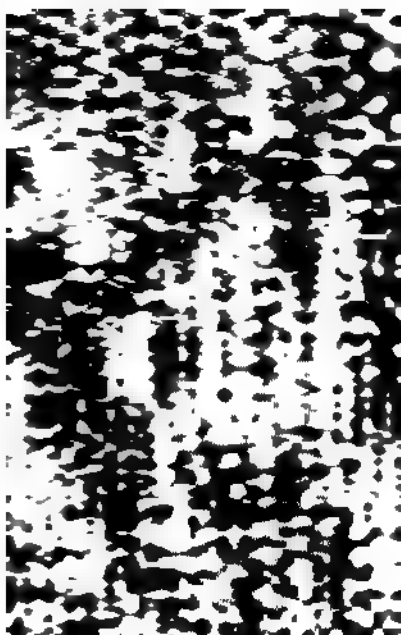
SECTION THREE

*At Old South Church, Copley Square,
Mr. L. R. Eastman, Presiding.*

"THE CHRISTIAN OUTLOOK UPON PRODUCTION AND DISTRIBUTION"

- "The Church and the Business Man," Mr. Roger W. Babson.
"Industrial Relations in England," Rev. G. Shillito.

FRANK KIMBALL
Vice-President



REV. ROBERT A. HUME, D.D.
Vice-President

DOANE ROBINSON
Vice-President

REV. J. D. JONES, D.D.
Council Preacher



- "Industrial Relations in America," Rev. Nicholas Van der Pyl.
- "Industrial Relations in Australia," Rev. Stanley Morrison.
- "The Rural Unrest," President K. L. Butterfield.

SECTION FOUR

*At Paul Revere Hall (Mechanics Bldg.),
Rev. Charles H. Richards, Presiding.*

"PILGRIM SONGS AND THEIR SEQUELS"

- "The Psalm Book of the Pilgrims," Prof. Waldo S. Pratt.
- "The Stages of Development," Rev. Charles F. Carter.
- "The Modern Tendencies of Pilgrim Hymns Visualized Through Art," Prof. H. Augustine Smith.
- 8.00 Addresses: "Our International Obligations," Rev. W. Nelson Bitton, Hon. Theodore E. Burton.
- Hymns. No. 9. "Our God, our help in ages past," Watts, 1719, *St. Anne, Croft, 1708.*
- No. 69. "Two empires by the sea," Huntington, a Congregationalist, *America.*
- No. 75. "Jesus shall reign where'er the sun," Watts, 1719, *Duke Street, Hatton, 1793.*
- Chorus. "The Landing of the Pilgrims," Felicia D. Hemans, *Edward D. Birge.*
- "The Good Shepherd," *Barri.*

SATURDAY, JULY 3

- 9.00 Prayer. Business.
- 9.10 Addresses: "Congregationalism and Christian Unity," Rev. Willard L. Sperry, Rev. J. G. McKenzie.
- 10.00 Address: "Movements Toward Unity," Rev. K. L. Parry.
- 10.25 Devotional Service led by Hon. Henry M. Beardsley.
- Hymns "Let children hear the mighty deeds." See order of worship. *St. Anne, Croft, 1708.*
- No. 68. "O God, beneath Thy guiding hand," L. Bacon, 1838, *Duke Street, Hatton, 1793.*
- No. 13. "O God of Bethel by whose hand," Doddridge, 1737, *Dundee, 1635.*
- 10.55 Address: "The Psychology of Congregationalism," Rev. A. R. Henderson.
- 11.20 Addresses by Rev. Samuel A. Eliot, on behalf of the Unitarian Churches, and Rev. William I. Haven, on behalf of the Federal Council.

SUNDAY, JULY 4

- 3.30 Memorial Service for the Men who Gave Their Lives in the Great War.
- Hymns. No. 70. "God, the all-merciful! earth hath forsaken," *Russian Hymn, Alex V. Lwoff, 1833.*

Commemorative Ode, "A.D. 1919," Brian Hooker, First rendered at the Commencement of Yale University, 1919. Music by Prof. Horatio Parker.

International Council Chorus and Players from the Boston Symphony Orchestra. Director, A. Vincent Bennett; Soloist, Laura Littlefield, Soprano.

Addresses by Rev. S. M. Berry and Rev. Nehemiah Boynton.

No. 48. "From age to age they gather," F. L. Hosmer, 1891, *Hosmer, F. L. Bullard, 1902*.

8.00 Mass Meeting in the Interest of World Brotherhood.

Addresses: "Christianity and the Nations,"

Sir Robert Falconer,

Rev. Henry C. King.

Hymns. No. 21. "All hail the power of Jesus' name," Perronet, 1779, *Coronation, Helden, 1793*.

No. 15-a. "Kingdoms and thrones to God belong," Watts, 1719, *Missionary Chant, Zeunor*.

No. 67-a. "My country, 'tis of thee," S. F. Smith.

No. 67-b. "God save our gracious King," *America*.

Chorus. "God is Our Refuge" — *Webbe*.

MONDAY, JULY 5

9.00 Prayer.

9.10 Addresses: "Congregationalism and the Social Order,"

Rev. Arthur E. Holt.

Rev. W. Blackshaw.

10.00 Devotional Service.

Hymns. No. 53. "City of God, how broad and far," Samuel Johnson, 1864, *Mirfield, A. Cottman, 1872*.

No. 45. "Lord, God of Hosts, whose purpose never swerving," Shepherd Knapp, 1907, *Ancient of Days, J. A. Jeffrey, 1886*.

No. 59-b. "At length there dawns the glorious day," O. S. Davis, *All Saints New, H. S. Cutler, 1872*.

10.30 Address: "The Contribution of the Church to Social Upbuilding," Rev. J. A. Patten.

10.55 Addresses: "Present Features of the Temperance Crusade,"

Rev. Howard H. Russell,

Sir R. Murray Hyslop,

Rev. E. D. Silcox.

12.30 Noon Meeting at Park Street Church.

Address: "The League of Nations,"

Rev. A. C. Hill.

2.15 Sectional Meetings:

SECTION ONE

At Mt. Vernon Church, Beacon Street and Massachusetts Ave.,

Prof. Williston Walker, Presiding.

"MOVEMENTS TOWARD UNITY"

"The Federal Council of Churches," Rev. Herbert L. Willett.

"Movements Toward Unity in England," Rev. K. L. Parry.

- "The Progress of Church Union in Canada," Rev. W. T. Gunn.
- "The Outlook for Union in Australia," Rev. Ernest Davies.
- "The Plan of Federal Union Now Before American Protestantism," Rev. Raymond Calkins.

SECTION TWO

*At Old South Church, Copley Square,
Mr. William Shaw, Presiding.*

"THE ETHICS OF LIBERTY"

- "The American Idea of Freedom," Bishop Frederick Bohn Fisher.
- "Free Speech in England," Rev. A. E. Garvie.
- "Bringing Free Speech Down to Date," Paul U. Kellogg.
- "The Newspaper and the Moral Health of the Nation," Rev. Charles M. Sheldon.

SECTION THREE

*At Central Congregational Church, Newbury and Berkeley Streets,
Rev. John Gordon, Presiding.*

"THE NORMAL AND ABNORMAL IN RELIGION"

- "The Relation of Religion to Bodily Healing," Rev. William T. McElveen.
- "The Meaning of Current Spiritualistic Movements," Captain J. A. Hadfield, and Rev. Hugh Elmer Brown.

8.00 Address: "The World Food Situation — A Moral Challenge,"
Miss Jane Addams.

Address: "The Call of the World"

Rev. James L. Barton.

Hymns. No. 34. "Love divine, all love excelling," C. Wesley,
1747, *Beecher, Zundel, 1870.*

No. 44. "O Master, let me walk with thee," Gladden,
1879, *Maryton, H. P. Smith, 1874.*

No. 49. "When wilt thou save the people?" Ebenezer
Elliott, 1850, *Commonwealth, Josiah Booth, 1852.*

TUESDAY, JULY 6

9.00 Prayer.

9.10 Addresses: "Congregationalism and Missions,"
Rev. Frank K. Sanders,
Rev. E. W. Franks.

10.00 Address: "The Broad Horizon of the Missionary Enterprise,"
Rev. Charles E. Jefferson.

10.25 Devotional Service led by Rev. Rockwell Harmon Potter.

Hymns. No. 16-a. "Joy to the world! the Lord is come," Isaac
Watts, 1719, *Antioch, Handel, ar. by L. Mason.*

No. 74. "The morning light is breaking," S. F. Smith,
1832, *Webb, George J. Webb, 1830.*

No. 73. "Christ for the world! we sing," Samuel Wol-
cott, 1869, *Italian Hymn, Giardini, 1769.*

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- 10.55 Address: "Congregationalism and the New Generation of Pilgrims,"
Rev. W. Charter Piggott,
Rev. Ernest Bourner Allen.
- 11.45 Address: "Training Young People for Service,"
Rev. Francis E. Clark.
- 12.30 Noon Meeting at Park Street Church.
Address: "Battles for Public Morality in Australia"
Rev. C. Bernard Cockett.
- 2.15 Brief Addresses from Many Lands:
Japan — Rev. Akira Ebizawa, Miss Charlotte De Forest.
Africa — Rev. H. A. Stick, and Mr. Columbus Kamba Simango.
The Philippines — Rev. Frank C. Laubach.
China — Mr. Anson T. Wong.
Hawaii — Hon. W. F. Frear.
For the London Missionary Society — Rev. George Barrett.
- 3.15 Address: "Urgent Aspects of the World Task,"
Rev. R. F. Horton.
- 3.40 Address: "The Modern Missionary; His Motive and Message,"
Rev. W. C. Willoughby.
- 4.00 Address: "The Path Ahead,"
Rev. Charles R. Brown.
Hymns. No. 51. "More light shall break," A. E. Cross, 1920,
Truro, C. Burney, 1769.
No. 59-a. "O where are kings and empires now?" A.
Cleveland Coxe, 1839, *St. Anne, Wm. Croft, 1708.*
- 4.25 Report of Committee on Resolutions.
Address to "World Wide Congregationalism."
- 4.50 Prayer and Adjournment.

MINUTES

OF THE BUSINESS TRANSACTED BY THE INTERNATIONAL CONGREGATIONAL COUNCIL

The Council was called to order at Mechanics Building, Boston, Massachusetts, U. S. A., at 2.30 in the afternoon of Tuesday, June 29, 1920, by Rev. Charles F. Carter, Vice-Chairman of the American Committee of Arrangements. After singing "From all that dwell below the skies," prayer was offered and a Scripture lesson read by Rev. Arcturus Z. Conrad, of Boston.

The Rev. J. D. Jones, of Bournemouth, England, was recognized by the Chair and presented the name of Rev. James L. Barton, of Boston, for the office of President of the Council. By unanimous vote the nomination was confirmed. The newly-chosen President took the Chair and spoke briefly in acknowledgment of the honor conferred.

On nomination of the delegates from the different countries represented the following were chosen Vice-Presidents of the Council:

Sir Arthur A. Haworth, *Chairman* of the Royal Exchange, Manchester, England
 Rev. Alfred E. Garvie, *Principal* of New College, London
 Rev. Ernest Davies, *President* of the Congregational Union of Australia and New Zealand
 Principal D. L. Ritchie, of Montreal, Quebec
 Rev. W. L. Walker, of the Congregational Union of Scotland
 Principal T. Lewis, of the Union of Welsh Independents
 Rev. W. C. Willoughby, of South Africa
 Dr. Lucien C. Warner, of New York
 Mr. Frank Kimball, of Chicago
 Hon. Doane Robinson, of Pierre, S. D.
 Mr. George W. Marston, of San Diego, Cal.
 Rev. Robert A. Hume, of India

On nomination of Hon. J. H. Perry, the Rev. Richard J. Wells, of London was elected Secretary, and Rev. Sherrod Soule, of Hartford, Conn., Rev. Arthur H. Bradford, of Providence, R. I., Rev. W. H. Warriner, of Montreal, Quebec and Rev. W. J. Ashford, of Launceston, Tasmania, Assistant Secretaries.

On nomination the following were chosen as a Business Committee for the session:

President James L. Barton, Secretary Richard J. Wells and Rev. Hubert C. Herring, *ex officio*.
 Mr. George L. Dunham, of Brattleboro, Vermont
 Rev. John Gordon, of Rockford, Illinois
 Mr. H. W. Darling, of Wichita, Kansas
 Rev. Carl S. Patton, of Los Angeles, Cal.
 Mr. George E. Read, of Sherbrooke, Quebec
 Rev. C. Bernard Cockett, of Victoria, New South Wales
 Rev. A. R. Stephenson, of Victoria, New South Wales
 Rev. Akira Ebizawa, of Japan
 Sir Arthur A. Haworth, of Manchester, England
 Rev. J. D. Jones, of Bournemouth, England
 Rev. A. J. Viner, of Oldham, England
 Rev. S. M. Berry, of Birmingham, England

Addresses of welcome were made by Reverend Henry Churchill King, Moderator of the National Council of the Congregational Churches of the United States, and the Hon. Arthur H. Wellman, Chairman of the Pilgrim International Committee of Boston. A message was received from Hon. Andrew J. Peters, Mayor of Boston, expressing regret that he could not be present to welcome the delegates on behalf of the city. Response to the addresses of welcome was made by Rev. A. E. Garvie, of London, Sir Arthur A. Haworth and the President.

A gavel containing a piece of Plymouth Rock embedded in wood taken from various historic dwellings was presented to the President by Rev. T. E. Busfield, of Plymouth, Massachusetts. A second gavel was presented on behalf of the First Congregational Church of Portland, Oregon, by Rev. W. T. McElveen, its pastor. Rev. Charles Harbutt, of Portland, Maine, presented for the use of the President during the present Council a gavel belonging to the Maine Conference, the head of this gavel consisting of a piece of stone from St. Peter's Church, Leyden, Holland.

Resolutions relating to the routine of the Council's sessions were presented by Rev. H. C. Herring, Secretary of the Committee of Arrangements, and were adopted as follows:

That in the Committees appointed by this body a quorum shall consist of such members as meet after public notice of the time and place of meeting has been given in the Council.

That the program as printed be approved as indicating the general order of the Council's procedure, action in modification of the same, or in fixing specific hours for reports or business, to be taken on recommendation of the Business Committee.

That all speakers giving addresses or presenting reports be strictly limited to the time limits fixed by the Program Committee, or ordered by the Council, and that the President and Secretary be instructed to notify each one of the expiration of the period assigned him.

That all persons entitled to be seated in the portion of the house reserved for delegates be requested to assist the door-keepers in the discharge of their duties by wearing in plain view the badges provided.

That ushers be instructed to seat persons attending the Council only in the intervals between addresses, space being provided in the rear of the room where late arrivals may stand until the close of the address in progress, and that during every devotional service the doors be closed.

That the following classes of persons be enrolled as Corresponding Members of the Council, having privileges of the floor but without vote, upon application by them at the registration office of the Council:

- (a) All alternate delegates nationally chosen
- (b) All persons elected by local churches
- (c) All members of Commissions reporting to the Council, all persons appearing on its program and all members of general and local committees of arrangements
- (d) All official representatives of denominational agencies, such as Mission Boards, National, State, County, or Provincial bodies, etc.

That space assigned to nationally chosen delegates be continuously reserved for their use.

That space reserved for corresponding members be held only until the opening of each service.

That the Business Committee nominate a committee of fifteen on Resolutions, and that this Committee be requested to report an address to World Congregationalism.

That announcements from the desk be limited to statement as to telegrams received for individuals, to meetings desired by any group and to notices concerning the Council itself.

A half-hour devotional service was conducted by Rev. R. F. Horton of London, assisted by various members of the Council.

The following message was presented from Hon. E. E. Cooper, Lord Mayor of London:

"I am much interested in learning that the Fourth International Congregational Conference is to be held in Boston in July, on the occasion of the tercentenary of the sailing of the *Mayflower*. I should like to take the opportunity of recording the admiration I feel for the wisdom, courage and faith of the Pilgrim Fathers in leaving their motherland to found beyond the seas a community in which they might enjoy liberty of conscience in the worship and service of God. They were fortunate in attaching themselves to a great nation, in the making of which these sacred principles have now such mighty and enduring influence.

"I sincerely hope and pray that the bonds of friendship between the land from which the Pilgrim Fathers went and the land in which they made their home may, by this common remembrance, be knit more firmly, so that the English-speaking peoples may unitedly and whole-heartedly work for the preservation of the world's peace and the promotion of the highest interests of mankind."

To which reply was made by the Council as follows:

"The Fourth International Congregational Council has received your gracious message with sincere pleasure and joins in your hope that our international friendship may be deepened."

The following communication was received from the members of the Women's League of the London Congregational Union, England:

"Greeting: We wish to express our happy recognition of the spirit of earnestness, aiming at progress in so many departments of social and public life, that characterises your efforts.

"We feel more glad to notice this spirit, especially in the present year — the Tercentenary of the founding of your Commonwealth. The story of that time clearly reveals how it was upon the *Mayflower* women that the burdens fell; and the same spirit that responded to great demands then is clearly animating you still. We especially congratulate you on your sympathy with the aims of a League of Nations, and your great work in Prohibition. We recognise that your anxiety, like ours, is to put matters right at the heart of things, — and once they are put right at the heart they will never go wrong again.

"Signed: HELEN MAY, *President*.

MINNIE B. HERBERT, *Secretary*."

To which, under instruction of the Council, the Secretary sent a response in the following terms:

"*Dear Friends:* I am instructed to express to you on behalf of the women of the Congregational Churches of the United States most cordial thanks for the message of greeting presented at the recent meeting of the International Congregational Council.

"The aspects of our common responsibility in the work of the Kingdom of Christ, especially emphasized in your letter, are foremost in the thought of the Congregational women of America. On their behalf I bid you God-speed in all the effort you are putting forth for the remoulding of human society in accordance with the mind of Christ.

"Sincerely yours,

"HUBERT C. HERRING, *Secretary National Council*."

At various points in the sessions of the Council, messages were received from Premier David Lloyd George of Great Britain, the Hon. Herbert H. Asquith of London and President Woodrow Wilson of the United States. These messages, with the responses made, follow:

" *My dear Morgan Gibbon:* I am glad to hear that you are going to the United States to address the International Congregational Council at Boston. Please give my best wishes to your audience. There is no more important work than to establish a good understanding between the American and British democracies.

" The future largely depends upon the cooperation of all the great western democracies in the colossal task of rebuilding the world war. It is especially on our two countries that the responsibility rests, because they have now in especial degree the energy, the wealth and, as I believe, the ideals necessary to the making of a new and better world.

" That Great Britain and America will be able, despite all hostile and estranging propaganda, to cooperate in this work, I also believe, because the ideals which lie at the bottom of their social, political and religious life are fundamentally the same. There is no one better fitted to explain to an American audience the principles which animate British Policy than yourself, and I therefore send you my most cordial good wishes in your task.

" Sincerely yours,
" D. LLOYD GEORGE."

" The International Congregational Council, assembled in Boston, conveys to the Prime Minister of Great Britain its cordial greetings. It sincerely thanks him for his message and prays that its meetings may be in the highest interests of all the nations.

" JAMES L. BARTON, *President.*"

" Please convey International Congregational Council assembled Boston my cordial good wishes for successful celebration *Mayflower* Tercentenary.

" ASQUITH."

" The International Congregational Council assembled in Boston conveys to Mr. Asquith its sincere greetings. It cordially thanks him for his message and earnestly expresses the hope that its deliberations may be for the good of all peoples.

" JAMES L. BARTON, *President.*"

" Please convey to the Members of the Council my utmost cordial personal greetings and an expression of my profound interest in the important objects for which they are met.

" WOODROW WILSON."

" *To the President of the United States:* The Congregational Churches of the World by delegates in International Council assembled at Boston, Massachusetts, in this three hundredth anniversary year of the sailing of the *Mayflower* and the landing of the Pilgrim Fathers, express their deep appreciation of the message received by this body of delegates from the President of the United States, and return to him their hearty salutations and sincere expressions of cordial good-will.

" On behalf of the International Council.

" JAMES L. BARTON, *President.*"

The Secretary was instructed to send to the Premier of Canada the following greeting:

"Sir R. Borden: The International Congregational Council assembled in Boston sends its hearty greetings to the Canadian people through its Prime Minister. It heartily welcomes their representatives and trusts that its meetings will promote the unity of the English-speaking world and the progress of the Kingdom of God in all lands."

He was also instructed to send to the Premier of Australia the following greeting:

"Hon. W. M. Hughes: The International Congregational Council, assembled in Boston, sends its hearty greetings to the Australian people through its Prime Minister. It heartily welcomes their representatives and trusts that its meetings will promote the unity of the English-speaking world and the progress of the Kingdom of God in all lands."

MONDAY, JULY 5

On recommendation of the Committee on Resolutions presented by Rev. W. E. Barton, the following were adopted: —

"That this meeting of the International Congregational Council heartily rejoices in the triumph of the Temperance cause in the United States and in the Dominion of Canada, and hears with profound satisfaction of the great beneficial results — both moral and material — that have accrued from the suspension of the drink traffic. It urges Congregationalists in the various lands represented by the Council to take note of the results achieved in America and Canada and earnestly appeals to its constituents, in view of the measureless benefits accruing, to take such steps as may lead to like results in their own countries."

"This International Congregational Council records its unqualified conviction that the Powers which were victorious in the great war should at once seek to discover and apply measures for the effective protection of the Armenians now imperilled at the hands of their hereditary enemies in the Near East."

"The International Council of Congregational Churches pledges itself to the realization of human brotherhood and emphatically protests against lynchings, mob-law, all forms of injustice and of discrimination against any people upon the ground of race or color, in any part of the world, and we urge the Congregational churches of the world to maintain this ideal."

"The International Council hears with satisfaction reports of increased attention by the churches in all countries represented in this Council to Christian education and the nurture of the young in preparation for church membership. We commend to our churches simultaneous efforts to be scheduled according to the year of church work in the several countries, for the upbuilding of the church schools, the organization of pastors' classes and the training of the youth of our churches for Christian service."

"The Congregational Churches of the World by delegates in International Council assembled at Boston, Massachusetts, send Christian greeting to their brethren assembled at the Lambeth Conference now in session in London. We recognize the supreme responsibility that rests upon all who confess the name of our common Lord and Master; and we join with the Lambeth Conference in earnest prayer for the essential unity of the Church Universal and for the realization on earth of the Kingdom of our Lord Jesus Christ."

TUESDAY, JULY 6

Rev. Ernest Davies, President of the Congregational Union of Australia and New Zealand, presented the following invitation:

"On behalf of the Congregational Union of Australia and New Zealand,

we extend a very earnest and warm invitation to the Council to hold the next session in Australia, preferably at Sydney, and the month of the meeting would be arranged to suit the Council.

"Hospitality would be gladly extended to all delegates from overseas from arrival to departure of steamers.

"On behalf of Australia and New Zealand, we are,

"Yours in the Kingdom,

"ERNEST DAVIES, *President*

W. J. ASHFORD, Tasmania

C. BERNARD COCKETT, Victoria

STANLEY MORRISON, Queensland

A. R. STEPHENSON, Victoria

E. A. BRIDGER, New Zealand."

The following recommendation from the Business Committee presented by the Secretary, Rev. R. J. Wells, was received and approved:

"Your Business Committee begs to report that it has had before it an invitation from the Australian Union to hold the next International Conference in Sydney, and also one from the Congregational Union of England and Wales to hold the next Conference in England.

"Your Committee gratefully acknowledges the warm cordiality of these invitations and expresses its deep appreciation of the offer of hospitality. It would desire nothing better than to visit all parts of our World-wide Congregationalism, but in view of the years yet to elapse before the next Conference, and the many possible changes that may meanwhile take place in the matter of travel, it would recommend this Conference to refer these invitations to the Interim Committee to take final action within the next three years."

He also reported on behalf of the Business Committee a revised draft of the Constitution of the Council, which was adopted by unanimous vote as follows:

CONSTITUTION OF THE INTERNATIONAL CONGREGATIONAL COUNCIL

The Congregational Churches of the World, assembled by delegates from all nations where such churches possess a national organization, and by representatives from other lands, declaring the steadfast allegiance of the Congregational Churches to that body of truth which our own churches and the Church Universal have received from the beginning, and to that form of government which recognized the headship of Jesus Christ and the spirit of Christian brotherhood as the basis of a true democracy, are united in our testimony to this faith and polity and in our fellowship with all churches of like faith and with the Church of Christ throughout the world. Recognizing the opportunity for united service which now confronts the Church of Christ, these churches by their representatives hereby adopt this Constitution for the government of the International Congregational Council.

I. Name

The name of this body is "The International Congregational Council."

II. Purpose

The purpose of this International Council is to foster and express the substantial unity of the Congregational Churches in faith, polity and work;

to consult upon and devise measures and maintain agencies for the advancement of their common interests; and to do and to promote the work of the Congregational Churches in their international and interdenominational relations.

III. Membership

The International Council shall consist of four hundred members, allotted as follows:

United States of America	150
British Isles	150
Dominion of Canada and Newfoundland	20
Australia	32
South Africa	10
Rest of the World	38

Delegates from each country shall be elected by the National Council, Union, Federation or Association of that country. Countries where no national association exists may elect delegates in proportion to the number and in accordance with the custom of the churches of said country.

Officers of the preceding session of the International Council, members of the Interim Committees and of Committees appointed during the session, speakers invited to prepare papers or deliver addresses, and foreign missionaries at home on furloughs or accredited by their respective missions or missionary boards shall be Honorary Members of the Council.

IV. Officers

The Council, immediately after its opening service of devotion, shall organize by the election of a Moderator, three Assistant Moderators each for the United States and the British Isles, an Assistant Moderator each for Canada, Australasia, and Africa, a Secretary and three Assistant Secretaries. These officers shall hold office until their successors have been elected and have qualified. Each Council shall be opened by the Moderator of the preceding Council, or in his absence by the senior Assistant Moderator present from the country in which the Council convenes.

V. Committees of the Session

The Council, immediately after the election of its officers, shall appoint on nomination of the Interim Committee, a Business Committee of twelve which shall serve for that session, and shall among other duties act as a Nomination Committee. The Council shall appoint such other sessional committees as it may desire.

VI. Interim Committee

An Interim Committee shall be elected by the several national associations as follows:

United States	5
British Isles	5
Australasia	2
Canada	2
Africa	1

Casual vacancies shall be filled by the national association in whose representation the vacancy occurs. The secretary of such national association as shall be named by the rising Council shall convene the Committee, which should be elected at the earliest opportunity after the rising of the Council.

The Interim Committee shall deal with all subjects referred to it by the

Council, and with all other matters affecting the Council that may arise outside those governed by the following section.

The national association of the country where the Council is to meet shall undertake the following duties:

1. The work of preparing for the ensuing Council
2. The drafting of the Program in conference with the Interim Committee
3. The allotment of representation, according to Section III, in the countries where the Congregational Churches are not in the association.

VII. Meetings

The Council shall meet at intervals of ten years, the time and place to be determined by the Council itself, or in the absence of definite action by the Council, by the Interim Committee. The Interim Committee shall have authority to make such changes in time and place of the Council meeting as may appear to it necessary or desirable.

VIII. Program

The National Council or Union for the country where the Council is to meet shall be primarily responsible for the work of preparing for the ensuing meeting of the Council. It shall prepare the program through its regular or special Committees in conference with the Interim Committee. It shall determine the allotment of representation according to Section III of countries where the Congregational churches are not in the association.

IX. Rules

The rules governing the proceedings of the Council shall be the customary rules governing the national body of Congregational churches in the country in which the Council convenes. The Council may adopt such special rules for its own government as it shall from time to time determine.

X. Amendments

The Constitution may be amended at any meeting of the Council by a two-thirds vote of the members present and voting, provided no national delegates object. In case of the objection of any national delegation the amendment proposed shall first be referred to the several national bodies represented in the Council and shall be acted upon at the next regular meeting. No amendment shall be voted upon on the day on which it is proposed.

On recommendation of the Committee on Resolutions there was adopted the following "Address to World-wide Congregationalism":

ADDRESS TO WORLD-WIDE CONGREGATIONALISM

The representatives of the Congregational Churches of the World assembled in International Council in Boston would address the widespread fellowship of these churches united together in common allegiance to their Lord, and desirous of doing His will in the momentous and perplexing days in which they live.

On this three hundredth anniversary of the establishment of Congregational principles on American soil by the landing of the Pilgrims, they would recall with filial appreciation the lasting motives by which these pioneers were animated for their heroic work.

Those Pilgrims of three centuries ago were dominated by a profound conviction of the reality of God. God was to them not merely the greatest, but the nearest of all beings, touching their lives at all points, commanding their utmost loyalty of service. His was a Lordship before which any

merely earthly lordship, whether in church or state, sank into insignificance. Interwoven with this great thought of God as in immediate relationship with every event of human life, was their conception of themselves as fellow-workers with God for the accomplishment of His will. Closely bound up with this conception was the thought of individual responsibility. To these pioneers their relationship to God and to the divine purposes was a direct and personal matter, involving a sense of personal obligation as of those living "forever in the great Taskmaster's eye."

And, finally, out of the sense of fellowship with God in the accomplishment of His will and of individual responsibility, came, rather as a consequence than by primary intention, their democracy, their sense of the duty and responsibility of the individual in church and state alike, and his right of participation in all that makes for the common welfare.

These principles are still vital. We would emphasize, as did they, the thought of God, as regnant over all human life, as our first object of allegiance, revealed to us in the life and teaching of our Lord Jesus Christ, as the beginning and end, not merely of our salvation, but of all right living, right relationship, and all true interpretation of the universe and its meaning.

As we look about upon the world with its revived paganism, its lessened sense of personal obligation, its eagerness for the pleasures and satisfactions of the present, which we see manifested in all lands; or even when we consider that far nobler conception of life which sees its ideal in effort for the betterment of the material, educational and intellectual conditions of human living, we feel profoundly convinced that the imperative necessity of this age is the controlling conviction of the reality, the Lordship, the Fatherhood of God, of man's responsibility to Him, and of His guidance of the destinies, not merely of individuals, but of the nations. This fundamental religious conviction which nerved our fathers, we hold today to be sufficient for the needs of men. It gives courage in the midst of the struggles of life. It points the road toward solution of the personal problems with which men are confronted, and which underlie commercial, industrial and political life.

So important and fundamental do we regard this quickening sense of the reality of God, and of our obligation to Him, that we could well rest our message to the churches on their obligation as its witnesses. But several applications of the Puritan principles of great, even if of relatively subordinate, importance, deserve earnest consideration.

We rejoice that the great World War from which we have so recently emerged wrought no division in the ranks of world-wide Congregationalism. There were grave differences, many searchings of heart which might have led to serious cleavage, but no schism or estrangement.

That terrific struggle has brought in its wake questions of far-reaching importance, a testing of the foundations of things which had seemed established, an over-turning of the older order, the end of which no man can see, and which promises long-continued turmoil in the life of the nations. Out of the confusion there emerges, dimly indeed it is true, the conception of certain great fundamental possibilities of a better and more Christian world, to the realization of which the efforts of Christian people should be pledged, and in which their hopes and expectations are enlisted.

First we believe that there may be a more Christian relation of nation with nation; that while the age-long process of struggle, of jealousy and misunderstanding probably will not immediately disappear, a strength which shall go far ultimately to overcome their evils may be given to those forces which make for good-will, for justice, for mutual understanding and brotherly cooperation between nation and nation.

Our fathers were, as we are, lovers of justice. The establishment of courts within a nation through which justice may be administered is a

fundamental basis of our civilization. We hope for the day when controversies between nations may be determined in like manner, in a world court rather than by war. We therefore pray that the Commission under the League of Nations, now working to perfect the form of such a court, may be able to propose a plan to which the nations will agree.

We register, moreover, our earnest hope that the noble ideal of a League of Nations to make future wars impossible may not fail for the lack of the support of the nation which more than any other gave to the world the conception of such a League. We pray that the Treaty of Peace and the Covenant of the League of Nations, either as now proposed or as they shall be adapted by reservations to be agreed upon as necessary and righteous by the President and Senate of the United States of America, and accepted by the other high contracting Powers, shall yet avail to unite the free nations of the earth in a covenant of mutual confidence and open dealing, to the end that wars shall cease, and the sacrifice of recent years end in a durable and righteous peace, and in the permanent establishment of justice and international good-will.

The Council furthermore views with satisfaction the acceptance by the Signatory Powers of the doctrine that European nations shall administer native areas in Africa and Polynesia as trustees regardful of the real interests of dependent and weaker communities, and it prays that the League of Nations may be empowered to see that the real necessities of dependent peoples are duly considered in every region so administered; and that these principles may be accepted equally by all nations already exercising protectorate or control of weaker peoples in any part of the world.

The Council notes with regret that the ideals which inspired our peoples, and gave valor to our sons in the world war are already in many places growing dim. It believes that they should still be potent in all diplomatic procedure affecting the nations of the world. Let no meaner motives obscure great moral issues. We urge upon citizens and statesmen alike the courage of the adventure of faith.

The Council endorses the historic contention of our churches in regard to freedom of thought and of speech on all matters vital to a nation's life, and deplores any tendencies to depart from these principles. The Council notes with approval that the long struggle for woman's suffrage has been practically won in all English-speaking lands, and welcomes the participation of women in political duties and privileges, praying that they may be of utmost service to the true interests of the body-politic in the use of their new rights.

Secondly, we would labor for the betterment of the relations between man and man, that each may receive the due reward of his effort, whether of the labor of the brain or of the hand, that injustice and oppression may be done away; and that the solution of the present conflicts between labor and capital may be sought in the application to each party of a common rule, not of self-seeking struggle for the utmost that either can obtain for itself, but of joint contribution to the common good. We commend those constructive efforts which are being made throughout the English-speaking world to secure to labor as well as to capital effective shares in industry and in the determination of wages and conditions of life, that a more Christian industrial order, in which the rights of all elements receive their just value, may be wrought out. May the spirit of service, which is the spirit of Christ, dominate and replace, so far as the influence of these churches may bring it about, that spirit of selfishness which is equally deserving of condemnation wherever manifested. We believe that the churches should be ready to lead by teaching and example in all practicable endeavors to achieve just and Christian relations between men.

We believe that a third necessity of the present is a closer relation between the churches which own the common lordship of Christ. Our Con-

gregational churches have never claimed to be the only true churches. They have been ready to recognize their fellow-believers, however organized, as of the one body of which Christ is the head; but the age demands a closer cooperation between the divided forces of Christianity, that they may present a more united front to the powers of evil. We believe that the unity of the church is necessary to its fullest witness for Christ and His Gospel to our generation and to those to come. Our divisions prevent a most serious hindrance to the appeal of Christianity. We therefore urge on our churches cooperation in any wisely-planned efforts that may be made for the federation or union of the now divided forces of Christianity and that may look towards a larger fulfilment of our Master's prayer for His disciples, that they all may be one.

Four means there are by which every Congregationalist may bear his share as God gives him opportunity to meet the needs of the age in which he lives. First, *legislation*. As a member of the body-politic he should favor such laws as shall contribute to justice, clean living, and helpful relations between man and man. But legislation, to be effective, must be based on public opinion; and public opinion, to be valuable, must be intelligent, and hence we commend to our Congregational fellowship the freest and fullest discussion of the application of Christian principles to the necessities of our time, and the strengthening of every useful instrumentality of *education* by which we may develop that which has been always our Congregational ideal, a full-rounded, intelligent manhood and womanhood. Above all, we would urge the need, imperative now as always, of the proclamation of the Christian message through wise *evangelization* to those who do not now own the lordship of Christ, whether at home or abroad; the upbuilding of every power for the nurture of childhood and maturer age in Christian living, and for the employment of every agency with which God has entrusted us by prayer, by money, and by personal effort, for the increase of His Kingdom.

The vision of world-brotherhood which seeks political expression in a League of Nations has, for the Church, a broader scope and a profounder meaning. The Church is already possessed by faith of that Kingdom of God which the Lord came to establish. In that Kingdom there are no distinctions of nations or of races or of classes. Within its boundaries are gathered all the manifold interests of human life. This Council, therefore, pledges itself and urges those to whom it speaks to the discharge of the sacred obligations of world service. Let the hand of help be stretched forth in aid to those racked by famine, disease, inward strife, and oppression. Above all we summon the churches to carry forward with unstinted devotion the missionary tasks to which they have long since set their hands. May increasing efforts be made to plant and nurture in every non-Christian country a native church of Christ that shall be inspired with His spirit, by which the life of that land may be transformed and Christianized.

The world, groping its way blindly through shadows, is in need of the light of the glory of God shining from the face of Jesus Christ. It is ours to help to bear that light, swiftly, surely, triumphantly, to all the ends of the earth. In view of the greatness of these tasks, and conscious of the insufficiency of human resources, the Council commends the churches to the sufficiency that is in God.

RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED BY THE AMERICAN DELEGATES

On the call of Dr. James L. Barton, president of the International Congregational Council, a conference of the American delegates of the Council was held in Mechanics Hall, Boston, Mass., July 5th, 1920. President Henry Churchill King, moderator of the National Council, presided, and

stated that in deference to an earnest desire for some action relative to the attitude of America toward the League of Nations a group of American delegates had certain resolutions to suggest. He then called upon Dr. Charles S. Mills of Montclair, N. J., to present the resolutions. Dr. Mills stated that when the resolutions were put into his hand he felt that a further statement was essential to their interpretation, and that in conference with other delegates, two of them in the group by which the original draft had been prepared, a paragraph had been inserted. The resolutions were then read and adopted unanimously, as follows:

RESOLVED that the American Delegates to the International Congregational Council representing every section of the country respectfully ask the nominees of the Republican Party, the Hon. Warren G. Harding and the Hon. Calvin Coolidge, and the nominees of the Democratic Party, the Hon. James M. Cox and the Hon. Franklin D. Roosevelt, to make a public statement at the earliest possible moment that, if elected, they will make every effort in conjunction with the Senate to have the United States enter the League of Nations, in order that America may assume its full share of the responsibility of promoting international justice and preserving international peace.

This resolution is not intended to preclude the adoption of such interpretative reservations as may be deemed essential to safeguard the life and independence of America without nullifying our loyal adherence to the objective of the League.

RESOLVED that a committee be appointed to present this resolution consisting of President Henry Churchill King, chairman, moderator of the National Council; James L. Barton, president of the International Congregational Council, and the living ex-moderators of the National Council, T. C. McMillan, Nehemiah Boynton, Henry M. Beardsley, Charles R. Brown, William Horace Day, this committee to stand during the campaign and to have power to add to its numbers.

LETTERS RECEIVED

April 30th, 1920.

TO REV. HUBERT HERRING, D.D., *Secretary*,
The Congregational Council (International),
Boston, U. S. A.

Dear Brother,

The members of the Congregational Union and Home Mission of Western Australia send greetings to the Pan-Congregational Council meeting in Boston this year.

We are deeply conscious of the significance of this year in Congregational history, when throughout the world Congregationalists will be commemorating the Tercentenary of the Landing of the Pilgrim Fathers in America. We in Western Australia will be joining in these remembrances of those great men who made the great venture of faith, and who laid the foundations of our Church work in America so securely.

We pray that the meetings of the Pan-Congregational Council will be abundantly blessed by the conscious presence of the Holy Spirit, and that we in Australia may receive a part of the blessing.

We remain,

Yours in the work of the Master,

REGINALD E. CHAPMAN, *Chairman*.

W. LEWELLYN WILLIAMS, *Chairman-elect*.

REV. RICHARD J. WELLS
Secretary

REV. HUBERT C. HERRING, D.D.
Secretary, National Congl. Council

PRES. HENRY CHURCHILL KING, LL.D.
Moderator National Council

PRES W. DOUGLAS MACKENZIE, LL.D.
Chairman, Committee of Arrangements



April 21st, 1920.

TO THE PRESIDENT AND DELEGATES
FOURTH INTERNATIONAL CONGREGATIONAL CONFERENCE,
Boston, U. S. A.

Dear Brethren,

On behalf of the Congregational Union of New Zealand, I desire to convey our warm fraternal greetings. Unable to unite with you in the great assembly of representatives, we desire to assure you of our deep interest, and we pray that the Divine blessing may crown all your efforts; and direct you in all your deliberations.

Especially shall we think of you as you visit the places made sacred by the labors and blood of the noble men of the *Mayflower*. You and we cannot dedicate — cannot consecrate — cannot hallow that ground. The brave souls who struggled there have done that beyond our power to add or detract. It is rather for the living to dedicate themselves afresh to the unfinished work of the noble dead. As we are stirred and inspired by the memory of those heroic souls in Holland and America, whom we, equally with you, are proud to claim kinship, may their spirit become ours, inspiring us to greater efforts in all that pertains to the Kingdom of God and the universal and invisible Church of our Lord Jesus Christ.

With every good wish and earnest prayer for the spiritual success of your gatherings, Believe me,

Yours fraternally,

ARCH. E. HUNT, *Secretary C. U. of N. Z.*

REV. CLIFFORD H. SMITH,
289 Fourth Ave., New York, U. S. A.

April 28th, 1920.

My Dear Mr. Smith,

The invitation to our native churches to be represented at the International Council has been conveyed to them in a circular letter sent to each church, in which I sought to give them some idea of the scope of the Council and the problems before it. It is of course impossible for these churches, struggling to maintain the self-support, which they assumed years ago, in the difficult times that have come to them with the greatly increased cost of living, to send a delegate across the seas. There has been no gathering of any official body of these churches since your invitation arrived through which their appreciation could be officially expressed, but I have had a number of individual letters from pastors expressing gratitude that they were remembered.

Our Zulu churches are passing through very serious times. The high Puritan principles of character that have been inculcated in them from their birth are being severely tested by their contact with materialistic European civilization at the great industrial centers. The economic conditions in which they find themselves are extremely hard. The social unrest which finds expression in Bolshevism has penetrated even to the natives and they are in danger of being used by unscrupulous agitators to the endangering of the civilization of this land and to their own destruction. Strikes and riots under the red flag have already occurred. Never was there greater need of holding up the banner of the Cross, and in spite of, nay, perhaps because of, the unfavorable situation referred to, never was there a time when the Cross could be more effectively preached than today.

Because of the short-handed condition of our Mission force it is impossible for us to send, as we should like to do, any contribution to the Exhibits. We can only send assurance of our devout interest in all that this great Council will mean for our Denomination and for the Kingdom, and of our prayers for God's blessing upon it.

Sincerely yours,

JAMES DEXTER TAYLOR.

May 7, 1920.

CLIFFORD H. SMITH, *Secretary*
 International Congregational Council
 Fourth Decennial Meeting
 Boston, Mass., U. S. A.

Dear Mr. Smith:

In reply to your letter dated January 21, 1920, I am enclosing a letter from the Chinese Church of Foochow to the International Congregational Council. As you will not be able to read the Chinese I herewith send you a translation of the same.

"President Mackenzie:—We have the honor to inform you that we have received and read your illustrious letter; and we have the honor to learn that the International Congregational Council, which meets once in ten years, is due now, right after the great war, when the world has come to a new epoch, and new issues are to be faced. And also that it is three hundred years since the Congregational Church came to America, the pioneer of Protestantism. For these two eminent events,

you gentlemen plan to open a meeting in Boston for the purpose of commemoration and celebration. When we had this good news reach our ears, our eyebrows quivered with happiness. We think that when our Congregational Church has received the encouragement from the impressions (of the meeting) greater progress will be attained, and good fruits will be amply harvested in the future beyond what we can anticipate. We, here, with great joy, respectfully appoint delegates: Messrs. Hubbard, Newell, and Belcher, with their wives, to bring our

Congratulations and to listen to

Your honorable instructions. Now, we beseech the Holy Spirit, in His fulness, to brood over the meeting, in order that all the important problems may be solved, and that we may all be enabled to carry out the decisions arrived at; and that

the Gospel of our Lord may soon spread around the whole world, and the myriad families, tribes and nations may be brought under subjection to the Kingdom of Heaven, with a loud shout, singing "Halleluiah, Amen." We therefore write this humble letter wishing

you happiness and hoping for

your indulgence with our crude greetings.

The Foochow Congregational Council,

(Signed)

President, LING IU CU

Vice-Pres., LI NGUKLUK

Eng. Sec'y., W. H. TOPPING

Chi. Sec'y., LI NU TUNG."

Very cordially yours,

W. H. TOPPING, *Eng. Sec'y.*

THE COUNCIL SERMON

THE DOCTRINE OF DEVELOPMENT

REV. J. D. JONES

JOHN 16 : 14 — "*He shall glorify Me; for He shall take of Mine, and shall declare it unto you.*"

This is a great passage about the office and function of the Spirit. The Spirit has a work to do so far as the "world" — the hostile, unbelieving world — is concerned. He is to convict it of sin and righteousness and judgment. When the Christian preacher proclaims his message, he is not the only person at work — the Spirit vindicates the truth of his message by using it for the conviction and conversion of the hearts of his hearers. The first preachers of the Gospel were blessedly conscious of the work of the Spirit in this regard. "My speech — my preaching," says St. Paul, speaking of his experiences among the Corinthians, "were not in persuasive words of wisdom but in demonstration of the Spirit and of power."

But the Spirit has not only a work to do in and upon "the world," He has also a great work to do for the disciples themselves. He has to take Christ's place and continue Christ's work and lead them into truth which of necessity Christ Himself had to leave unrevealed. "I have yet many things to say unto you, but ye cannot bear them now," Jesus has said just above in verse 12. I do not think it is fanciful to detect a certain wistful regret, a certain tone of disappointment, in that sentence. The Twelve often tried the patience of their Master by their slowness to believe. At best they were dull scholars. There were whole reaches of truth into which Jesus would fain have introduced them, which He had to leave unexplored. And the fault was not His, but theirs. It was not that He was unwilling to impart, it was that they were unable to receive. The power of the teacher to give is always limited by the ability of the scholar to receive. Mr. Prejudice and his sixty deaf men were so completely in possession of the minds and hearts of the Twelve that they were absolutely impervious to certain aspects of truth which he wished to convey to them. Bishop Westcott suggests that what was specially in Jesus' mind at this point was the meaning of the Saviour. Again and again He had tried to speak of it. But the disciples would listen to no hint of dying. What they were dreaming about was not a Cross but a Throne. Christ would fain have talked to them about His Cross, its meaning, its purpose, as He did after His Resurrection to the two disciples on the way to Emmaus. But the disciples could not, or would not, listen. And now he had come to the eve of his dying and all the things he would like to have told them had to remain unsaid. "I have yet many things to say unto you, but ye cannot bear them now." It would have been an added bitterness to the already bitter cup of our Lord if He had thought that the many things He had wished to say to His disciples would have to remain *forever* unsaid. But He comforted Himself as He comforted the disciples, with the promise of the coming of the Spirit. The Spirit would be truly His vicar, His *alter ego*. The Spirit would continue and complete His work; the spirit would carry His teaching. The Spirit would lead the disciples into all truth — the truth which He Himself had perforce to leave unrevealed. He would tell them these things which He Himself was leaving unsaid, "He shall take of Mine and shall reveal it unto you." The Twelve

were not to remain forever uninstructed, blinded, ignorant; taught by the Spirit, their career was to be one of growing enlightenment, of ever enlarging understanding of the truth, and especially of a clearer, richer, deeper apprehension of the Person and Work of Jesus Christ Himself.

But the promise is not to be limited to the first disciples, to whom it was originally given. The promise is for the Christian Church of all time. To us as to the Twelve the Spirit is given. His work today is the same as His work then. He takes of the things of Christ, reveals them unto us. For Christ is not even yet a Christ fully explored and exhaustively known. There are heights in Him which we have not scaled, and depths in Him which we have not fathomed, and breadths in Him which we have not traversed. And the Spirit is ever leading us into a fuller apprehension of the truth as it is in Jesus, helping us to clearer views of His glory who is "full of grace and truth." That is to say, the promise here given quite clearly contemplates and indeed foretells a certain growth and development in the understanding of Christian truth.

But while our Lord's word here contemplates growth and development, it also suggests the limits within which such growth and development must always proceed. It is an ever enlarging knowledge of Christ the Spirit gives. The Truth He reveals has been all the while implicit, resident in Christ. In Him dwelleth all the fulness of the Godhead; in Him are all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge hidden. What the Spirit does is to take of this infinite "treasure" and turn it into the current coin of our thought and worship. The Spirit does not, so to speak, invent new truth. He works ever within the sphere of Christ and the result of His work is ever to make Christ more glorious, more wonderful, more Divine, "He shall glorify Me for He shall take of Mine and reveal it unto you." So in the sentence of my text I find these three things, — the fact of development, the limits of development and the results of development. I want to speak briefly upon each of these three points.

Here then, to begin with, we have the fact of development announced, "He shall take of Mine and shall reveal it unto you." It was a promise originally to the eleven. And it was a promise gloriously fulfilled in their case, as their subsequent history abundantly proves. The disciples knew their Lord better after He had gone from them, than they did while He was still with them. They understood His purposes better, the whole meaning of His mission to this world, after the cloud had received Him out of their sight, than they did while He walked with them the ways of Galilee. The merest glance at the New Testament is sufficient to convince us of this. A whole world of difference, for instance, separated the John who wanted to call down fire from heaven upon some discourteous Samaritans, from the John who wrote the first Epistle.

And with the growing understanding there went necessarily a recasting and a reshaping of the forms of their belief. "The Kingdom" was perhaps the central theme of our Lord's speech in the Galilean days. To His disciples the term suggested an earthly, material, temporal empire — a glorified edition of Cæsar's. Nothing our Lord could say or do could penetrate through their Jewish prejudices. A Kingdom of love won by sacrifice was not in all their thoughts. Whenever Jesus began to speak about death, they simply refused to listen. But the Spirit accomplished what Christ had to leave undone. There was a vast difference between the Peter who at the suggestion of death cried, "God forbid, this shall never be unto Thee," and the Peter who could preach that it was through death God exalted Christ to be a Prince and a Saviour, not to establish a Kingdom of earthly glory, but to give repentance and remission of sins and to found a great spiritual commonwealth in which the Gentiles also were fellow heirs.

This same fact of development is quite easily traceable in the life and career of St. Paul. He constantly grew in grace and in the knowledge of

his Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. And with his growth in knowledge there went a continued recasting of the forms in which he held his faith. There is a very considerable difference between the Paul who wrote the letter to the Thessalonians and the Paul who wrote the letters to the Ephesians. I need not multiply words on this point. The facts are sufficiently plain and obvious. The story of the disciples is that of men who grew in their understanding of the truth as it is in Jesus, and whose growing understanding carried with it a certain amount of re-statement, as their own epistles testify.

But once again, the promise of the guidance and illumination of the Spirit was not for the first disciples only. It was for all Christian people and for all time. This is the service which the Spirit still renders — He takes of the things of Christ and reveals them. He is constantly leading men into a fuller understanding of that truth of which Christ is the perfect embodiment. Theology is not static, it is kinetic; it is never fixed and rigid and stationary, it is always growing and progressive. Development is an inevitable consequence of the presence and activity of the Spirit. Our God is a living and present God. He did not finish speaking to men nineteen centuries ago. The oracles at Delphi and Dodona may be dumb, but God's voice has not fallen silent. I believe in what Dr. Horton calls the "*verbum Dei*," the authentic word of God spoken to living, breathing men today. I believe in the constant, unceasing revelation of the Spirit of God, the light that shineth more and more unto the perfect day.

In a sense there can never be a "last word" spoken. It can never be asserted that at any particular stage we have reached finality in truth. Not until we see God face to face shall we know even as we have been known. In this world of time we know in part and we prophesy in part. But the partial, under the teaching of the Spirit, may continually be approximating toward the complete. That is why we Congregationalists have consistently refused to bind ourselves down to any written formulary or creed. Not that we have no fixed and definite belief of our own. The essential Christian Gospel is indeed imbedded in our ecclesiastical position. And not that we undervalue those ancient and historic formularies in which preceding generations have expressed their faith. Those ancient creeds are invaluable as marking the stages in the Church's enlarging apprehension of Christian truth. But we do not believe that wisdom and spiritual discernment died with our fathers. We do not believe that the Spirit guided the men who formulated the Nicene creed or the Chalcedonian creed, or the Heidelberg Conference or the Westminster Confession, but has ceased to guide men since. We cannot, therefore, make the Church Fathers, or Martin Luther or John Calvin or the Assembly of Divines the limit of the truth. We are bound to believe with our great leader, John Robinson, that God has still more light and truth to break forth from His word for the simple reason that we believe in the present-day guidance and inspiration of the Spirit of God.

And if we bring all this to the test of facts we cannot fail to recognize, as we look back over the Christian centuries, that the Spirit has been taking of the things of Christ and revealing them to His people. The history of the Christian Church has been a history of growth and progress in the apprehension of the truth as it is in Jesus. We may not be able to mark the progress from day to day, but the progress is unmistakable when we take a bird's-eye view over long stretches of time. No one, for instance, can compare this century of ours with the fourth or fifth or mediæval centuries, or even with Reformation times, without noticing an immense change of thought and belief, a change which I do not hesitate to say is altogether to the good, and has brought us nearer to the central truth of things. And as men's apprehension of Christian truth has grown, the intellectual forms

in which Christian faith has expressed itself have had to be modified and changed. Again and again people have found the formularies that satisfied the fathers too narrow and limited and confined, and have cried out, "The place is too straight for me; give place to one that I may dwell." It has been found to be as impossible to put the widening conception of Christian truth into the old creedal forms as it would be—to use our Lord's simile—to put new wine into old bottles.

Take the central doctrine of the Atonement—which Bishop Westcott thinks was the particular matter Christ had in His mind when He first uttered these words—as an illustration. The Cross is absolutely central to the Gospel and without the Cross there is no Gospel left at all. The good news of the Christian faith centres in the proclamation that God in Christ and in the Cross dealt seriously with sin and made an ethical forgiveness possible. Nothing is a Gospel to a broken and sinful world which does not bring to it a promise of emancipation and release from sin and death. But while the Cross is the very heart of the Gospel and has been so all down the centuries, the doctrine of the Atonement—the intellectual statement of what was accomplished on the Cross—has had a history, and its history has been one of ceaseless change and development. It meant one thing to Augustine and another thing to Anselm and another thing to Grotius, and another to Calvin and our Puritan forefathers, and it means another thing to us today. I am not suggesting that the full truth is with any one view. All the views put together do not give us the full explanation of that mighty act in which the grace of God dealt and dealt finally with human sin. When we have looked at the Cross from every standpoint there is still

"A deep below the deep,
And a height beyond the height,
And our hearing is not hearing,
And our seeing is not sight."

But what I am suggesting is this, that old theories of the Atonement are continually proving themselves inadequate in face of the ever enlarging understanding of Christ which the Spirit imparts to men. Or take our conception of God. Under the influence of John Calvin—that mighty and rigorous thinker—the dominant conception of God held by our fathers was that of Sovereign. I am not here to utter a single word in depreciation of the Calvinists; they were great men and they accomplished a mighty task, for they broke the back of tyranny and won freedom for our English-speaking world. Nor am I going to repudiate the doctrine of the Sovereignty. It stands for an abiding truth. It is the guarantee of order and purpose in the world's life. It was the great truth on which many of us steadied ourselves during the long agony of the war. But since John Calvin's day men have been sitting at the feet of Christ and learning of Him. And the result is that we have come to realize that God must be expressed not in terms of bare Sovereignty but in terms of Sovereign Fatherhood. The Spirit has been taking of the things of Christ and revealing them unto us.

Every article of our Christian creed almost would illustrate the same fact of development. We do not stand where our fathers did and we do not state our belief as they stated theirs. There has been steady growth in the apprehension of truth, and consequently continuous change in the statement of it. The heterodoxy of yesterday is the orthodoxy of today and the heterodoxy of today may be the orthodoxy of tomorrow. The ceaseless revealing of the Spirit involves the necessity of continuous re-statement. For I have no hesitation at all in asserting that in all the change that has taken place the Spirit has been at work. I am not asserting that no errors have been made, that no reactions have taken place, that no real

heresies have appeared. What I am asserting is that, taking the long review, the changes that have taken place are due to a real advance in men's knowledge and appreciation of Christ. "We know Christ," Dr. Fairbairn says, "with an immediacy of knowledge the world has never possessed before."

That then is the first point my text suggests, that the Presence and Activity of the Spirit involves a continuous revelation and therefore a constant need for change in theological statement. We simply cannot state today's faith in yesterday's language. But there are multitudes of people to whom change, especially theological change, is extremely distasteful. Religiously there is a good deal of the conservative in every one of us. Dr. Gordon in his sermon at the last Council said that the presence of the Holy Spirit is more talked about and less believed in than any other truth in our faith. We trust the Spirit, he said, only when He is orthodox in belief and practice. The charge is true. We stick to the old ways; we love the old and familiar words; we like the old way of putting things. We have very little of the "adventurer" in our make-up. But change is in the nature of things and it need not distress us. I do not say that every new thing is necessarily true. We must try the Spirits whether they be of God. But what I do say is that the Church is still under the guidance and inspiration of the Spirit of God. Such a church can never be really on the "down grade." The changes that come are bound to be changes that bring us nearer the truth of things. If that which passeth away was with glory, much more that which remaineth is in glory.

But my text not only announces the fact of development but it also suggests the lines and limits within which that development will proceed. "He shall take of Mine and reveal it unto you." It was into a fuller understanding of Christ the Spirit would lead these first disciples. Christ was to be, so to speak, the text upon which the Spirit was to be the commentator. Christ was to be at once the sphere and the limit of the spirit's revelation. The spirit was not a new authority giving an independent revelation of His own. He was Christ's Interpreter. "He shall take of mine and reveal it unto you." It is within that same sphere the Spirit still works. What He reveals to men are truths which are all the while involved and implicit in the Person and Words and Work of Jesus Christ Himself.

The Roman Church has undoubtedly got hold of a great truth in its doctrine of development which Newman did so much to popularize. The Roman Church declares itself to be the organ of the Spirit, and as the organ of the Spirit it claims the power of developing and perfecting Christian doctrine. It is in virtue of this power that from time to time Papal decrees are issued imposing some fresh article of belief, as the Immaculate Conception and Papal Infallibility, upon faithful Catholics. Now the fact of development is indisputable. The mistake the Roman Church makes is that it oversteps the limits. That is to say, that its developments are not so much developments as accretions and innovations. For a thing to be a genuine development it must be contained, it must be implicit, in the germ. The oak tree is a legitimate development of the acorn, but we cannot accept it as the legitimate development say of the potato. The mature growth must spring naturally from the seed. If I may borrow a scientific phrase, the development must be "in conformity with type." Now the germ in the case of the Christian Revelation is Christ Himself. Every truth that purports to be a Christian truth must be found *in Christ*. He is the norm to which every new revelation must conform; he is the test by which the truth of every new doctrine must be tried. For what the Spirit does is to take of the things of Christ and reveal them unto us.

The Spirit does not create new truth; he only unveils truth which has always dwelt in Christ but which has more or less been hidden from us. Strictly speaking, it is a mistake to call a truth new. There is no such thing

as new truth. Truth is as eternal as God. It can only be new in the sense of being new to us. We British folk have a trick of speaking of this continent of yours as "the new world." But really it is no more new than our Europe; it is only newly discovered. We talk about new stars. But ever since those heavens were stretched out above our earth, these stars have shone in it. They are only new in the sense that astronomers have newly found them. Occasionally our newspapers trumpet the announcement of a new chemical element or proclaim the discovery of some new physical law. But the chemical element has really always been present and the law has always been operating. Galileo, Kepler, Darwin, Ramsay — they only discovered things which though hidden from men's eyes had been always there. These things are really all ancient; they are new only in the sense of being newly discovered and recently known.

And it is very much the same with Christian truth. We speak about the new truths we have discovered in these latter days. New? No! No Christian truth is ever new. It sounds paradoxical, yet nevertheless it is true to say that if a so-called truth is new it is neither Christian nor true. All Christian truth is old. All Christian truth is already contained in Christ. What happens is that from time to time we make fresh discoveries out of the depths of truth contained in Him. Truth once came into the world with her Divine Master, says Milton, and was a perfect shape most glorious to look upon, but after His departure, Truth was hewn into a thousand pieces and scattered to the four winds. And ever since, the friends of truth have been going up and down gathering up limb by limb, still as they could find them. And that is so. Every truth discovered is but a fragment of the truth of Christ. He is the Truth. He sums up and contains all Divine truth within Himself and all the Spirit does is to take of Him and reveal it unto us.

Take any of the more recent developments and does not each of them illustrate this point? Our new conception of God as Father, was not that already "in Christ," was not that indeed the truth about God which He came specially to declare? Our new conception of the Kingdom, our new sense of social obligation — was not that truth also in Christ? We may possibly over-emphasize the social Gospel because of the neglect in which it has lain for so long. But at any rate it is implicit in the Sermon on the Mount, in the Great Commandments, in the parable of Dives and Lazarus. The marvel is not that we should have discovered it but that preceding ages should have missed it so long. Our new ideas of the sweep and outreach of the love of God — were they not also in Christ — in the story of His visit to Sychar, in His dealings with the Syro-Phœnician woman, in the parables of the lost sheep — the lost son? The marvel is, not that the missionary enterprise should have started when it did; the marvel is that Christian people should for so long have remained indifferent to the needs of those "other sheep" which were out of their fold.

These recent developments are not new truths — they are eternal truths newly discovered. The miner discovers a diamond or a gold seam today — but the diamond and the gold seam have been there in the earth waiting for the blow of his pick to bring them to light for thousands of years. We have discovered a flashing diamond or two of truth, a golden seam or two of truth during these recent years. But they were in Christ all along. The Spirit has only taken of Him and revealed them unto us. And just because Christ is an inexhaustible mine of truth there are fresh discoveries still to be made and new developments yet to take place. The growth of the Church on earth and the eternal growth of the Church in heaven will be a growth in the knowledge of the grace, wisdom and love of Christ.

Christ is the sphere and the limit of the Spirit's operations; it follows, therefore, that Christ is the test of everything that presents itself to us as a new revelation. The doctrine of the presence of the revealing Spirit does

not mean that we can neglect the historic Jesus as given to us in the Gospels and ratified in the experience of the Christian Church. The antithesis between the religion of authority and the religion of the Spirit is only partially true. Even the Spirit acknowledges an authority; He is free only within the limits of Christ. Without some norm, some standard by which every so-called new truth can be tested, how is any one to know whether that supposed truth is a revelation of the Spirit or just a creation of his own imagination? The doctrine of the Spirit when cut off from all relation to the objective and historic Jesus may easily degenerate into sheer and naked subjectivism. And naked subjectivism ends in chaos. Naked subjectivism makes to itself gods after its own likeness. Naked subjectivism means that every man is a law to himself. It is at our peril we forget that many of the extravagances — fanaticisms that have shamed the Christian Church — have paraded themselves and defended themselves as revelations of the Spirit.

How shall we know whether some new view is a revelation of the Spirit or not? By bringing it to the test of the historic Christ. If it is a genuine revelation of the Spirit we shall find that it is already implicit in Him. "Beloved," says St. John, "believe not every spirit, but try the spirits whether they are of God, because many false prophets are gone out into the world." Even in these early days the Church was challenged by those who professed they had new revelations to offer and higher truths to disclose. The Apostle takes up no obscurantist attitude toward them. He does not attempt to place these new things under the ban simply because they are new. But before accepting them he bids his readers put them to the proof, and the proof he proposes is Christ. That is the test we must apply still. Christianity is the historic faith which originates with Christ. It is the faith of which Christ Himself is the sum and substance. It is the faith which proclaims Christ not simply as Teacher and Master but as Saviour and Redeemer and Divine Lord. It is the faith whose mighty assertions present themselves to us, confirmed and ratified by the redeemed experience of innumerable thousands of God's saints. It is not within the competence of any man to invent a system of his own and then label it Christian. Every scheme that pretends to be Christian must prove itself to be "in Christ." It must demonstrate itself to be the legitimate development of Christ's teaching and the explication of His Person and Work.

And I take the liberty of saying that many of the schemes that propose themselves for our acceptance in these days, many of these systems which parade themselves as "New Thought" and the rest of it, which minimize sin, if they do not wholly deny it, which hide the Cross, which detract from the sole Saviourhood of Christ, do not seem to me developments of Christianity at all. They are perversions of it rather which reduce Him to the limits of a mere man. But the knowledge of Christ which is Spirit-given ever enhances His glory. There are certain things which are spiritually discerned — the glory of Christ is one of them. To the man who is led and illumined by the Spirit, Christ becomes ever more wonderful, more glorious, more Divine. In a sense, this becomes a second test of the truth of any new revelation that claims our allegiance — where does it place Christ? What does it do with Christ? Does it exalt Him and enhance His glory? That was the test John proposed, "Every spirit which confesseth that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh is of God; and every spirit which confesseth not Jesus is not of God." No system that lessens or impairs the dignity of our Lord commends itself to me as a genuine Christian development, for the effect of all the Spirit's illumination and revelation is to glorify Christ. It is those who, led by the Spirit, have come to know Him best, who adore Him most. And that is the question I ask myself with reference to every new development — Where does it place

Christ? What position does it give to Him? Nothing is Christianity which has not Him for foundation; nothing is Christianity which has not Him at the center; nothing is Christianity which does not exalt Him as Redeemer and Saviour; nothing is Christianity which does not give Him a place absolutely supreme and unshared.

And that is my one concern about these churches of ours. In their unfettered freedom which allows them to follow the leadings of the Spirit, in their openness of mind which makes them hospitable to new truth, I glory. It enables us from age to age to restate our Gospel in terms of current thought and speech. That freedom of ours gives us our opportunity in these days of radical and far-reaching change. But you will let me add this word — it will be woe to us if in our eagerness to follow new lights, we minimize the place of Christ. Our liberty will be our doom if we only use it to let go the Head. An emasculated Christology means an impoverished Gospel; and an impoverished Gospel means blight and decay.

So let us in these tremendous days "hold fast the Head." And let our churches be known as churches which, though free, exalt and glorify and magnify Christ. A mighty Christ means a mighty Church. And it is a mighty Christ I find in this book — the first, the last, the Living One, who became dead but who is alive; who has the keys of death and hell; the Conqueror of sin and the grave; the mighty Redeemer who bore our sins in His own body on to the tree and who can save to the very uttermost. That is our Christ — confirmed as the picture is by all the mighty experiences of the Christian centuries! It is with that mighty Christ we face our stricken world! It is that mighty Christ we proclaim. Not a pathetic memory, but a glorious Presence! Not a martyr for truth, but a Redeemer from sin. Not the best of men, but the mighty God! Let us preach that Christ, exalted, glorious, Divine. And power will come to us, triumph will come to us, for He, when He is lifted up, will draw all men to Himself.

ADDRESSES

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT

After his unanimous election as Moderator of the Council upon the nomination of Dr. J. D. Jones of Bournemouth, England, Dr. James L. Barton, in taking the chair, said:

"I would have a heart as hard and bloodless as the heart of a stone image not to be profoundly moved upon my election to this the highest office in the gift of world-wide Congregationalism. I interpret my election to this place of service as an expression of the world-embracing and world-winning spirit and purpose of our denomination as represented in this Council. I do not regard your action here taken as an invitation to an office, but as a command to the performance of a task, and in so much as lies within me I am in the hands of this International Congregational Council, met in this its Fourth Quadrennial Session, to give it the best I possess.

"Mine not to make reply;
Mine not to reason why;
Mine but to do and — try."

I recognize my Master's voice and await its command."

A WELCOME TO FOREIGN DELEGATES TO THE
INTERNATIONAL COUNCIL

PRESIDENT HENRY CHURCHILL KING

We are here to celebrate the three hundredth anniversary of the coming of the Pilgrim Fathers to America. It is made my pleasant duty, on behalf of the Congregational Churches of the United States — the hosts of the occasion — to welcome to this Tercentenary Celebration the delegates coming from all other lands, — from five continents.

We welcome the delegates from Great Britain, from Canada and Newfoundland, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa, and from missionary lands as well. The English-speaking peoples have a great, unforgettable, common heritage and need one another.

"O Englishmen! in hope and creed,
In word and tongue our brothers!
We too are heirs of Runnymede;
And Shakespeare's fame and Cromwell's deed
Are not alone our mother's."

We glory in the four thousand miles of undefended frontier between us and a great British possession. We glory in our hundred years of peace. We glory still more that we were allies in the greatest struggle the world has seen. For the peace of mind of foreign delegates, on my own responsibility, I take the liberty of adding, that the attitude of the United States Senate is no fair indication of the attitude of American people as to a League of Nations. It is unthinkable that there should be war between these English-speaking peoples. May this whole Council weave firm and strong both the ties which bind us in spiritual fellowship and those which unite us as nations; that together in the world's present dire need we may prove leaven unspoiled, living seed of the new kingdom that is still to be.

We welcome you most heartily, as those who share with us just pride in the Pilgrim achievement, and deep-felt gratitude for the Pilgrim and Puritan inheritance.

We welcome you to a celebration which we trust will be not only a record and reminder of the great positives of the Pilgrim and Puritan spirit, but a new embodiment of that spirit as well; as we shall here dedicate ourselves afresh to all that was highest and best in the life and faith of our spiritual forebears.

We may hope at least that in this Tercentenary we shall prove to be not of those who only "build the tombs of the prophets," long safely dead; but rather of those who here and now honor the living prophet, and make deep and honest response to what have long seemed to me to be the four great positives of the Pilgrim and Puritan spirit: the vision of God and of the spiritual world; the conviction of divine commission; the feeling of responsibility and accountability; and the resulting sense of the meaning and value of life. Seers, apostles, stewards, and *therefore* lovers of life! For the Pilgrims were certain that there is no "primrose path of dalliance" to abiding joy in life. Joy has deep and permanent roots only in moral and religious convictions. The Pilgrims and Puritans were not bored with life. They lived intensely. And they lived intensely, *because* their vision of God, their conviction of divine commission, and the consequent sense of responsibility and accountability girded them daily for zestful, significant living. For we cannot be too often reminded that a faith essentially religious logically underlies all our reasoning, all work worth doing, all earnest striving for character, all devoted social service.

And the four great elements of the Pilgrim spirit challenge us anew today. For what does the world need just now so much as men thrilled with a vision of God that makes petty our class and racial lines between men; men mastered by a conviction of divine commission, that calls not to flight from the world but to spiritual conquest of the world, and not to world domination but to world service; men moved by a feeling of responsibility and accountability, not to be shaken off, that keeps us at our daily job; and men with a consequent sense of the unfathomable meaning and value of life in fellowship with God?

As Paul wrote to the Romans, as "called to be saints," so I would welcome you today to this International Council, as called with us all by the spirit of the Fathers, to be seers, apostles, stewards and lovers of life.

THE CHURCH AND HER MINISTRY OF MERCY

REV. OWEN R. LOVEJOY, LL.D.

The opening session of this Pilgrim Tercentenary is a fitting occasion for the discussion of the ministry of mercy of the Christian church. To present even a sketch of such a service would be a delightful task, and we could appropriately praise ourselves for the good we have done. The record is tremendously impressive. Every age and every country have recorded the lives of prophets, teachers, missionaries, relief agents and martyrs who have proven their love for the race while proving their faith in the religion of Jesus.

But it is an even more fitting occasion for an analysis of the philosophy of the Founder of our Faith, and an attempt to adjust the stupendous machinery of organized Christianity to that philosophy. The urgency of the hour need not be argued — when we remember that in spite of 1,900 years of Christianity we have just passed through the greatest orgy of slaughter in the history of the world, a slaughter carried on by so-called Christian nations; when we remember that more people on earth will

starve than in any year of past history; and when we remember that more money will be raised and distributed for the relief of poverty than in any former year.

It is not our purpose to draw a picture of gloom, or even to suggest the failure of Christianity; but we must admit that if the problems the church has sought to solve are more intricate than ever, if poverty, famine and murder are more widespread, if property is held more sacred and life less sacred, we must be courageous enough to take our bearings and see where we are.

Let us suggest two or three aspects of the philosophy of Jesus as throwing light on the needs of the hour. Perhaps what impresses us most is the directness and simplicity of His life. Suppose it applied to some of our present economic problems — for example, the housing problem. He says, "Consider the birds of the air." Or to the problem of food shortage: He says, "Seek first the Kingdom of God and His righteousness and all these things shall be added." Or to the problem of clothing: He answers, "Consider the lilies of the field." We do not mean to suggest that we can meet the clothing profiteer by letting nature dress us as she dresses the lilies, but it does seem to mean that if man would exercise intelligence and live according to the divine law designed for man, as the birds and flowers live according to the divine law designed for birds and flowers, these problems could not exist.

Or note the simplicity, as well, of His approach to the problems of citizenship and political organization. He limits citizenship to children and those who have childlike characters, and the most scathing denunciation He ever voiced is against the one who puts an obstacle in the way of a little child. What mockery to the church in America that, stalking about in broad daylight in this twentieth century, a monster of child-neglect and exploitation, which makes outcasts of at least two million American children, should necessitate the organization and hectic labor of a National Child Labor Committee. Such an organization would seem fitting in the days when Moses stood in the brickyard of Egypt and watched little children stripped to the loins making bricks for the building operations of the King; but in 1920 it is a tragic anachronism.

THE VISIBLE CHURCH A MEANS, NOT AN END

A second aspect of His philosophy which throws light on our possible ministry of mercy is expressed in His words — "Except a kernel of wheat fall into the ground and germinate, it abideth alone; but if it germinate, it bringeth forth much fruit." No Christian ever questions this philosophy as applied to the individual. Why not, then, as applied to an institution? It cannot be denied that tremendous energy has been spent in the so-called Christian world in building up gigantic machinery, which, when built, has been regarded as too valuable and sacred to be soiled by contact with poor human life. To whatever extent Congregationalism has outstripped other Christian organizations in works of mercy, in educational campaigns, in a fight for liberty and justice, its success has been due to a willingness to look upon the institution as a means and not an end, willing to sacrifice its organism to its mission.

SCAPEGOAT SACRIFICE IS NOT CHRISTIAN

The third aspect of the philosophy of Jesus which would work as our guide in a ministry of mercy is His attitude toward sacrifice. Humanity has a fixed belief in the atonement. The idea of some easement in the exactions of the divine law is dear to the human heart. It found its early expression in the sacrifice of turtle doves, ewe lambs, bullocks, and even of children. It was the idea of vicarious sacrifice. The system was in its flower in the days of Jesus. With every great experience of His life He

sought to repudiate it. Not that He belittled the function of sacrifice. No student of human life can fail to recognize its value; but He justified only one kind of sacrifice, namely, the sacrifice of self. If the church is to be Christian, it must follow closely at this point. The idea that a scapegoat can be loaded with the sins of the people and driven off into the wilderness is an expression of spiritual cannibalism that appeals to a lazy morality. The results of it are obvious. It has lead the world into war, disaster, famine, imperial aggression, always on the theory that humanity requires and is justified in selecting a scapegoat. The present age bears its evidence. The submerged tenth is the scapegoat of the other nine-tenths. The tenement sections of our great cities are the scapegoat of the better housed. The woman of the red-light district is the scapegoat of the protected daughter of the avenue. The disinherited toiler we easily call "unskilled labor" is the scapegoat, not only of his employer, but of the skilled companions who prosper by his misfortune. The 250,000 annual toll of infant mortality is the slaughter of the innocents to appease the wrath of the omnipotent landlord and profiteer. The same fallacy complicates international relations. We have our inferior races, our subject nationalities, our doctrine of imperialism, our right to subjugate those lesser breeds without the law. Through the entire network of human relationships runs the scarlet tragedy of the right of one human life to survive and prosper at the expense of another. Not only the teaching and conduct of Jesus, but even His death, are a flat contradiction of all this, and in the last supper with His friends He said: What I am doing, you shall do, and as I am giving my life in defense of a great principle, so go forth prepared to give your lives in its defense.

What the world seems to need most today is an army of social engineers, adventurers into the rich realm of human possibility and human freedom. May not the Congregational Churches at this significant time be brave enough to undertake a frank application to all human relationships of the philosophy of Him who spake as never man spake, and whose every act in life and at death was a ministry of mercy?

THE RECOVERY OF THE SPIRITUAL PRINCIPLE OF THE CHURCH AS A CONDITION OF SPIRITUAL REVIVAL

REV. THOMAS YATES

It is a fitting and promising thing that at the beginning of the deliberations of this Council we should concern ourselves with a subject which in its brief statement recalls and reaffirms the historic and vital witness of Congregationalism. To speak in an Assembly of this order of the spiritual principle of the Church is to ring a peal of old bells. To go on to speak of its recovery suggests a lost familiarity in our modern time. It was the convinced and even jubilant note of those adventurers of the spirit who are our fathers in the faith. Three hundred years ago it was carried across the seas to this land by a little ship's company in whose hearts and consciences it sang like a secret strain. They sailed from a land where it and they were unwelcome, but it rang unhindered and unmuffled in the beginnings of a new nation. The makers of New England came here for the sake of a spiritual principle which involved the integrity and honor of Christ's Church. To it they felt themselves committed, since they were wholly committed to the mind which was in Christ Jesus. To free that principle for action in the service of God's Kingdom among men was the prime motive of their venturing and sacrifice. Doubtless it had implications for individual lives and for human relationships wider than they perceived, and wider than the world or the Church itself has even yet ap-

prehended. It had applications to society and to the state which they were to discover and work out as they proceeded. But their first concern was to make that principle free and sovereign in the sphere to which it first belongs, the Church by grace established. It was not a device nor an invention; still less was it a theory of the Church prompted by mere self-assertion that constrained them. They knew themselves trustees of a spiritual conception long buried under ecclesiastical and sacerdotal accumulations, but which had arisen, quick and commanding, in the midst of their believing communities, because it could not be holden of death.

There is no understanding of these people and their like-minded brethren who remained in the old land (for, thank God! they did not all come here; enough were left to work mighty things in England) unless we see them as people with the New Testament freshly in their eager hands. They were in the field of the good treasure, and it was there, under the intentness of their search, that they came into possession of the idea of the Church which straightway came to possess them in such fashion that they were ready to risk everything to defend it. We may best renew our acquaintance with what they recovered if we seek the same point of contact. Only let us go there unhampered by any thought of the recovery of a polity. It is a principle and not a polity we seek in that field, or we seek in vain. Polity is a matter of securing by order and arrangement the full impact of the thing believed upon the minds of men and the ways of society. Polity is incidental and variable, and we may be ready and willing for any method and order consistent with the spiritual principle. Gladly I echo Dale's word on this, "Any form of ecclesiastical polity is legitimate which suppresses no spiritual truth and which satisfies the spiritual interests which render the communion of saints necessary."

At the point of earliest contact with the Church of Jesus Christ what you meet is not a polity but a new kind of life. Here is a fellowship of men and women of a new order. They knew it themselves, and there is a mingled awe and joy in their consciousness of it. "If any man be in Christ he is a new creation. The old things are passed away, behold they are become new." Here is the basal thing. Before any organization, before any elaborated creed, there is a life, a world of new judgments, of new values, of new emotions, of new moral standards and spiritual aspirations. This is the true protoplasm of Christianity out of which in reaction with the environment all the theologies, all the ritual, and all the types of organization have sprung. Something had arisen upon these people like the sun through mists and it was a new day; something had arisen within them like health after sickness and they were new creatures. The New Testament account of them is that they were regenerate of the Holy Ghost. In the power of a new life they had then and now entered into the kingdom of God, and they hold themselves as its servants and citizens. With one accord they testify that this they owe to Jesus Christ, Who brought that kingdom into veritable being, and in His cross established it for ever among men, a kingdom of holy sacrificial love, a kingdom always to come and yet always in effective sense present, so that, though it be in the dark and with antagonisms multiplied both around and within them, men could nevertheless live in it and work out its rule through ever-widening ranges. This was their "new and stupendous environment," as Dr. Denny called it, a new order resting upon something new which God had done in Christ Jesus. They do not speak as men who have struck a new track, or lighted upon a new idea or a happy clue. They have a greater language about themselves, and speak as men who know themselves re-made and belonging to a new order.

I will take leave to emphasize that this new order is moral. I mean that they stood consciously in a changed relationship to a Holy God. Its roots in forgiveness of sin, and the whole they called Reconciliation. Its

grip was upon conscience, at once an arrest and a deliverance. Thus it commanded the springs of motive and action. "Christianity," says Harnack "in the essential thing is moral, and morality means life in God in His redeeming power."

These people draw together as an inevitability. This is the Church and its bond is neither a law nor a creed, but first an experience, an energy of divine life in them. The church is the necessary expression of the union of those who possess a common life, and we are here at the principle we seek. I know no better expression of it than the words of Dr. Dale, who says of the Church: "It was meant to consist of those who are regenerate of the Holy Ghost." When any man has received the Divine grace, the Spirit of Christ sets him in the society of the redeemed and speaks to him on this wise: "You have received the costliest thing that God could give, and by this you are to know your worth; you have begun to know the most transforming experience that God can send, and by this you are to know your destiny; you are not your own; you are a dedicated man. Not as the world gives did Christ give to you, and not as the world lives must you live to Him. You must live for the things that He lives for. You must seek your happiness where He found His, not in being served but in being serviceable. Since you belong to Him you belong also to those who are His. Together you share one task; you depend upon the same help; you make for the same end — and you have the world against you. But whoever you are, Jew or Gentile, male or female, bondman or freeman, whatever your station or your nation, you are now the citizens of a new country — and the members of one family. Remember what He said, that whoever does the will of the Father, the same is His brother and sister and mother." Thus did the Spirit of Christ speak to the first Christians, and at His word the miracle took place. Then began to form a new fellowship on the earth, independent of community of race, or similarity of culture, or congeniality of temperament. Something deeper than any of these was at work. Cultivated and barbarian, privileged and unprivileged, slaves and free, all alike were received into the Divine Society, losing as they entered every badge of dishonor and every feature of disprivilege in the overwhelming honor of the grace of God.

It is idle to deny that it is a steep descent after this to contemplate our Churches today. The climate is different. We are enormously busy, but the Voice that says "Follow Me" comes to many of our busiest, but faint and far. Our work is more obvious than our witness is unmistakable. It is less easy to tell what we are than to describe what we are doing. We have not lost the vision of the Kingdom, but it is time there were talk about bringing the King back lest we secularize the kingdom, or reduce it to a philanthropy or make of it a good-will and its end a good order with no moral redemption at the heart of it like a cleansing fire. And bringing the King back means first a moral sovereignty acknowledged and accepted by the individual member and the individual church, an allegiance confessed, not to a vague notion of betterment, but to a Holy Redeemer, whose cross is a sacrificial principle moving out upon the world through regenerate and sacrificial lives. It is good that we revolt utterly from "the little garden walled around" idea of the church. But this was never the truth about the "gathered" church of which our fathers spoke, but only a caricature of it. The church is "gathered," not within walls, but within an allegiance, and round a standard which bears likeness to the cross of the Strange Man of Galilee. It is gathered not within a fence for its own security, but as a phalanx is gathered for a mightier impact upon evil and an irresistible service of a Kingdom.

I heard of one of our churches self-described as a church founded upon the Sermon on the Mount. It was well meant, and one may hope that it is as gracious and kindly a community as its claim suggests. But it is a

REV. SHERROD SOULE
Assistant Secretary

REV. ARTHUR H. BRADFORD, D.D.
Assistant Secretary

REV. W. H. WARRINER, D.D.
Assistant Secretary

REV. W. J. ASHFORD
Assistant Secretary



church that is mistaking the superstructure for the foundation. Behind every beatitude there lies implied a discipleship, and behind discipleship there lies a regenerating experience of God's grace in Christ Jesus. "This rock upon which I build My Church," was not a programme or an ideal, but a witnessing man with a truth alive on his lips and in his believing soul, which comes from nothing that flesh and blood could give but only the *élan vital* of the Spirit of the Highest.

It is the reclaiming and recovery of this in our idea of the Church that I urge as a condition — I believe it to be the first condition — of spiritual revival. There is something astray when one is conscious of hesitancy in the use of that word. In truth what I have been speaking of is remote from much that we have too long associated with revival. We are here out of the province of the bill-sticker and there is not an advertisement hoarding within sight. We are clean out of the region where it matters what politicians or ecclesiastical statesmen think about us or how they measure us. We have forgotten in these things even denominational returns, for we are among the things which cannot be tabulated. There is no sound of machinery here. But we are within the breath of the Spirit, and we are at the fount and spring of spiritual revival. This is a Church that can *pray*, and none can lay a measure on the resources of such a fellowship. Though it be poor as the world counts poverty and have little of silver or gold, there is uttered through it, perhaps the more mightily, that Voice of command and enabling which says to the morally derelict, "Rise up and walk." This is a church that can serve the kingdom of God, for it has an authentic witness. It can work, not as beating the air, or making a noise like those who clang with brass, but with quiet pervasive irresistibility, like the moving flood which has behind it the tides of the measureless undefeatable ocean.

There is a scene in the Gospel story which shapes before my mind as a parable. A palsied man lies at the feet of Jesus. He has been carried to the right place, but it seems as if the Healer had spoken the wrong word. His friends would see him move again, and rising up go about his business. But Jesus looked past those inert limbs and that flaccid frame down to something deep in the man's soul. To this He spoke His word, which carried with it the mightier healing. "Thy sins are forgiven thee." They deemed it a blasphemy. They might more reasonably have deemed it an irrelevance. It was neither one nor the other, but just the plain truth that the revival of a body, if that revival is permanently to count, must start with the healing of the moral soul.

It is not otherwise with the body which is the Church. We want to see it freed of its palsies and moving out in strength to its tasks. We want to see its mind unclouded, its will restored for daring initiatives, and its full powers in action and impact upon a world which needs it. We want to see it, not carried by a few like something they are worried and burdened with, but alive, alert and effective, established in its goings and too healthy to halt to think too much about itself. We bring it to its one place of hope and recovery when we carry it to the feet of its Lord.

But we must be ready for a word from Him which ever disconcerts the shallow. He will go past the inert hands and the slack limbs, which we would fain galvanize, to the soul of the church, and He will say, "Here thou ailest. Here and in this receive thou the healing of God!"

"Then shall the lame leap as a hart and the tongue of the dumb sing, and the ransomed of the Lord shall return and come with singing unto Zion."

THE MODERN MISSIONARY: HIS MOTIVE AND MESSAGE

REV. W. C. WILLOUGHBY

With a big subject and a very limited time allowance, inadequacy of treatment is inevitable. But two methods are possible. We may, if we wish, pass rapidly over the ground in a kind of airplane survey, taking a broad but distant view, seeing a little of everything in the landscape and missing all the scenery; or, if we prefer, we may sit down in one of the many glades, as lovers of art before the picture of their choice, and let its beauty soak into us. Both methods are defective; but for our present purpose I prefer the latter.

"The Modern Missionary: His Motive and Message." Well, his motive is his message. And there is a sense in which that message is unchanged and unchangeable. Until it is translated into the language of his people, however, it cannot be a message at all for them, whatever it may be for others. And translation means change. Now, thought-forms vary not only from land to land, but also from generation to generation. We do not speak the language that our fathers spoke, and symbols that made them glow leave us cold. Hence it is that Jesus entrusted his gospel to living men, instead of committing it to a sacred book with every "i" dotted and every "t" crossed. Hence it is that we have the Christian Church. If the Christian message is to hold the attention, assent and affection of this generation, the Christian Church must be so filled with the spirit of Christ that, taking from the records of the past all that is of abiding worth, it may be able to express the spirit of its Master in the thought-forms of its contemporaries — especially in that most legible of all thought-forms, a Christlike life. In that sense, the message is eternally changing: it is as old as the sunrise, and as new and fresh as a May morning.

Some of us are old enough to remember missionary meetings at which we were told that at every tick of the clock a heathen soul drops into hell, and that if we would only realize this it would kindle our enthusiasm for the evangelization of the world. That motive is impossible today. We look at God with other eyes; and our attitude towards our non-Christian brethren is not that of our grandfathers. There is more of humanity in it, and less of legality, though not less of divinity. We have come to see that the thought-forms of Roman law and the symbols of Mediterranean State-temples are not the only ones that are big enough, and grand enough, and reverent enough to express the faith and aspiration of a devout soul.

Of one thing we have become very sure: that sympathy is the only pathway to the heart of another man, or, conversely stated, that antipathy is a blind alley that leads nowhere. And we are not foolish enough to imagine that we have discovered a truth of which God has somehow lost sight.

How do you look at the non-Christian religions of the world? My years have been spent in Africa, where religion has none of the glamor of ornate and costly ceremonial, or of profound philosophy, or of bewitching poetry, or of pathetic asceticism, and where religion has not found expression in lovely buildings, whose domes and cupolas seem to float dreamlike in the golden sunlight. When I speak on heathen religion, a hundred pictures rise unbidden of heathenism in its crudest forms. And yet I find it hard to be patient with such phrases as "pitiable superstition" — phrases that are born of contempt rather than of sympathetic understanding. I have looked into the little spirit-huts of Central African tribesmen and stood beneath the rude sheds that shelter the ancestral stones of tribesmen farther south, with as much reverence as if I had been treading the marble floor of Europe's finest cathedral. And I have thanked God for the little spots that were sacred to other souls.

Do you remember the time when that little girl of yours lived for the sake of a rag-doll that was neither beautiful nor clean? She did not care to have mother dress her in the morning till she had dressed that doll. She brushed its hair and smoothed out the creases of its frocks with as much care as ever mother had bestowed upon her, sometimes chiding it meanwhile because it would not keep still to be dressed. When it was tired, she rocked it to sleep, crooning her sweetest lullabies over it; and when it was hurt, she kissed the place to make it better. When it was good — and it was nearly always good — she caressed it and complimented it; and when it was naughty, she scolded it and occasionally smacked it. She had long conversations with the bundle of rags, and told it all her secrets and all her hopes and fears. Were you annoyed that your daughter should do anything so crude and foolish? Not you! That doll got twenty kisses for every one that you got, and still you smiled. I should not be surprised to hear you confess that there were times when you helped her to nurse the doll. Now why were you not annoyed, plain practical man that you are, that your daughter should spend her time in such pitiable fooling? Well, you did not stay to think it out. You were just you; and she was just a little bit of your very heart. You were too big to think of the rag-doll as a rival for the love of your little darling. But now you see the significance of it all. You were watching her the other day as she sat, with your grandchild upon her lap, and thought that you were reading a paper that was within a few inches of your nose and twenty-five years away from your thoughts; and you caught the meaning of the rag-doll as you looked through the newspaper into the past. There was a great wealth of nascent maternal affection slumbering in her little soul twenty-five years ago, and it had to find expression. It naturally expressed itself in little-girl ways when she was small; and now, just as naturally, it finds maturer and lovelier forms of expression. And you know that she would never have made the mother for your grandchild that she is making if she had never nursed a rag-doll when she was little. Thank God for the rag-dolls that our little girls coddle! And thank God, too, for the rag-dolls of African worship! Why not? If I had not found them in Africa, or something a little less crude that could take their place, I would have left Africa in despair decades ago. Do you think a man can go on decade after decade trying to teach a blind man to paint pictures, or a deaf man to become a musician? Only a fool or a hypocrite could do that. But when I see the rag-dolls of African worship, I know that my pupils are not blind; and that if I am only patient enough, skilful enough, and tender enough as a teacher, they may yet become artists in worship. To me these juvenile rites are encouraging signs of a sense of spiritual things. They show that even in the rudest specimens of humanity that I have been privileged to know, the deepest thing in the soul is a desire for God; and that where that desire exists some form of expression must be found — juvenile or mature, each after his own order. Even dumb men find some speech with which they can talk to God. If the African had never worshipped in all the long centuries of his imprisonment, his faculty of worship would have atrophied long before the Church awoke from her lethargy and found the tribes of Africa. But God found the African long before we got there, and the African was aware of His presence. I know no grander fact in human experience than this: that wherever you touch another soul you find that God was there before you, and when you approach the shrine you see the print of a larger foot that entered but did not return.

"But," says the objector, "Africans do not even call their objects of worship by the name of God!" Is that a fatal objection? Did you not love your little girl till she knew your name? Was her baby-prattle displeasing in your ears because she uttered sounds for which no dictionary has found symbols? Have you forgotten the thrill of that moment when

she looked smilingly into your face and cried in her glee, "Da-da-da-da"? That was long before she came to know that you were her father. The love of a little child is small in comparison with that of her father or mother; but in a little-soul way she loved you both for years before she could spell your name correctly, and for more years still before she knew just what you were to her. I fancy she had very erroneous notions of you for quite a while after she had learnt to love you; and I shall be surprised to hear that she understands you completely even now that she is grown up and has children of her own. But she was happy when she felt your arms around her; and you were happier still when she nestled her head upon your breast. I venture to think that God is at any rate as good a father as ever you have managed to be — as magnanimous and tender and patient and pitiful with his children. Moses said: "I, the Lord thy God, am a jealous God"; but then Moses had spent the formative years of his life in the courts of a despotic Pharaoh, and even a prophetic message owes something of its symbolism to the thought-forms with which the prophet is familiar. "When ye pray," said a greater than Moses, "say, 'Our Father, who art in heaven.'"

Now I grant you that the worship of Africa is very crude and even childish; but I maintain that it is worship — an honest attempt of the soul to commune with the unseen but ever-present. That is its essential quality; the crudity is accidental and temporary. And when one comes to think of it, all worship is crude, though all is not equally crude. Find me the choicest saint in New England and let me put him this question: "Can you pray?" Do you know what his answer will be? "I? Pray? I wish I could! I'd love to be able to pray. It has been my great ambition for years, and I often try; but somehow my best attempts are very faulty." Ask the psychologist to tell you why it is that the man who succeeds is so very conscious of failure, while the most pitiful failure is generally coated with a varnish of self-conceit. There are people in the world who cannot make a decent sketch, but who flatter themselves that they are artists; and there are real artists who say, what Sir Johsua Reynolds said in the heyday of his fame, that they can only sketch — just sketch. Before the painter laid his colors on the palette he had seen a vision that eye hath never seen; and when he looked upon the finished canvas that vision was still before him and he knew how poor the canvas was. To us who never saw that vision, the canvas is magnificent, and what he calls failure we call success. Pray? One day Death will touch these old eyes into clearer vision; and we shall look into our Father's face and thrill at his glance. Then shall our lips be unlocked and we shall praise Him as we ought. When that day comes we shall know the meaning of worship; and if we look back upon the finest worship of our earth-life we shall see how pitifully crude it was. Is God never to rejoice in the worship that His little children render till they learn to worship Him worthily?

Do you remember an evening when as you reached home from business, your little girl came running down the path to meet you, with a paper in her hand? You saw by the smile upon her mother's face, as she stood in the porch and watched you both, that there was something unusual happening. And you noticed the paper that your little sunbeam was so eagerly pressing upon you. So you caught her in your arms, paper and all, took her indoors, placed her upon your knee, and said: "What! Have you written daddy a letter! And such a lovely letter, too! I am going to read it. 'My own dear Daddy, I — love — you — ever — so — much.'"

And you were going on with more of the same sort of hypocrisy, only you noticed a look of disappointment upon the little upturned face. "What is it?" you asked. "Have I not read the letter nicely?" And she: "It isn't a letter, Daddy; it is a photograph! I drew it all myself with mother's pencil!" And she looked so proud of her production.

Said you: "Of course it is a photograph. Wasn't it silly of me to think it a letter? It is a beautiful photograph, too. It is the photograph of a house, isn't it?" "No; it isn't a house!" and there was a tone of expostulation in her voice. "Of course it is not a house. I had it the wrong way up. Now I see. It is the photograph of a pig." Then she looked hurt, and you knew that you had fallen. So you said: "Daddy is very stupid, isn't he? You must tell him all about this nice photograph." And she looked up into your face with a winsome smile: "It is your photograph, Daddy. I drew it all myself." What a libel it was, to be sure! You thought the wretched scrawl — illegible to anyone who could not read between the lines — was meant for a letter; and when told that it was a work of art, you thought it might be intended for a house or a pig; and now you learn that it was thought to be a speaking likeness of your noble self. And yet the stream of kisses that fell upon those two little cheeks shows how far you were from having anger in your heart. But why were you not angry? Because there, nestling close up to your breast, was a little soul that loved you, and had been waiting impatiently for the sound of your footfall in the evening — a little soul that was thinking of you when you were away in the great city doing work for her that she never suspected, and was longing for your home-coming — a little soul that you loved with a love that was far above her comprehension. What cared you for the crudity of the scrawl while you had her glad in your embrace! May I say once more that I believe with all my heart that God is as pitiful towards His little children in the forests of Africa as ever you were towards your little girl?

Then if that is so, why not leave them alone? Why bother them with missionaries? The device that I have adopted for the purpose of this particular speech may be expressed in a phrase that I didn't coin: "A little child shall lead them." We had better keep that device till the speech is ended. God knows that some of us are so badly equipped for profound thinking that His only chance with us is to place a little child in our arms that we may come to understand what we are to God. Even those of us who scorn to be guided and show fight when we are driven, find it easy to take short steps and walk very gently when a little hand closes round one of our fingers.

"Why not leave them alone?" Is that what you did with her? Hardly! You did not say: "I know that she means well, and that is enough. I don't care whether she has the skill to express it in an adequate manner." You said: "Here is a little soul that sees visions, and little fingers that are clumsy in expressing what the soul sees. I must give those little fingers skill." So the day came when you had a skilled teacher to give her her first lesson in drawing; but you were not content with one lesson, or one hundred. And you watched her steadily growing in proficiency with a glow of paternal pride. Why, last year when they hung her picture on the walls of the Academy you were more elated than if you had been elected President of the United States. What has happened to the little girl that came running up to you with that first crude scrawl? Why, this. You set out to help her to express what was already within her; and the more she gained of skill in expressing the inner vision, the greater and the grander did the vision grow. She had been learning to see while you thought that she was learning to paint; and though she has made great progress in technique she has never overtaken the growing glory of the vision.

That is what we are doing in Africa. We are sitting down alongside of God's little children and helping them to express a little more correctly and adequately what the soul already perceives. We are not trying to blot out the old soul-vision in order that we may substitute a finer; for that way lies soul-blindness. And we are not expecting a miracle that shall transform the child into a mature artist in a year. But we have the

joy of seeing our pupils slowly but steadily growing in skill of expression, and of discovering, as we look at the little imperfect pictures of Christ that they show us, that their Master grows in glory to them as the years pass by. And our hope is that when our names are forgotten, Africa will add her rich quota to the interpretation of the Christ of Humanity — the Christ that can never be understood till every race of mankind bends before Him in lowly adoration and rises with tear-dimmed eyes to tell us what it sees.

THE VITAL ISSUES OF PRESENT-DAY THEOLOGY

REV. ALFRED E. GARVIE, D.D.

I

There is only one vital issue for present-day religion and also theology — although that has several implications — and it is this: *Where sin abounds shall grace abound more exceedingly? or, Shall the kingdoms of this world become the kingdom of our God and His Christ?*

(1) The calamity of the war has brought the world face to face with this issue; and no other can compare in importance with it. What is of commanding urgency for religion must also be of primary importance for theology. As modern psychology teaches us, cognition depends on conation, and knowledge of reality on our *selective interest* in it; and that interest is determined by our necessities and aspiration, our desires and purposes. It is a practical problem in the realm of life, and not a speculative problem in the region of thought, that makes the insistent demand on us; and theology will command attention today only as thought ministers to life, only as it can so interpret the Christian Gospel as to give both guidance and assurance in regard to the solution of the practical problem.

(2) When life is easy and safe, when prosperity and security for many years seem to be assured, men are prone to look only at the things seen, though temporal, and to turn their minds from the things unseen, even if eternal. When disaster and distress come, when anxiety, perplexity, difficulty assail the mind, when the culture, civilization, industry, commerce, social order and international accord in which the heart trusted come to be shaken, and the familiar world in which the soul was so much at home seems to be falling into ruin, then do men begin to ask those last questions which they had mocked before as only gratifying speculative curiosity, and not satisfying practical necessity. Men who had never given any serious thought to theology were during the war found asking these questions: If God be all-loving and almighty, why did He allow the war? Why does He not stop the war? How can He be got to end the war? When these questions remained unanswered, some rushed to a solution, which only their ignorance of theology led them to believe was new and true; holding fast faith in God's love, they let go their belief in His almightiness, and asserted that God is doing His best, but that His power is hindered and hampered by some mysterious force, over which He is only slowly gaining control, and in His struggle with which He needs man's help. To many Christians the first article of the Apostle's Creed, "I believe in God the Father Almighty, maker of heaven and earth," had become a dead letter; it had no place in their living and working faith; and yet it was just such a speculation as this that the article was intended to condemn; and the situation shows how right was Ritschl (following Luther) in giving so large a place to the belief in the divine providence in the content of Christian faith. The divine providence is, for many, the vital issue for theology.

(3) But the problem can be solved only in the full light of the revelation of God and redemption of man in Jesus Christ the Lord. God has a pur-

pose which He is fulfilling in the world; and only as we conceive that purpose can we find light on the nature of God and on the course of history; and the mystery of that purpose, hid for many ages, is disclosed in Christ and His Cross. This is the clue to the labyrinth. "It became Him, for whom are all things, and through whom are all things, in bringing many sons unto glory, to make the author of their salvation perfect through sufferings." (Heb. 11 : 10.) The method of Him who is the final purpose and ultimate cause of the Universe is salvation through sacrifice; grace alone resolves the problem of nature and history; the sovereignty of God is realized in Saviourhood.

II

There are some false assumptions which we must at once set aside so as to clear the ground for the true principles by which alone the problem can be solved. (1) We must not think of a *static*, but of a *dynamic* deity, not of God as He eternally is, but as He progressively works. Inferences as to His nature we may for the satisfaction of our minds draw from the character of His activity in nature and history; but these belong to speculative rather than constructive theology. What we men are concerned with, and can in some measure know, is what God has done, is doing, and will do, for us and with us. And if human personality expresses itself in its manifold activities, and we can from conduct infer character, it is not a less, but a more valuable and assured knowledge of God we can thus gain, than if we were to follow the older method of speculation. Let us keep as closely as we can to actuality as we know it, and only from that seek to form a conception of reality as it lies beyond our ken. Let us not, as the older theology did often, start from speculative ideas of God's nature, and then try to force the explanation of His activity into accord with these ideas. Let us not draw inferences from the conception of omnipotence to determine our views of what God must do instead of going to experience to find out what God does. A great simplification of theology, and a consequent great emancipation of religion, would result from an abandonment of the deductive for the inductive method.

(2) As God's activity is an intelligent activity we are warranted in thinking of it as the fulfilment of a purpose; we must not, however, think of that fulfilment as a *timed programme* which God carries out as an exemplary chairman is supposed to do. While there need be no uncertainty as to the end, and we are entitled to assume that God would not have begun what He could not complete; yet as God is free and man is free, and God and man are in partnership in the human progress in which the divine purpose is being fulfilled, there is variation in the movement from starting-point to goal, God making use of, and adapting, His own activity to man's action. In so far as man's action may be to hinder or hamper the fulfilment, God's activity must be repressive, restraining, corrective; but in so far as man's action helps, God perfects His strength in man's weakness. The recognition of the reality of man's freedom to retard as well as to advance God's purpose carries with it necessarily a modification of the current view of prophecy, and even of the common conceptions of the divine attributes of omniscience and omnipotence.

(a) Prophecy is not, and cannot be, history spoken or written beforehand, as history is not made or known by God beforehand.

(a) As most thinkers today have abandoned the idea of *foreordination*, so I am convinced must they give up the idea of *foreknowledge*. If freedom involves in every choice at least two possibilities of action, the one in accordance with, and the other contrary to, the Will of God, God knows the possibilities as such, and not one of them as an actuality, and the other as an impossibility. No amount of ingenious philosophizing will persuade the ordinary mind that a man is free to act even although God foreknows

how he will act. To take refuge in mystery from a difficulty of our own speculating is illegitimate. God knows the choice as a choice and the act as an act; and thus man's moral experience is no less real for God than it is for man.

(b) The doctrine of God's foreknowledge of every event sacrifices moral and religious to speculative interests. We need, and cry out for a God who is not so far from, or above us, as not to share with us the desire and expectation, the satisfaction or disappointment that gives so thrilling an interest to life. If God's mind moves only in an eternal Now; if for Him as regards His knowledge there is no past nor present, nor future, human history is *Maya*, illusion, it is not reality for the divine experience. The divine immanence is emptied of moral and religious content; and we can no longer think of God, as in Christ we have learned to think of Him, as participating in our defeat or triumph, as bearing our burdens, sharing our sorrows, and waging our warfare with us. Was Calvary a reality for God or not? If it was, time, and the historical process in time has at least adequate reality for God to allow us to think of the sacrifice of the Cross as a divine act of redemption, in which the holy love of God suffered with, and for us.

(c) If this reasoning be valid, as, after thinking for many years on the problem, I have been led to believe it is, it follows that all prophecy is *conditional*; and to this conclusion Biblical scholars have been led without seeking such a theological justification for it. Prophecy is usually a threat of judgment, or a promise of mercy; and penitence may avert the one, and faith secure the other, or impenitence draw down the judgment, and unbelief miss the mercy. All the calculations of times and seasons based on a misinterpretation of *Daniel* and the *Revelations* may be unhesitatingly dismissed as superstition.

(d) The future course of history depends not exclusively on the divine will, but also on human wills hindering or helping that will. It may be objected then that the result is left in uncertainty; and we have no ground for the hope that the worst shall yet turn to the best, that God's purpose will ever be accomplished. The answer to this doubt is found in our belief in God's omnipotence, the conception of which, however, no less than that of omniscience, requires modification.

(b) Omnipotence does not mean that God can do, or may be expected to do, whatever we think or wish as good; but only that He can and will do all that is in accord with His purpose, and consistent with His character.

(a) Without now wasting our time on considering what have been called metaphysical impossibilities as of no moral or religious interest, let us recognize that there are impossibilities for the perfection of God as holy love; that the end He sets Himself must express that holy love, and exclude all means not in harmony with it. We should have no moral security if we could think of sin and hate as morally possible to God. The end which God sets before Himself in His world must express His nature, it must be the fulfilment of His holy love. How many possibilities are excluded by such an end! A world in which goodness was subordinate, or sacrificed for happiness would be an impossibility. Means again must be congruous with ends. Moral and spiritual ends demand moral and spiritual means. Physical power cannot be used to make men good and godly. The holy love of God can reproduce itself in men only by the truth which wins the assent of the mind, the grace which gains the heart's acceptance, the righteousness conscience can approve, and the will freely obey. For God's purpose towards man, omnipotence conceived as absolute force is irrelevant; and the appeal for its exercise in the solution of the problem of human history is in the strict sense impertinent. Piety often fails to discover how stupid and even profane it is in its demands.

(b) The belief in God's omnipotence involves *negatively* that there is no

power outside of God, unwilled and uncontrolled by Him, which can finally prevent the fulfilment of His purpose: and *positively* that He has in Himself the adequate, appropriate resources, moral and spiritual, to fulfil that end. We must reject as imperilling the assurance of our faith the dualistic solution of the problem mentioned at the beginning. Human wills may hamper and hinder the divine will: but God has willed and He controls human freedom, not by suppressing it, but by setting limits, not arbitrary, but necessarily resulting from its very purpose, to the possibilities of its opposition to Him. The function abused tends to decrease, the freedom used rightly increases. There is also a constant activity of God in history not forcing man's will, but so directing its exercise through conscience, reason, the affections and aspirations that the exercise of his freedom is on the whole upwards. When we reach the revelation and redemption in Christ there is seen in human history a moral and spiritual immanence of God for man's redemption, for his deliverance from the bondage to sin into the freedom of the love for God, which is the promise and the pledge that the ends of holy love will be accomplished by fitting means. Does not what history has revealed to us of that holy love of God warrant the assurance that God would never have incurred the responsibility of Creation unless He could fully meet that responsibility as Redeemer? It may be a rash dogmatism to affirm that that assurance necessarily involves that every human soul shall at last be saved, as on the one hand final resistance even to grace by man, and on the other hand final self-extinction of personality so abused as the judgment of God must be admitted as at least possible for our thought. It does involve, however, the expectation that God's solicitude to save and God's resources for saving will not be limited by any conceptions which we in the imperfections of our thought and life may be inclined to set. His omnipotence means that holy love will at last have the satisfaction of its travail.

III

Having dealt with some of the false assumptions which have hitherto hindered the solution of the problem before us, and having in dealing with them given some indication of the true principles of the solution, we may now concentrate our attention on those principles.

(1) We must first of all insist on the reality of human freedom, and the actuality of human sin. We may and must recognize the limitations of that freedom by heredity and environment and even by its own exercise in the formation of a character which comes more and more to determine conduct. But we are entitled to maintain that unless a pathological condition has been reached, within a limited range choice remains; and that even there are moral crises in which the possibility of a fresh start is realized, in which under moral or spiritual influences heredity, environment, character are transcended in an unexpected, inexplicable act of self-determination for God and goodness. Conversion is not an illusion or impossibility.

(2) If there be this possibility of choice and even of change from the lower to the higher course of living, we cannot think of *sin* as merely either ignorance or imperfection. There is much in human conduct which can be so explained, and which should, therefore, not fall under moral condemnation, unless it can be traced to conscious carelessness and neglect. Ignorance is culpable, when knowledge has been refused, and imperfection blameworthy when improvement has been avoided. That the sinner is often not aware of all that the moral issue involves, or that his stage of moral development limits the possibilities of his choice, we must admit; and it is a qualification we should always make in our judgment of others; but self-consciousness ultimately bears witness that the alternative of right or wrong was present to the mind, and that the choice of right was

possible, even if more difficult often than the choice of wrong. To choose wrong when right could be chosen is sin; and such a choice is neither an illusion nor impossibility.

(3) We need not concern ourselves at all about the origin of sin in the race, nor need we assume that there is a necessary bias to sin through our physical heredity. To explain the emergence of sin in the individual experience there are two factors about the actuality of which there can be no doubt.

(a) Man is animal as well as personal: he has appetites, passions, impulses which are common to him and his lower fellow-creatures; but these in him, as opposing themselves to, or coming into conflict with, those higher elements, mental, moral and spiritual, that constitute his personality, assume a character, moral and not merely natural, which does not mark them in the lower animals. The *beast* in man may become the *brute*. It is doubtful how far this, his inheritance from his animal ancestry, can be modified by his human. Can the acquired *brute* character be transmitted? The possibility of some modification in the inherited nature, due to the moral experience of the race, may be admitted; but even if there is, it is not nearly so great as was generally assumed. We are not entitled to speak of a total corruption of human nature as the consequence of an act of the ancestor of the race, when its moral development had just begun. But if we deny any great modification for evil, we must not assume any for good. If human nature as such has not greatly deteriorated, neither has it greatly improved. As recent experience should have taught us, the savage is still in the civilized man, and breaks loose when the restraining bonds are severed, as in war. Man's inherited nature is but the raw material, the possibilities of good or of evil, out of which his moral personality, worthy or unworthy, must by his own moral activity be shaped.

(b) Far more potent than *nature* is *nurture*, in which the social heredity affects for good or evil the moral development of each individual. The resemblance of children to their parents in moral habits is probably due to the transmission of this social heredity through the personal influence of the parents, and the moral environment thereby constituted in the home. The moral experience and character of one generation is embodied in moral standards, common sentiments, social institutions, and so passed on to the next. It was no natural inheritance, but this social heredity, which made Germany what in the war it proved itself to be. There is thus established in mankind what Ritschl has called the *Kingdom of sin* in opposition to the *Kingdom of God*. The character of an individual, a nation, or a generation depends on this, to which of these two Kingdoms it is by education subjected, or freely subjects itself.

(c) There has been a manifestation of the Kingdom of sin in our day which makes urgently imperative the counteraction of the Kingdom of God in order that a cleansed and changed social heredity may pass from this generation to the next. That is the practical challenge of the hour.

(4) Although it may seem a speculative question which in view of this practical challenge we might ignore, yet it will not retard, but advance the process of our argument if we ask: Why did God allow sin?

(a) Without freedom the moral good cannot be attained, as it cannot be bestowed on men, but must be won by them; and freedom involves and cannot but involve the possibility of the wrong as of the right choice. God bestowed this freedom with all its risks, and endures the actuality of sin with all its costs, because as holy love the moral good for Him as for man is the supreme good, worth securing even at so high a price as all the suffering which sin brings to man, and which, as Christ has shown, God shares.

(b) While it cannot be maintained that all pain is the penalty of sin, yet there is a great deal of man's misery and woe due to his wrong-doing; and evils which are not due directly to sin are aggravated for the sinful by

their estrangement from God. The same experience as deteriorates the sinner perfects the saint. Without pretending that it is a complete explanation, and removes all the mystery we are warranted in affirming that struggle, suffering, and sorrow have proved conditions of man's personal development in goodness as well as a means of his discipline as sinful. Even Christ was made perfect through His sufferings in His sympathy for man and obedience to God. The pressing issue for us today is this: Is the suffering through which the world has passed, and is passing, to be only a penalty of transgression, or is it to become a blessing in the world's purification and emancipation from the sins which have brought all this misery and woe on the world? Only if the moral good is the supreme good is there any even partial solution of the problem of evil, and only if pain be made a condition of moral progress, can it become a servant of the Kingdom of God.

(c) If mankind alone bore the whole burden of the world's sorrow because of sin, it might be brought as a reproach against God that for the prize He desired He let man pay the price He shunned. But if, as in the previous section has been urged, we hold such a conception of God as allows us to think of Him as a sharer of our struggles and sorrows as well as of ourselves as partners in the fulfilment of His purpose, then we may confess that He Himself pays most of the price for the prize He freely shares with us.

(5) It seems a law of human history and divine providence that salvation from sin is by sacrifice. While the wicked may by continuance in unbelief and disobedience make their suffering penal in its character, the righteous may by faith and obedience make their suffering redemptive to themselves, and through their testimony and influence to others also. This truth the prophet of the Exile had reached in his vision of the suffering Servant (Isaiah 52: 13 — 53: 12), in which he found for himself and proclaimed to his people the solution of the problem of the nation's suffering. Although prophecy is not history, spoken or written beforehand, yet such was the prophet's discernment of the purpose and the method of God that his vision is an anticipation, startling even in its exactitude of the moral and spiritual content of the work of the Lord Jesus Christ, into the significance of which the *Epistle to the Hebrews* seems to me to offer an even more penetrative discernment than any of the letters of Paul, although his epistles offer us the deepest insight into the human experience, receptive of, and responsive to, that saving sacrifice. The very heart of the vital issue for theology today is such an interpretation of the Cross of Christ as will be a satisfying *theodicy*, a justification of the ways of God to man, an acceptance of the challenge which the recent course of history offers to the faith in divine providence; a *theodicy* too which will assure men that God is a fellow sufferer with them and inspire them to become fellow-workers with God in the fulfilment of His redemptive purpose.

(a) It is deeply to be deplored that theories of the atonement have been so often not only inadequate, but even offensive to a sensitive conscience, and have treated from the standpoint of law what can be understood only by the insight of love, and holy love; and that such theories have provoked an opposition from theologians priding themselves on their liberalism, which has not gone beyond criticism (that has sometimes even stooped to be a caricature of the views criticized) and has not offered any constructive reconciling suggestion. It is a fact to be deeply pondered that despite these defects in the opposing theologies, the most earnest and devoted Christian believers have never abandoned their assurance, because never missed the experience of Christ Crucified as the power and wisdom of God unto salvation. At the Cross least of all should Christians misjudge and misinterpret one another.

(b) While we recognize as we must the uniqueness of the person of

Christ, yet, as we believe that in Him God and man are one person, experience, character, passion and action, His Cross must reveal historically the eternal reality of God's both passive and active relation to sin, and must also reveal typically what correspondingly man's relation to sin ought to be; and thus in the measure in which that eternal reality of God is reproduced in the personal experience and character of man, such a moral community of God and man is realized that God's will is done by the wills of men, and the Kingdom of God comes on earth as it is in heaven. God is holy love, or loving holiness, a perfection which ever preserves itself in communicating itself; as holy God reacts and cannot but react in judgment on sin, even as the imperfect human conscience condemns sin, and recognizes its consequences as just and good; as loving His holiness cannot exhaust itself in such reaction, but can complete its movement only as in forgiveness it restores the sinful to fellowship, even as imperfect human affection seeks to restore those whom conscience may condemn.

(c) Christ by His sympathy with sinful mankind so identified Himself with man's experience of the consequences of sin that He *felt* this divine reaction of judgment in the desolation of His own soul as He tasted death for every man; and in His obedience to God He so identified Himself with God's reaction on man's sin as to approve all these consequences as just and good. With all reverence we may say that in His consciousness sin was judged by God, and He judged sin with God. No less did Christ in His compassion for man desire, and in His confidence in God, will man's forgiveness while thus enduring and approving as just and good God's judgment on sin. To me at least after forty years' wrestling with the problem of the Cross it is a moral impossibility to separate God's judgment from God's forgiveness in what the Cross means to me, and has done for me. I do not offer a logical demonstration of the necessity of this connection; it is to me a moral intuition as certain and final as any that has ever commanded my conscience with inexorable authority; and with all humility and sincerity I offer it to my brethren, not for disputation, but for consideration.

(d) The grace of God in the Cross of Christ must be received in the penitence which reproduces God's judgment, and the faith which receives God's forgiveness; and it is not by one without the other but only by both that the moral community of God and man can be so restored as to issue in man's filial fellowship with God.

(6) Whether my interpretation of the Cross be accepted or not, whether your conscience approve or disapprove, what seems to me the call of the hour to each one of us is to convince men that there is this redemptive process in human history of both judgment on, and forgiveness of, sin, and to persuade them individually not to oppose themselves in distrust and disobedience, but to submit themselves in penitence and faith to this constant and universal activity of the holy love of God, and then to become themselves in service and sacrifice agents of God's purpose in the world. It is possible both theoretically and practically to challenge the reality of this redemptive process.

(a) The facts of history would appear to many to indicate a divine indifference, to still more to offer more abundant evidence of judgment than forgiveness; but over against these facts there can be set the fact if Christ who in the penitence and faith He evoked and still evokes witnesses to both judgment and forgiveness; and as dependent on that fact, there are the facts of Christian experience in all generations. Many of us, thank God, have so clear and sure a witness in our own experience and character that we can boldly accept the challenge which any contrary facts, in appearance at least, offer to our faith in that redemptive process. We know whom we have believed and are persuaded that He is able to keep that which we have committed unto Him.

(b) A great multitude is practically neglecting what it does not even take the trouble theoretically to deny. Christ was confident that if He were lifted up, He would draw all men unto Himself. Is He not attracting today because we are failing to exalt Him in our experience individually and corporately in the fellowship of His church? A theology which is evangelical fails if it does not issue in a piety which is evangelising: a universal Gospel by its very nature should inspire an activity which is missionary. For me in the vital issue for theology today there is involved no less than the theoretical apprehension, the practical application of the Gospel of Christ, not only to individuals but also to societies in all their relations; and the one will react on the other. We shall know the doctrine as we do the will; we shall understand grace as we receive it for ourselves and become channels of it to others; we shall see the Kingdom of God as we not only enter into it ourselves, but are also the means of bringing others in. We shall solve the problem for thought as we are solving the problem for life; we shall gain as theologians what we offer as evangelists.

THE WORLD IN 1620 AND 1920

REV. J. MORGAN GIBBON

In 1620 Geography came to the aid of History; and it was time, for History was once more at a stand. The Protestant Reformation had ended for the moment in the nationalization of churches; kings were popes, religion was a government department, and the wages of heresy was death. Tibni died and Omni reigned, and things were much as usual.

It was a dark hour, but near the dawning. The birds of morning were in song, lights moved in the valleys, Learning was awake and astir, Religion in Holland was busy with her household work; in England also she was rubbing the sleep of centuries out of her eyes.

But it was a clouded Dawn; the forecast was doubtful and those who scanned the sky were troubled. For there were suspicious characters about, men with uncouth names and strange speech, Anabaptists, Brownists, Puritans, bent on reforming the very Reformation itself. Queen Elizabeth, who along with her father had settled all those things so nicely, asked the Spanish Ambassador one day: "What the devil do they want?"

"Your Majesty," he said in awestruck tones, "they want Liberty."

It was as though he had said: "They want your Majesty's head on a charger!"

At any rate they could not have it. History, Policy, Religion, were adamant against such a preposterous demand.

Geography was kinder: the Western Gate was open. Columbus had found the second half of the world — if only someone knew what to do with such a gift.

For a hundred and twenty years, no one discovered the use of America. The failure of one band of adventurers after another — French, English, Spanish, Portuguese and Dutch — seemed to suggest that the New World had not been kept in reserve since the day of creation in order that kings and popes and their creatures might have ampler floor space to dance to the old tunes.

In 1620 the meaning of America was discovered, the Pilgrims put to sea, and the challenge of Columbus was met by an adventure as noble as his own.

The *Santa Maria* and the *Mayflower*, made voyages never to be repeated; together they sail through the centuries, sister-ships, equal in imperishable renown; one found where America was, the other showed the world what it was for.

These new discoverers of America were very English of very English,

a fact that enclosed a fate. They were not rebels, nor fugitives; neither were they Protestants as Protestantism then had become, nor yet Puritans as Puritans were content to be at that time. They were just themselves, dissenters from the current Dissent, to whom the Reformed Church was what Rome had been to Luther. Men called them Brownists because they held the Congregational policy of Church government. But the time to name them had not come; they were a people apart and nobody liked them. James Howell in one of his letters said: "I would be well content to see an Anabaptist go to hell on a Brownist's back."

They were God-drunken men. To them, as to Moses, God had shown the pattern of a Church and State in lines and letters of fire; their eyes dazzled at the vision, they could see naught else. Then America called to them, they hastened to close with its offer; they went forth with feast and song; the winds of destiny were in their sails, they bore America to America.

Not quite. The hundred that embarked at Plymouth were all too many for comfort, but they were one man short. When they unpacked the America they had brought to America, things of price leapt to light; the industrial habits and temper that laid the foundation of American commerce, the "covenant," the seedling of the American Constitution that was to be.

Then followed planks from the old platform of Jewish theocracy and church-directed civilization. In no corner of the hold or cabin of the *Mayflower* was found the indispensable ingredient for making a new history.

But in 1631 the missing man — Roger Williams — came. A Welshman, a kinsman and close friend of Oliver Williams, alias Cromwell, as he signed himself. It often happens that Providence in baking a fresh batch puts a Welshman into the Anglo-Saxon dough to make it rise and give the bread a fresher taste.

Cotton Mather in his *Magnalia* says that Williams had a windmill in his head. But Milton, Cromwell and Vane loved and honored him, and they were good judges of heads. And he was worthy; he accomplished greater things than either of them. He saw what few had ever seen and said more clearly than any had dared.

Columbus had rent the veil that hid one-half the world from the other; Galileo had broken through the enclosures of the Heavens and given the earth her place in the march of stars. Roger Williams untied the gordian knot that tethered the human mind to the post of superstition; he gave the eagle the franchise of the skies.

Cotton Mather raged, the Presbyterians and Independents were furious, the common hangman was employed to burn his book — people have a pathetic faith in fire — notwithstanding the fiasco of Nebuchadnezzar's furnace. Still he won his way; he brought the new idea to the new continent; he made the dough rise; everything in America, together with all that is best in the modern world, tastes of Roger Williams.

For a time it seemed as though the spirit of the Lord had left the English shores with the men of the *Mayflower*.

The Brownists, the dissidents of Dissent, the opponents of nationalism, the advocates of decontrol of Religion, were apparently extinct. "Being at the best," said Bacon, "a very small number of very silly and base people . . . they are now, thanks to God, by the good remedies that have been used, suppressed and worn out. So that there is scarce any news of them."

But the news came before long; eighty small congregations in London raised the slogan, "The New England Way." Bishop Hall was amused at their audacity, led as they were by cobblers, tailors, felt-makers and such like trash, but time soon showed that it was no laughing matter for King or bishop.

It was not given us in England to duplicate your achievement. God is never twice incarnate in the same flesh, nor does Jesus ride the same ass a second time. We had neither your task nor your opportunity. History, and especially Geography, was against us. It was yours to create, ours to transform, and that is slow work. But we have done something. We have had our Pilgrim Fathers, the untravelled travellers of 1662, who, in stepping down from their pulpits and crossing the thresholds of their parsonages, launched their *Mayflower* and founded a new England in the very heart of the old. "From that time a new element," says J. R. Green, "in our religious and political history, the element of Dissent, the influence of Nonconformist Churches, comes first into play."

If your embattled farmers fired the shot heard round the world, we had the Rebellion that cost a King his life and grew into the Revolution that cost his dynasty the throne.

You have your starred names, Washington, Hamilton, Farragut, Franklin, Webster, Lincoln, and how many more! We have Cromwell, Milton, Vane, Wesley — not unworthy to place beside them on the roll of honor, as men sealed of the tribe of the Pilgrims, both those who discovered the use of America and those others who discovered the possibilities of a new England hidden in the old.

Above all, you have your great country, of which you are justly proud, and for which the whole world is grateful. We too have our great little country, and whose sons flew on the wings of every wind, from east and west, north and south, as to a mother in her hour of need, for the love they had unto her.

Here then they stand, these two peoples, on the morrow of a great victory, for which they fought side by side.

As to their achievement — "*si monumentum requiris, circumspice.*" America and England, in their most characteristic and individual features, America and Britain standing at the head of the modern world with, so far as the low visibility of this clouded dawn of a new day permits one to see, the fate and future of the world on their hands — that is their achievement and their tremendous task.

We all praise the fathers for the work they did — but what say you to the work they bequeathed us?

"It is provided," said Whitman, "in the essence of things, that from the fruition of success shall come forth something to make a greater struggle necessary." The thing that emerges from the success and the failure of the past is so great that it overshadows all other issues, so insistent and strident in its call that it makes a silence for itself above all the noises of the world. It comes out of the success that has piled up wealth beyond all men's dreams, and the failure to banish poverty, anxiety and care from a single country or city; it comes out of the success in sending the Gospel of Christ to the heathen and the failure to repulse the invasion of a new heathenism at home; it comes out of the success in wresting Liberty from the hands of Popes, Kings and Kaisers, and the failure to make any part of the world safe for anybody. To whom does this thing come? It comes wherever the fruition of success has been greatest, and where by contrast the failure is most apparent and appalling. That is, first and foremost, to Britain and America, and it comes with a trumpet that gives no uncertain sound.

Our paths diverge. I know enough of America to know that it is not another England. And if I did not know it of myself, has it not been drilled into me, have I not been cautioned by the wise and prudent to be very careful in what I say?

I know then that America has its own orientation in politics, its peculiar tasks and problems, and I also know enough not to say one word about these things.

In England we also have our own peculiar tasks. We have, for instance, to finish certain things, to knock off the little chains that every Englishman carries. They are not very heavy now, but they chafe occasionally. President Wilson went from the King's Palace to a little dissenting chapel in Carlisle and thought nothing of it, but the King could not have gone; the chain forbade.

When I landed at New York I felt a sudden lightness; it was as though one were suddenly to lose his touch of rheumatism that by long tenure had become part of himself. I had lost my Nonconformity; I shall find it again at Southampton, for it is still epidemic in England. In England we are all schismatics, pestilent folk, who can neither be married nor buried like other people. Only in Wales have they found a cure. The countrymen of Roger Williams took his medicine made up in the New England way; it acted like a charm. Today the Welsh have as clean a bill of health as the Americans.

But that is a very small and strictly domestic affair; ecclesiastical questions are spent issues. In England we have other weightier and harder tasks, *also* domestic, and it would be a real kindness if neighbors did not crowd round the doors quite so much.

Chief among our problems is the social question: "Jesus Christ of Heaven in poor man's apparel pursueth us ever." He no longer begs, he demands just and equal laws.

Our Congregational forefathers found injustice in the form of persecution a commonplace of civil procedure and made a sin of it.

Their descendants found slavery a Bible-protected industry in which good men, like John Newton and George Whitfield, could engage — they made a sin of that and carried the consciences of the civilized world with them.

The Church that shall make a sin of all the persecution which in the form of injustice afflicts mankind shall have the reversion of the future, and in all anniversaries of happier days to come shall be celebrated as the great Church of the world of 1920.

If the Will of God is revealed in the needs of men, look at the world today; it is a book written within and without, and the word that leaps to the eye from every page is Peace — peace on earth, good-will among men.

You do not — pardon me, you in your so happily placed country cannot see it as we who not only heard the thunder of the guns on the wind, but saw the murder-boats sailing over London and other cities, night after night unloading their freight of destruction and death on defenceless people, till men cursed the moon for shining and hated the light of the stars.

Shall all that horror come again? Yea, and tenfold worse, say the militarists of every country. Peace is the dream of fools; war is a fate.

What say you? The peace of the past was too patchy and precarious. The greatest of all wars calls for a peace still greater. Is it not time for all the world to take this matter seriously?

Geography that in 1620 called for universal freedom now calls for universal peace.

The new geography of the war-graves, little bits of America in Europe, of England, Italy, France, Russia and Germany, God's acre, the new country of the democracy of sacrifice, the internationalization of Death.

Salpisei! The trumpet shall sound! It is sounding. Every man that fell for liberty stands, trumpet at lip, calling the world to crown his sacrifice with the Great Peace. The call is to the Churches of the Lord Jesus Christ; this is for them the issue of issues today. The call is to America and Britain, the two mighty peoples that have the power of life and death in their hands.

The possibilities of good and evil that lie folded like seeds side by side in their attitude to and their feelings for each other are incalculable;

HON. CALVIN COOLIDGE
Honorary Chairman Boston Committee

ARTHUR HOLBROOK WELLMAN
Chairman Boston Committee

REV. FLETCHER D. PARKER
Secretary Boston Committee



whoever at this great hour shall succeed in driving a wedge between these two so as to divert them from the work that comes to them out of their own past history shall achieve a master-stroke of wickedness that shall secure the devil a new lease on earth and win applause through all the sounding halls of hell.

May God avert the omen! For these two were made for this great hour. No chance is here, but the finger of God. Two branches of one race, developing on different lines, at a great distance from each other, yet in spite of many differences indissolubly united by the moral idea that runs like a thread of gold through their history.

The Bible — the open Bible — has been a more potent factor in the shaping of these two peoples, than it was permitted to be in the making of any other modern nation.

And now every other culture, every other type of civilization, every other religion is breaking or has broken down. Where shall the world look — under God — for help but to these two that still hold the Faith that made them what they are?

I have not come here to praise America, that would be impertinent; nor have I come to apologize for my own country, that would be indecent.

Faults, of course, she has, though I cannot remember them at the moment — I am too far from home for that. Nor is there any need, that department is well looked after; one might say that it was a trifle over-staffed.

But in God's name, what is the chaff to the wheat? What to the world's desperate need of the great peace? Weak nations are crying out for security, backward nations for help?

Is the world as a whole never to have a chance? Never one chance in all the ages between creation and doom?

Yes; it is the will of God that the whole world should now have its chance of peace, health, light and life; the will is writ large in the needs of men and the opportunity of the hour.

"He hath sounded with the trumpet that shall never call retreat —
He is sifting out the hearts of men before His judgment seat.
He is sifting out the hearts of men!
O! be swift my soul to answer Him!"

OUR INTERNATIONAL OBLIGATIONS

REV. W. NELSON BITTON

Certain premises regarding our subject tonight are fortunately clear and generally accepted. The fact that world duty lies upon the Christian Church admits of no question. There is no occasion to labor an argument from either the need of the world or the nature of the Gospel in order to convince true Christian disciples of their obligations to men everywhere. The categorical commands of Christ, the exhortations of the Epistles, and all the known range of apostolic example conspire to drive home the claims of mankind, our brethren, upon our thought and our service. Our ideals of the Kingdom of God are in the end vain, unless they make contact on terms of service with all God's children. The very nature of Christian truth demands a universal background to give it an eternal value, while the nature of the final judgment into which we all must come is set for us by our Master and Judge in words of international scope. Before Him shall be gathered "all the nations." Only the woefully ignorant or the wilfully blind can evade the world implications of the Christian profession. "We are debtors to all men" and our unescapable commission is to all

mankind. No man or woman is wholly Christian, we assent, who remains indifferent to the service of the world or is unresponsive to its cry of need.

It is one of the unmistakable marks of the essential Christian that he is made by his faith, beyond all others the *citizen of the world*. A lover of his country he may be, indeed he should be, but a *lover of men he must be* if he is to fulfil the law of Christ. And the latter obligation must be first in place. Greater and more compelling than the claims of the place of our birth stand the claims of our dear city of God, and above the loyalties of our political fatherland are the loyalties of the Kingdom of the Universal Father. Many of the greatest and ever-recurring tragedies of human existence have arisen from the conflict between these lesser and greater loyalties, and we today, with a Christian conscience alive on the one hand, and international politics, burdensome, imminent, keen upon the other, are bound to face that same tragic and frequently agonizing strife. The greatest of God's souls among mankind have often enough been exiled and even accused among their kindred for the sake of the kinship of the Eternal. Where would the Church of Christ stand today; nay, what would the world of today be worth if noble hearts had not in every generation set first the Kingdom of God and His Righteousness, or have been found ready at His call to go forth; not knowing whither they went?

Here let us mark a distinction. Such exiles are never mere emigrants. Wherever these pilgrim souls go they are at home, for ever and everywhere they proclaim they are in their Father's house. Those men and women landing on Plymouth Rock were exiles from their home beyond the seas, but they were consciously within the Fatherland of God. Was not that the secret of their indomitable perseverance, and the very spring of all their noble endeavor? They received the holy vision of the world as the home of God's children and the peoples of mankind as in His family. That was why they set out to preach His Gospel to the Indians about them, and it explains John Eliot. It was not isolation that they sought, but freedom for high fellowship. It was not the narrowness but the breadth of their ideals of life which sent them forth. So they settled their homes in the fear and worship of God and they became missionary, two of the essential marks, I venture to assert, of a loyal and sincere Christian discipleship.

Have you not remarked how often in history this assurance of God everywhere present has been the feature of the adventurous life? It was there in the great Elizabethans, out of whose daring in thought and exploration the Puritans so largely sprang. Here is the picture of one of them in his little threatened ship on the stormy Atlantic seas:

He sat upon the deck,
The Book was in his hand;
We are as near to Heaven, he said,
By water as by land.

To live consciously in God's world, to know God's Fatherhood, and to accept Christ's message of God's Kingdom is necessarily to enter into fellowship with all mankind and to acknowledge obligation toward all people.

Next a word as to the nature of these international obligations which are upon us as Christian people. The basis of our international obligations are not primarily political, although they may become so. Let me emphasize this, for it is vital. We must never allow ourselves as Christians to be maneuvered off our own ground. Mere statecraft is not our point of view, although we believe ours is the profoundest and sanest statecraft. The Christian position in International affairs is higher, more far-reaching, more lasting and fundamental than diplomacy. Many of our failures in dealing with statesmen have been due to our forgetfulness of this all-im-

portant fact. It is when, and because, we enter the realm of politics on the level of the politician that he beats us, and will do so, every time. The children of this world are wiser in their generation than the children of light. Our province is one of moral issues arising from spiritual principles. Our care for the good of the world rests upon a certain and unalterable view of the soul life and personality of man which has been born of the teaching of Jesus. The prayer of our Lord, — "Our Father," — commands our attitude and governs our relationship towards men who are our brothers in Him. It is not for us to be first of all concerned with "alliances," "balances of power," "international trade policies," or "orders of Government" (republican, soviet or monarchical). These and other grave questions will arise and call for thought and attention. But we do not begin there or find our inspiration with any of them. Our interest in the world, and our duty towards it, is then neither political nor expedient, but *Christian*. We have lost heavily in the past and are losing today from a failure to make a clear distinction here. For lack of it we confuse means and end. Take an illustration from recent history. The form of government in China has aroused in the last ten years no little interest in this and other lands. Now the question as to whether government in China should be autocracy, modified monarchy or republicanism, after either the American or French pattern, is, as it seems to me, no concern of the Christian Church. The one thing which does concern us as Christians is the freedom of spiritual expression for the Chinese people. Given this, the rest follows in due time, and in scarcely any two cases or two places does it follow in the same way.

Our English-speaking nations are far too anxious to mark every other system of government with our own imprint, in spite of the fact that we find more fault with those governments in our own lands than any other race under the sun. We have no divine commission to set the stamp of Anglo-Saxon government upon the rest of mankind. We have a commission, by our human brotherhood, to help the world to such a freedom as shall enable all men to live as the children of God with all the rights and privileges of spiritual sonship. This may involve us in political matters, truly, but in these things let us see to it that our position is clean and clear. Spiritual and moral issues make our sphere of service, not political method or expediency.

The need for care in this respect gains urgency from the nature of some of the arguments now being advanced for an Anglo-American understanding or alliance. We all want such an understanding, but let us be sure why, as Christian people, we Congregationalists hope and pray for this. Is it because together, as some urge, the Anglo-Saxon peoples could *dictate* peace to the world? And if we could, would it be worth while, and for how long would it last? Or is it because together we could defend our national interests (political and commercial) and keep possible enemies or competitors in their places? Could Anglo-Saxon dominance provide for long the peace the world so deeply needs, or would it not inevitably hold within it the seeds of disruption and world war?

What is the Christian argument for an Anglo-American understanding? Here are nations of common blood, of Christian heritage and ideal, dowered in the providence of God with great possessions, unique energy and a world-wide scope of enterprise, having a desire to spread the Kingdom of God throughout the earth, with missionaries in every land. Cannot these two peoples unite to offer to needy men everywhere a helping hand, to make an example of peaceful progress before all peoples, and by love of each other set up a standard before the nations which shall lead the world into the way of peace? Are not these the dreams we cherish in our hearts? Do they not make us realize how near the very Kingdom of God might be on earth if, at this moment, great Christian leadership and God-given

courage could come to our peoples? Let us sound the Christian note in our international politics. Whether men will hear or whether they forbear, we must not be faithless.

For our encouragement let us call to remembrance how high and ready a response national life may give to great moral ideals. It will save us from undue pessimism. Let little Belgium, which refused to sell its soul, comfort us concerning the spirit of man. And on the other side of the world, China in the overthrow of opium may well remind us of what the East is capable. So let the passing of slavery, the response to the appeal of Wilberforce, and the life and death of David Livingstone in Britain and to John Brown and Lincoln here in America, renew the story. Most impressive of all to your British visitors, the fact of prohibition may exalt our hopes. Surely no man can urge that moral purpose is low in a nation which has overthrown the demon of drink by the voluntary consent of its own people. If we will but see things aright, the omens that are for us are more than they that be against us. The mountainsides are full of the hosts of God, we are encompassed about with a great cloud of witnesses. Pray God that it may not be through our cowardice that His cause fails in this His day.

Another vital remembrance is here in place. The world in which we live is not an Anglo-Saxon world, — not yet! There are a few other important peoples scattered about the world. One, at least, of the continents we have failed in the past to reckon with is dominating the horizon. The representatives of many of these nations are here with us. This Council would wish to greet the men from Africa, Armenia, China, Japan and India as brothers in the Church of the Lord Jesus. And if we glory somewhat, as we have done, in our Anglo-Saxondom, it is in no sense to their exclusion or to their detriment, but for their service. We believe the glory that is yet to be revealed through the Church is greater than that of days gone by, and we believe God is going to teach and lead us through them. We would say to you: Brethren, wherever it is given us to help and serve you we want you to call upon us for help and service. We are in the same fellowship in Christ, and members of the one family under God.

We shall do well to let the international nature of these gatherings bring us to the thought of the inclusive character of God's will for His Church. The modern era in Church history has been largely an era of Anglo-Saxon leadership in the progress of religion. Such leadership is always to be won, however; it is not a vested right and cannot become a permanent possession. Human nature is too prone to project the present into the future and to plan forward on the basis of a perpetuated now. The fact that the Christian Church has been so largely domiciled in Europe through its history tends itself to a forgetfulness of the essential world nature of the Christian religion and to an ignoring of primitive conditions. We live in a world where the vast majority of mankind will never be white, and if our prayers for the Kingdom of God were fulfilled tomorrow we should be in a minority. Do we realize what this should mean for us in our plan and thought for the Church of Christ which is to be? Boston, London, Geneva, Rome, these places may not, indeed ought not, to remain the vital centers of Christian life! Tokio, Peking, Delhi, Zanzibar, in the day of the Church's triumph, these may be the greater names. We forget, too often, as we look out over a Church committed by God to a white man leadership today, that the spirit of God is not confined to white men, nor the glory of God dependent upon European or American devotion. Even the theory of Apostolical Succession has to reckon with the free spirit of God. Church history should prove the corrective of our short view. What North Africa was once in the Councils of the Church of Christ, South Africa or India may be in the future, and the little child among the nations may yet lead the Church of God. When God made man in His

own image, it is very doubtful whether he made Him white. The Anglo-Saxon needs particularly to be reminded that in the realm of Christian life goodness counts for more than power, and that if black or brown men reveal more truly than others the grace of God, and if other than European or American peoples more fully portray the virtues of Christ our Lord, the spiritual leadership of men becomes theirs. In all our thought of men of other races we must remember their potential rights and powers, and in the face of our doctrine of the Fatherhood of God make our international Christian program truly Christian. Even within His church God is no respecter of persons.

Now to us as Congregationalists alike in the realm of international relationships as in Christian fellowship great privileges and great opportunities are offered. Our people, thank God, have never been slow to make their voice heard in great questions of international justice or social iniquity. We have not always been wise in our ways, but in general we have been loyal to truth. Turn back to our history and you will see that even where the general trend of opinion has gone wrong there have ever been outstanding prophets of the truth among us. At times these men and women worry us, they are (especially in time of war) somewhat too instant in season and out of season. Nevertheless it will be wise for us, as a matter of history, to let their record stand. One day we and our children may want to use it in self-defense. It is the glory of our Congregational order that it has room for the prophet and the pioneer. Look at the records of great missionaries. They have voiced the inarticulate cry of the oppressed in the dark lands of the earth and have rebuked kings and governments in the name of Christ. Freedom in every land owes us an immeasurable debt. And the task is but half done. Whilst slavery is in the earth and drink and drugs are wrecking the lives of men, whilst great evils and mighty ignorance lay low the poor and needy, whilst greed and injustice stalk through far lands unhindered and unexposed, we must proclaim the righteousness of God and His holy will for the protection of the inherent rights of the spirit of man. Our great concern in the world is that principle of liberty which is derived from the value of the individual soul. We must learn a less compromising way. Our testimony might be less diffuse and more intensive with very much greater effect. A church which is deeply and unbendingly concerned with a few vital and deep themes is going to be infinitely more operative with governments and with men than one which has just a finger in every pie. If our people could concentrate in world affairs upon a few great essential moral problems, a note of authority would come into the witness of Congregationalism which might work wonders. We have trimmed the sails too much to the chance breezes of the shore. We must out to where the great winds blow. For our way is on the open sea, and our voyage toward a new country.

In the life of the Christian Church ours is a great commission. Through prison and exile, persecution and death, our fathers have made us the free men of his Kingdom. It is a mighty trust. Noblesse oblige. I do not speak of what this ought to mean within the range of our home Church life, but in the wide field of the world it is a far-reaching obligation. Here is the declaration of policy made in 1795 by the founders of the London Missionary Society. "It is declared to be a fundamental principle of the Missionary Society that its design is not to send Presbyterianism, Independency, Episcopacy, or any other form of Church order and Government (about which there may be difference of opinion among serious persons), but the glorious Gospel of the blessed God to the heathen, and that it shall be left, as it ought to be left, to the minds of the persons whom God may call into the fellowship of His Son from among them to assume for themselves such form of Church Government as to them shall appear most agreeable to the Word of God." There speaks the faith of free believers in the unfettered

and effective power of the Holy Spirit of God. It is the expression of the true Catholic spirit. British Congregationalists may well glory in the fact that they have no desire to change this constitution. As with the London Missionary Society, so with the American Board. Our men and women carry no trust deeds, books of discipline or formal creeds to the mission field. Within the range of evangelical Christian loyalty they are free to experiment, to serve, to enquire, and to relate according to the needs of the place and people they serve. Their very Congregationalism makes them pioneers.

It is no accident therefore that has given in the past outstanding missionary leadership to our respective Societies. The doctrine has made the men. Nor is it an accident today that the great native missionary leadership in Japan and China is of our order. We acclaim President Harada and Dr. Cheng-Ching-yi and their fellows. For we have been spiritually bred in the atmosphere in which they have grown so great. In the day of real problems which is now upon the Church in the mission fields, problems of native leadership, of Church independence, of missionary cooperation and of a united missionary Church of Jesus Christ, our men and women bear a great responsibility. Others look to them for guidance in these things. They and their churches are free, and the mark of the new missionary pioneer will be a zeal in Christian adventure and discovery within the realm of the Christian church. Equip and send forth your men. Trust and sustain your mission churches. "Adventure greatly for God throughout the world" should be the temper of our response to our international missionary obligation.

Finally, we must produce a new atmosphere for international relationship in our own church and home life if we are successfully to meet the obligations of today. Permit me to make a few concrete suggestions for the purpose of bringing this address to a practical conclusion.

1. We should endeavor to cultivate in our children and young people the international mind and the habit of international sympathy. The interest of children in the children of other races should be turned into channels of love and good-will, and not into ridicule, enmity, or the spirit of superiority which breeds contempt. We should encourage that heart of love, so sweet and so significant in the lives of our children, to embrace within it all the child life of the world. By literature and picture much may be done; the sympathy of teachers in the day schools should be secured for this end, and the impressions received through the Sunday School must be cumulative towards the same great goal. Geography, biography, adventure and the heroic in history, all should be enlisted in this service. Our mind and our programme must be more attentive to the rising generation. With them the present age will, perchance, turn the corner of world history for good or for ill.

2. This cannot be done unless in our home and social life the unfortunate habit, born of carelessness more than intent, of speaking slightly of other races than our own be rigidly suppressed. "Chinks, Dagoes, Niggers," and so on, are often enough not terms of contempt, but they are dangerous and derogatory in effect for all that, and should be very strictly guarded against.

3. We must safeguard more jealously the leadership of the pulpit in the interests of international good-will. The incautious are in the matter too readily led astray. Our ministry must resist and indeed resent every attempt made to sow dissension among nations and refuse to allow its message to be used for purposes of enmity by either partisan governments or by any section of the yellow press. These too frequent newspaper stunts which strive to work upon a superficial and spurious patriotism for unworthy ends are essentially vicious and anti-Christian. The pulpit cannot be used to fan the flames of popular passion save at its peril and at the risk

of disloyalty to the ideals of the Kingdom of God. For the work of righteousness is peace. We can never have hymns of hate in our churches or ministerial exhortations. We have not so learned Christ. In Britain at this time we have the great task before us, now that war is ended, to restore and nourish in Europe the broken heart of peace. That is a paramount duty for the Christian Church. We ask your sympathy and prayers in this enterprise.

4. Our Christianity must stand in the face of world suffering and need, for a positive and constructive program. Our Churches and our people need to be helped to view the Gospel in the setting of the Kingdom, a thing which too many of them have never yet done. Their God is the God of Comfort, and of Providence. He is the King, and His Christ is their hope of personal salvation, but he is not the Father of all men, and the hope of the ends of the earth. We must strive and strive again to bring men to relate Christ to the ultimate problems of the world, and energize thereby the Christian Church for world service. Where the Gospel is set forth in all its world potentialities and implications it challenges men to effort. This is the radical remedy for the many counsels of despair, theological and social, in which the pessimist and the craven-hearted are so often now found taking refuge from the storms of life. Man has failed, they say, let God, or evolution, as the case may be, settle it all. Man has not failed. He has not really tried. All the ways of God in the world today are crying aloud to men who know him for service. Be up and doing!

For the call, — do you not hear it, that insistent note, borne in upon us day by day — comes borne on all the winds of the world. Starving Europe! Bleeding Armenia! Bewildered and desolated Russia! The outcasts, the misguided, the restless in India! Womanhood sighing for light in the darkness that is over the Eastern world! China alternating between hope and despair, pride and sullenness, — seeking help at every possible door! Her children, and her poor, like those of India and Japan, crying in helpless misery under the advancing waves of commercial materialism; and ambitious, talented, driving Japan, on the very brink of the precipice of moral fate! *All these call.*

And if the Gospel of Christ cannot answer, where then is the world's hope? Men and women, do we really believe in Christ, the Desire of the Nations, and the Lord and Saviour of men? Then we must declare our Faith in Holy Deeds.

"For the support of this declaration, with a reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, let us mutually pledge to each other (and to Him) our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor!"

WOMEN AND THE NEED OF THE PRESENT DAY

PRESIDENT MARY E. WOOLLEY

How interesting it would be to welcome here this morning a group of our grandmothers of three hundred years ago! How interesting would be the comparison with their granddaughter of today! In dress, in manners, in speech, in outlook upon life, in customs — there is not an aspect of life in which the differences would not be dramatic. Strange as the life of their day would seem to us, the life of our day would seem infinitely more strange to them. And I am inclined to think that we should be obliged to apologize to them for more than they would feel called upon to apologize to us!

We may not see the quaint figures from the *Speedwell* and the *Mayflower* on Boston streets today, but the qualities which made them great have not ceased to exist. They have many daughters, daughters of the spirit as well as daughters of the flesh, New England women whose ancestors came

not from Old England or from Holland, but from the countries of the far North and of the sunny South of Europe, and even from the lands of the Orient. Great human qualities are not the exclusive possession of any one people, any more than of any one age. Probably our Pilgrim grandmothers would not recognize many of these descendants of theirs; speech, manner, dress would seem strange to them; but they are daughters, nevertheless.

This celebration, so significant from every point of view, has special significance for special groups. It is to the group of daughters of the women of 1620 that I wish to bring a message, a message from their grandmothers 300 years ago, their grandmothers of the spirit. It is a message of the way in which honor may best be paid to those grandmothers, it is a message of the way in which we may bind together into one complete whole "the glories of the past" and the "wonders of the future." The only way in which an heroic past is worthily celebrated is in making the Anniversary a stepping-stone to an heroic future.

There are two qualities characteristic of the women of 1620 as of the men. The first is *integrity*. It is a fine old word, integrity, with a fine connotation, "Uprightness of character and soundness of moral principle." Without *integrity* there would not have been the United States of America. The uprightness of character and soundness of moral principle were not limited to the personal life of the individual; they were wrought into the collective life, were woven into the fabric of the state. We have sometimes criticized. The uprightness has seemed almost like a bending backward; the soundness too much like the inflexibility of New England's rocky coast. Are we in that mood today, I wonder? Rather in this year of our Lord 1920 have we not come to a clearer and almost appalling realization of our need of that fundamental type of character in this facing of another new world, a new world in as real a sense as that which the men and women of 1620 faced? And in the shaping of the new world the American woman has a heavier responsibility, a more direct relationship than any ever before borne by women. Her responsibility for uprightness of character and soundness of moral principle transcends the personal, fundamental as that is. If she would honor the past and serve the present, she must care supremely and work untiringly for the *integrity* of the common life, in its political and social aspects. Indifference and ignorance are criminal in this day of need, and the American woman who does not care, who is absorbed in her own interests, who will not make the effort to think wisely and act justly on the tremendous political and social questions of today is unworthy of her heritage.

"At the watercourses of Reuben there were great searchings of heart." An Anniversary like this is a time not alone for looking backward or even forward; it is a time also for looking within. It is a simple but very searching test, this test of uprightness of character and soundness of moral principle. Do we fall short of it today in our political and social life, do we? Is this Republic which we love, and in which we believe, always true in the principles upon which it was founded? As we examine our community life, our national life, do we find always in our government, in our human relationships, in the men who represent us, uprightness of character and soundness of moral principle? And if we do not, whose fault is it? It will be *our* fault, the fault of us who are women, infinitely more in the future than in the past. May this Anniversary be a sacramental time for us, a day of taking a solemn vow, that our influence, our effort from this day forward, shall be exerted on the side of upright character and sound moral principle in the government of this land of ours.

A second quality characteristic of the women of 1620 is *idealism*. Had there been no vision, there would have been no Pilgrim mothers or fathers. Who can compute the driving force of a great ideal? There is no power

commensurate with it. And there is no need today that can be compared with this need.

The ranks of idealists are recruited largely by women, it is said. I dinna ken! Some of the greatest idealists I have known have been women — and some have been men! It may be that Constance Maynard, one of England's college presidents, was right when she said: "Men have chiefly to do with what *is*, and they must make the best of the material which lies before them; but women have chiefly to do with *what will be*, or rather (if we have eyes to see it) *what ought to be*. Our thoughts and aims lie a little beyond the blue horizon that encircles the present decade. . . . The lot that falls to us is nothing but endless hope that the future world will be better than the one we know." Not only "endless hope," but also endless effort that the future world may be better than the one we know.

The need of humanity today is great, — it cries out for a great ideal to satisfy that need. We have wondered sometimes — some of us — at the *passion* of religion among the Pilgrims, the power which it was in their lives. It is the crises of life which awaken the sense of passionate need and passionate desire for a power outside oneself to satisfy that need. We are living through a crisis in the world life. "Humanity has struck its tents and is again on the march" — are the solemn words of General Smuts. Whither? And down the ages comes the answer, "I am the Way" —

Oh, women of America, let us not be afraid of being called idealists! Rather may we glory in following in the footsteps of the men and women to whom we bring homage in these Tercentenary days, the men and women who were willing to sacrifice home and country, to brave terrors of sea and an unknown land, for an ideal. May more of their courage, of their devotion to upright character and sound principle, of their reverence and devoutness, of their passion for the things of the Spirit, enter into our lives, that we may have some part in realizing in this land of theirs and ours their vision of a nation whose God is the Lord.

REALISM IN RELIGION

REV. CARL S. PATTON, D.D.

In speaking of realism in religion my object is neither philosophical nor literary, but practical and religious. There is a certain quality which we call reality. This quality we distinguish not only from sham and hypocrisy but from whatever is merely imaginary, fictitious or artificial. The dream is real, but only as a dream. The paint on the lady's face is real but it obscures the reality of the face beneath it. Imagination, romance, glamour, illusion, are real, but they throw an air of unreality about the things over which they are spread. Whatever realism may mean anywhere else, I mean by it here the habit which dispenses with doctoring or coloring, which tries to see the thing as it is, which gladly uses art and imagination, but uses them not to mislead or mystify, but to reveal. The attempt to disguise, to dress the thing up better and more attractive, or worse and more repulsive, or in any way other than as it is, is romanticism, obscurantism, or what you will. Realism believes that reality is a better foundation than can be manufactured or imagined in its stead. It is the habit that starts from reality, that tends to keep it always in sight, that checks itself constantly by it, and comes back to it as often as it finds itself wandering away. And this realism, whatever its methods or its tools, has in religion only one purpose, and that is to make religion real.

A certain degree of unreality crops to the surface now and then in us all. Talking sometimes at a reception, to a lady whose name you did not catch, upon a topic about which you know and care nothing, have you not become

conscious of an expression on your face and a tone in your voice that did not correspond to anything that was going on in your mind? Out in company where you do not feel quite at home, have you not caught sight of yourself unexpectedly in the glass, and wondered whether it was you?

But I fear that in religion we are especially subject to these fits of unreality. I have been to church before now where the preacher spoke in a tone I never heard outside, in a vocabulary that wouldn't mean anything around the house, of things remote from my everyday life, and I have pinched myself to see whether I was awake. When I got back into the open air, I felt as if I had been somewhere and had got home. I have also been to church where I was greatly impressed; the beauty of the service, the eloquence and imagination of the preacher beat in upon me like a tide, — but I have felt all the while that it was not quite real; it was rather the perfect illusion of reality created by art and man's device as in the theater, than reality itself. It had cast a spell over me, but it would fade into the light of common day. I felt as if something were being put over on me — something high, something fine, put over in a beautiful way and with no purpose except to do me good, but still being put over. There are many people to whom religion has a sort of uncanny appearance. It smells of antiquity and eternity, of death and judgment, but no odor of the earth or of human nature clings to it. They view it reverently and in awe, like Hamlet looking upon his father's ghost. But they do not feel like going up and shaking hands with it. It is real in a way but not like the present price of a suit of clothes, not like the note in the bank or the mortgage on the house. I suppose this is one reason so many people never speak of religion. They do not know quite how to get hold of it. They will exhaust every other subject, and then keep still for lack of anything to say, while the one topic that is most important and most interesting lies beside them untouched. There is certainly an air of unreality about much of our religion.

There are many ways in which this unreality of religion has come about. There is our way of thinking of it as a thing of the distant past and the distant future. We make it originate in the promise of God to Abraham or to Adam. Both these men are far enough away to begin with, and both get further off every day. We make it eventuate in the world to come, and most of us persuade ourselves that that is even further off. How can religion be real, I mean real like the breakfast bell or the train you didn't catch, how can it be real like anything of today, so long as we make it a sort of rainbow, with one end resting in Palestine and the other in heaven?

There is also the idea that we do not understand religious matters as we do other things, but by the use of some special faculty made for that purpose. A man knows chemistry by his experiments, history by his reading, business by his experience, all ordinary affairs by the use of his judgment and common sense. But in religion he is bidden to fall back upon some sixth sense, some faculty of "faith," some occult power of intuition, — some mysterious faculty, he knows not what, only something that is not for ordinary use. And when he objects to some statement about religion, that he cannot see it, that it doesn't seem to him to have any sense or justice in it, we say to him, "But spiritual things are spiritually discerned."

There is also the fatal facility with which we substitute words for the things that are behind them. It is easy to say "God." It is hard to stop and think what you mean by it. There are technical terms in religion as in anything else. These technical terms are the blank check of religion, they are not good for anything unless you fill them in. "The grace of God," "the blood of Jesus," "the divinity of Christ," "inspiration," "heaven and hell," — when you have used these technical terms of religion about so long without stopping to attach a distinct meaning to them, or to find out whether the meaning you attach to them corresponds to the

facts behind them, religion becomes a sort of spiritual fog to you. You may wander in it with safety, but you always come back to the ordinary affairs of life like a man waking from a dream.

It is not our fault that these things are easy for us. Nor is it our fault that the Christian religion grew up in an intellectual world absolutely unlike the one in which we live; or that its origins are recounted in a literature, the youngest parts of which are at least eighteen hundred years old, which we read to the people in an English mostly of three hundred years ago. Nor yet that many generations through which it has passed, and which have left their stamp upon it, thought in categories that have become meaningless to us, and that we are therefore tempted to force our own religious thought into words that do not fit it. But all these things and others have woven a veil around the face of religion through which she looks out muffled and indistinct. And whoever would make religion vital to the men of his time must with a devout but fearless realism draw aside this veil and show the unmistakable features of the face within.

And he must do it these days, more than ever before. For this is the day of realism. Art has felt it, and no more paints St. Peter going fishing in a purple robe long enough to trip up a queen, but like a real fisherman. Poetry has felt it, and, instead of talking about knights and ladies, says real things about real folks. Oratory has felt it, and the stately period and the orotund voice have become obsolete. Fiction has felt it, and the most real of all biographies are the novels. Philosophy has felt it, and instead of allowing herself the luxury of spinning a world out of her own bowels, like the spider, sits patiently down to criticising human experience and relating the various branches of human knowledge. Education, once largely literary and historical, has become primarily scientific. Inquiry has given place to acquisition. Men are shy of authority and tradition. The mythologies, at least except in religion, have died out. Invention and discovery have become like gods, and show us our good and evil. A great world war in which whole nations went back to the primitive, and the veil was torn from many an illusion, has but intensified these forces long at work, and made us impatient with things that do not matter. We are intolerant of makeshifts and make-believes. We want the thing itself. This is no passing phase. It is the breath in the nostrils of democracy. It is the essence of our modern attitude toward life.

And shall not religion, especially in an age like this, be a thing absolutely familiar? Shall not a man get close to it as he does to nature? Shall he not know it as he knows his business? Shall he not be at home with it as he is with his family? Shall it not be under his feet like the ground he walks on, around him like the air he breathes, and in him like the blood that runs in his veins? And can we not help to make it so?

We certainly can. We can do three simple things. First, we can make people think about religion. When people begin to think about religion, they may do or suffer some curious things. But there is one thing which will always happen to people who think about religion, — religion will become real to them. There is no other way to make anything real. For nothing is real to you, not the woes of Armenia, not the crimes that shake the world, nor the constancies that hold it together, not the sun in the sky, not God, not anything is real to you if you do not think about it. Religion is the open door to all ultimate questions. What is it all for? What is it all about? Who is God and what does He want of us? How do we know Him? Who was Jesus, that one should listen to him more than to others? And what has he to say to this generation? Fate and freedom and human destiny, whence and whither and why? — God has stuck the universe full of interrogation points. He is the great questioner. He throws the world at our feet and says to every man and every generation, "What do you think of it?"

Therefore nothing makes religion more unreal than the assumption that occasionally gets around that all religious questions have been answered. Speaking of his boyhood in this city, Henry Adams said, "Of all the conditions in his youth that afterwards puzzled the grown-up man, the disappearance of religion puzzled him most. The boy went to church twice every Sunday; he was taught to read his Bible, and he learned religious poetry by heart; he believed in a mild deism; he prayed; he went through all the forms, but neither to him nor to his brothers or sisters was religion real." And the reason it wasn't real is plain, for Adams goes on to say: "That the most powerful emotion of man, next to the sexual, should disappear, might be a personal defect of his own; but that the most intelligent society, led by the most intelligent clergy, in the most moral conditions he ever knew, should have solved all the problems of the universe so thoroughly as to have quite ceased making itself anxious about past or future, and should have persuaded itself that all the problems which have convulsed human thought from earliest recorded time were not worth discussing, seemed to him the most curious phenomenon he ever had to account for." The state of mind may be hard to account for. But given the state of mind, the disappearance of religion is easy. Nor does it matter whether we think we have answered all the questions of religion ourselves, or whether we think they have all been answered in the Bible or in the creeds. There is no reality in hunting in a forest where everybody knows the game is all dead, no matter who killed it. The real religious questions are never answered once for all. They must be answered by every generation for itself, by every man for himself. We cannot answer them for anybody. But we can show every man that he must answer them for himself. We can show him what the questions are, and in what direction the answers lie. We can give him the materials to answer with. When people warn us away from disputed questions, we can recognize frankly that the live questions are the disputed ones. We can eschew the trivial. We can forego the substitution of ritual for intellectual processes. Men want to think, like to think, have to think about something. Does any one suppose that a live man would rather think about bugs or beetles or even about carburetors or differentials, than about God, if he only has some encouragement to think about Him, and some materials to think about Him with? We can make men think about religion.

Second, we can speak of religion in the same plain way in which we speak of other high and noble things. The other day my choir sang the praises of "the Lord God of Sabbaoth." I assumed that my people, so far as they observed the word, would regard it as an antique spelling of Sabbath. They would also excuse it on the ground that antique forms of speech are appropriate in the church. Too often the preacher's speech betrayeth him. Why not speak so that every man will hear us in his own tongue? There is danger in this habit of speaking plainly, to be sure. Was it Dean Swift who said he always said something in every sermon that nobody could understand, so as to keep the respect of his congregation? There is danger in it. Things should not be made plainer than they are. But most of us can risk the criticism passed upon a great American preacher, "He is so hopelessly lucid." I know the stateliness of language steeped in historic associations. Flippancy and vulgarity in speech every good man abhors. But if the trumpet give an uncertain sound, who will prepare himself for battle? Was there ever an age of such religious uncertainty as this, — ever so many men and women who were born in one church, baptized in another, confirmed in another, got out of sorts with all churches, tried theosophy, free thought, new thought, every kind of thought except thought, and ended by not knowing what they believed? If any part of this religious uncertainty of the times can be laid at our door, because we have not spoken a language "understood of the people," let us be rid

of it. If we spoke of economics or sociology we should have to make ourselves clear. Shall a man handle "the glorious gospel of the blessed God" with less realism than would be demanded of him if he spoke of things of the earth earthy?

Third, we can be perfectly honest about religion. We can stop saying the things we think we are expected to say, and say the things we really believe. Was it Froude who said that the one virtue the church had never been quite able to attain was truth? I met a man the other day, a minister, but, thank God, not a Congregational minister, who was interested that I had known Dr Gladden. "He was a great man," he said. "Yes," I said, "great in his willingness to speak out, and tell the truth as he saw it." "Yes," said he, "and it did not greatly interfere with his success, did it?" It was useless to reply — I could only say to myself, "What other success is there, except just that?" I have never said, not even in my haste, "All men are liars." I do not know that I have ever known one single preacher who deserved that short and ugly name. But a man can get so used to saying what he thinks he is expected to say about Jesus, about God, about the Bible, and to feeling what he thinks he ought to feel, that the edges of his own religion shade off imperceptibly into the surrounding religious atmosphere, and he cannot tell where one leaves off and the other begins, — like the farmer down on the Maine coast who was shingling his barn on a foggy day and shingled right off into the fog. Or why should we handle difficult truths so exclusively by the method of letting them alone? When a great body of devout scholars have been studying the scriptures in ways our fathers were not permitted or prepared to study them, and have arrived at results that are reasonably certain, and are accepted by most people who know them, is there any excuse for proceeding upon the assumption that there are no such men, or that what they have learned is of no consequence? If some of the categories in which God has been historically described, such as omniscience or omnipotence, or as a solitary and unmoving perfection, maintained without respect to what was happening in the world, are misleading or self-contradictory, is there any reason why we should not say so? If Whittier's *Eternal Goodness* brings the love of God home more truly than the book of Esther, or the spiritual affirmations of Browning uplift the soul more than the pessimistic reflections of Ecclesiastes, what is the objection to admitting that God is bigger than we have sometimes thought, and that no man has ever seen any beauty or uttered any truth except by the inspiration of the Almighty? Preachers are known, as a class, for many virtues. Are they noted the world around for the open arms with which they welcome light from every quarter? And are they distinguished from all other men for the abandon with which they forsake all subterfuge and compromise, and speak the naked truth? But how can religion be real on any other terms?

Realism in religion then is an honest treatment of it, in plain terms, calculated to make men think about it. Is there any excuse for any other treatment of it? There is not. And I can tell you why. It is because of the kind of universe we have. If God were a great guess, a great perhaps; if Jesus were a myth, or Christianity hung upon any debatable proposition concerning him, or if the words he spoke were not the plainest, simplest guide of every soul in search of eternal life; if salvation were an artificial process, and heaven and hell were only in some other world, and the judgment day did not confront a man every morning, then romanticism, obscurantism, anything to cover or dress up the facts, would be the only safe treatment of religion. But whatever is real must make itself known. Can you have a ten-year-old boy in the house and nobody suspect it? And can God be in the universe and nobody know it? Conversely, whatever is known, whatever reveals itself, whatever makes itself felt, is real. God makes himself felt in the rescue mission, and in the

Seaman's Bethel. The Salvation Army and the Methodist Church are not so sure of themselves as they are of God. When Bishop Brooks explained to Helen Keller about God, she betrayed no surprise. "I knew it all before," she said, "all but His name." Now if God were outside the process of nature and of human life, then we could not know Him, for all we know is this process. But since God is in the process, since He is in the struggle that goes on in every man's heart and in the world, and since he finds his life and his goodness in that struggle, as you and I find ours in it, therefore God is real, even to men who do not always stop to call him by name. Therefore all knowledge is ultimately a knowledge of God, and all experience ultimately a contact with God. God is the one great, the one inclusive, the one inescapable reality. Nature is his garment. Conscience is his voice. History is his witness. Humanity is his word made flesh. The world is not an anonymous letter, but every word and syllable of it speak of God, and it is signed unmistakably with the name of God. In such men and women as you and I know, in such events as we have seen, in the quiet heroisms of every-day life and the gigantic struggles of nations toward a world that shall be fit to live in, — so God writes. Jesus is real. No sane man, unaffected by German Biblical propaganda, has ever doubted that he lived his life of spiritual blessing and power in the world. And through the things he taught, the God he revealed, the ideal he created, Jesus stands forever, real as the street-crossing or the sunlight, across the path of every man, and divides the world into two. Men are for him or against him, and they know which. Men are being saved or lost all the time and the process is perfectly real to them. They do not experience the trinity or the substitutionary theory of the atonement, but the ideal that stirs in their souls and the hand that is laid upon them are as real to them as themselves. The triumph of freedom over autocracy, of right over wrong, in history, is real. But that triumph is God, pronouncing his judgment on systems and nations and men. The moral order is real, but the moral order is God, bringing good out of evil and making the wrath of man to praise him. Sin is real, terribly real; but only men who know God can sin against Him. Conscience is real, remorse is real, the sense of peace is real, — but the moral imperative is God, speaking his real word in the heart of every man. The universe may be dirt and water and natural law on the surface, but at the heart of it is a moral purpose. What comes out at the top of it, as the flower of it, shows what it is all through. And the flower that blooms at the top of it is a spiritual life. We live in a spiritual universe. We live and move and have our being in God, and God lives and moves and has some part of his eternal being in every one of us. Whoever stands in the presence of reality stands in the presence of God. That's the reason we cannot imagine or invent any basis for religion so good as the naked reality itself. And since God is the one great reality, and since He does come home as such to the heart of every man, therefore eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, nor hath it entered into the heart of man, what glorious and wonderful things God will do through a church that builds absolutely and fearlessly on the real. Hypotheses come and go. Fashions pass. Fads are for the day. Shams and pretenses and vagaries go the way of all flesh. Unrealities fade and die. Oh, Church of Jesus Christ, set thy foot firm upon the reality that abides. God clear thee of shadows, rid thee of abstractions, give thee real religion, and establish thee forever in his own eternal reality.

THE SPIRITUAL IMPORT OF CONGREGATIONALISM

REV. W. L. WALKER, D.D.

In speaking on this most important of all subjects I have in view actual present and future needs.

Congregationalism certainly can have no monopoly of the Spirit. All truly Christian Churches are spiritual in their essence and aims. Nor is spirituality confined to churches or even to Christianity. There are grades in the Spiritual, and some degree of it may be found in other religions, and, indeed, outside of all that we commonly call religion.

The Spiritual mind is the mind that rises above the things of the outward world of Time and Sense and of the inner world of self as dominant, and seeks a growing union with God in heart and mind, in will and service. It is the response of the highest in man — the Spirit — to that Spirit of God which is in countless ways seeking to influence and possess us.

In Christianity, it is response to that Spirit as it comes to us in Jesus Christ. While the Spirit of God is in some measure present in everything, shining as "the light that never was on sea or land," above all, in whatever manifests the Love that is the life of God in man, that Spirit entered the world in its fullest truth in Jesus Christ — the one wholly Divine man who was the product of the Spirit in its working on man in this sense, "the Child of the Spirit" — which was, of course, God in Him, wholly dominated by the Spirit from His Cradle to His Cross. In Him the nature of the Spirit was made manifest — incarnated — and through His teaching and life, crowned by His Cross of sacrifice, came in truth and power to influence and dwell in men. To bring all men into Spiritual union and communion with Himself, so that His Spirit may be the deepest principle of our life was His purpose in Christ.

Now, while other Churches are spiritual also, Congregationalism is in a special and distinctive sense a spiritual system. The spiritual life is very real, quite as real as the physical, and it was the deep sense of this reality and of the difference between the spiritual and the unspiritual that led to the formation of Congregational Churches. In these were "gathered" those deemed spiritual, to each of whom all the privileges and functions of the Spiritual life were open. Other churches are spiritual but many are something more, or something else. They have their creeds and governing Bodies that rule — Bishops, Presbyteries, etc. But Congregationalism owns no authority save a spiritual one, even Jesus Christ Himself (and God in Him) as sole Lord and Head of His Church, to whom each member stands in the same direct relation; Jesus Christ, not as defined in authoritative Creeds, but as we can know Him sufficiently from the Gospels, and as we experience the presence and power of His Spirit in our hearts and lives, showing us what is of permanent value and ever guiding us into fuller truth and life.

Congregationalism is thus a democracy; but it is a spiritual democracy. The Congregation rules, but it can or should rule only as it is itself ruled by Christ. Only as its members are spiritual and loyal to their Lord can Congregationalism be true to itself or fulfil its mission.

The Spiritual, therefore, must be our supreme concern. We must guard the spirituality of our churches, without excluding any whom the Lord has received. It must be ours to nourish and deepen and give expression in life and action to our spirituality to make it increasingly real and practical. We must guard against the many forms of spurious and ineffective spirituality: on the one hand against undue lightness, and on the other against all that is dark and gloomy and separate from life as a whole. It does not consist in ecstatic raptures or high feelings, but in cherishing the Spirit of Christ as the Spirit of our daily life. It finds expression in moral conduct, but it is more and deeper than the merely moral.

Its ideal shines always high above us, never fully reached but followed after in aspiration and struggle with all that is lower. It can be satisfied with nothing short of the highest. But it is not a life in the clouds indifferent to the things of Earth. Nor is it a sour asceticism frowning on innocent enjoyments — although for the sake of others, the spiritual man may become a "Pussyfoot." The spiritual mind goes out from self and thinks of others. It seeks to see justice done to all men and all creatures in all relations, suffering and oppression removed, the opportunity secured for every man to stand in the freedom of his manhood and enter on the freshness of his life. Yet outward reform falls far short of the Ideal. Man's true life was manifested in Christ (for which reason He is our Lord) and it must be ours, not only to seek to make right the outward conditions of life but the inner spirit of men; to call on them in Christ's name to rise above the Ideals of merely earthly good (which may often amount to little more than annual felicity) to that Sonship to God which alone can make human brotherhood a reality and secure a united, peace-loving and truly progressive Humanity. We must seek their Spiritual salvation.

It is as the true life of men and the saving love of God are manifested in Christ that the Spirit comes to us in the fulness of its power. Normally, it is when we come to God as His children with humble trust in His forgiving love that His Spirit enters us; when the filial Spirit of Jesus takes impulsive possession of our hearts; when Jesus Christ is accepted as the Lord of our Life — not as an Autocrat, but as that Truth of our life that He is not in the church only but in the world, not on Sundays and in religious meeting merely but every day and in all kinds of meetings, Political, Trusts, Committees, which although "they cannot be kicked" can be influenced spiritually.

The Spirit of Christ in us is Christ Himself in us, seeking to do His work in our own souls and through us in the works. No wonder that St. Paul said that, whatever else a man might have, if he does not have "the Spirit of Christ" he is "none of His," just as he said if a man had not love he was nothing. Nor should we forget that this Spirit in us is the power of the Eternal life. It is God Himself in us. Our supreme concern therefore as Congregationalists must be the quickening culture and expression of the Spiritual life. This, of course, is true for all churches, but if it be not specially true of us we are nothing distinctive.

Let me next very briefly glance at some of the applications of our spiritual principle in our church life. And first with regard to the reception of fellow members. (I emphasize the word "fellow" because it is not merely into "a church" in the Ecclesiastical and popular sense we receive, or should receive, them, but with a real spiritual fellowship.) Our fathers had their tests of spirituality appropriate to their time and to the form in which Christ was then presented, but we cannot literally follow them in these. The only question we ask, or should ask, is a spiritual one — not what particular experience he has passed through, but only how does He stand related to the Lord Jesus Christ? Does he respond to Christ's call? Does he receive Him as the Lord of his life? If a man so receives Christ, in that very act he is "born of the Spirit" that comes seeking us in Christ: "To as many as received Him, not merely believed certain things about Him, but actually received Him, to them gave He the power (or the right) to become children of God, who were thereby 'born' or 'begotten' of God." This, with corresponding morality, was all that was required in the earliest church. "For," said Paul, "no man can say that Jesus is Lord, but in the Holy Spirit."

Second, Fellowship.

The craving for fellowship is a mark of spirituality. It was one of the chief factors in the formation of the first Congregational churches and of the Christian church itself. You can not live fully the Spiritual life alone;

REV. NEHEMIAH BOYNTON, D.D.
Brooklyn, N. Y.

REV. CARL S. PATTON, D.D.
Los Angeles, Cal.

REV. J. MORGAN GIBBON
London, England

REV. THOMAS YATES
London, England



in it we are members of Christ and of one another. As man can only become man in relations with his fellow-men, so we can only reach the full stature of the Christian man in fellowship with other Christians. This is one prime reason for the existence of Churches. There is something of the Spirit of Christ in our fellow-members beyond what there is in us, which can only become ours in fellowship with them in an open and tolerant spirit.

I am afraid there is too little real fellowship in our modern churches, too little community of spirit, brotherliness, mutual intercourse, care and helpfulness. We seem to be afraid lest the fire of our Christian love should burn too brightly. It may be there in our hearts, but it does not warm others. Men and women seeking the fellowship every Christian soul craves for are too often chilled and disappointed. That is one reason why our spirituality is not more attractive and our churches more largely filled and more effective. I cannot dwell on it, but this cultivation of fellowship has a very important bearing on our spirituality. Those who have read Dr. Dale's Essay on the Idea of the Church and Congregationalism know how strongly he urged this conception of the church as "the union in Christ of men of every variety of temperament, of every degree of intellectual culture and of the most dissimilar social conditions," but all animated by the one spirit, all brethren of the Lord, and surely of each other.

Third, Freedom.

Freedom is an essential element of spirituality. Only in freedom can the spiritual life develop. Life is always a growing power, whether physical or spiritual. "Where the Spirit of the Lord is," said Paul, "there is liberty." But if the Spirit is restrained by creeds and forms, by traditions of the past, or by satisfaction with our knowledge, or with ourselves as we are, or as individual fancies are allowed to dominate us, its course is obstructed. While we own the authority of Jesus as our Lord and go back to His historical manifestation for our knowledge of the nature of the Spirit, it is not "a Christ after the flesh" we bow to, but "the Lord the Spirit." While it is through the letter that the Spirit comes to us, it is not the letter itself that rules, but the letter as shone upon and interpreted by the Spirit. If we would realize and manifest the Spiritual import of Congregationalism we must stand fast not in individual license, but in the freedom wherewith Christ makes men free, and seek to follow the Spirit that would guide us into all the Truth.

Fourth, Worship.

How does our Congregational worship stand related to Spirituality? Of course, there are great varieties in our churches and no rule can be given. But I think that the genius of Congregationalism tends to support not baldness by any means, but simplicity in formal worship as most conducive to Spirituality, only it might in some cases be made more fully Congregational. But it is to be feared that all churches are apt to make too much of the mere act of formal worship, important as it is, forgetting that God is not "up there" listening like a great man, but a Spirit within ourselves, as well as Spiritually transcending us. His real spiritual worship is not so much that which we offer in Temples made with hands as that offered in that Temple of the Soul which God has built for Himself and in which He seeks to dwell, finding its expression in the wider Temple of the Universe. It is the worship of God in Spirit and His service every day and everywhere. "God is Spirit," said Jesus, "and they that worship Him must worship Him in spirit and so truly — ("in reality," is Moffat's translation)." There is apt to be too much of man in our church worship. It is injurious to real Spirituality when the attention is chiefly centered on the adjuncts of worship, or when people are left to think that having joined in the "services" in a church, however sincerely and even with spiritual desire and intention, they have thereby rendered the Father the worship

that He seeks. Worship in Spirit is oneness in Spirit with God, without perhaps thinking about it. Wherever we are and whatever we are doing, and our worship in churches should always be such as shall be — not a substitute for that daily spiritual worship, but an inspiration to it and a direction in it. If we would win the world for God, our stated formal worship, while made impressive, uplifting and spiritually attractive, must be seen to take quite a subordinate place to that wider, daily and hourly worship which "the Father seeks."

Fifth, Doctrine.

What should be the influence of our spiritual principle on doctrine? We have no authoritative doctrines save such as are derived from Christ. But there is a considerable body of beliefs more or less generally received by us. The influence of our spiritual principle on doctrines should be of a refining and spiritualizing nature, the result of a growing knowledge of God, especially through communion with Him in the Spirit, having regard to the essence or spirit of truths rather than to the outward form. It has proved to be such in our history.

We profess, it is said, to be Evangelical. Our fathers found, and we have found, that it is the evangel of God's forgiving love that can best win the heart for God and kindle in it the love that He is. But there have been elements in Evangelicalism as a system which the spiritual mind could not rest in, ideas of God — which seemed even to contradict the evangel itself, and to cause many to shrink from God instead of drawing nigh to Him, or to seek safety instead of real salvation. The spiritual mind has gradually left behind it much that was once preached in the name of Evangelicalism. Many are coming to see that Jesus Himself in His preaching of the loving, seeking, sin-forgiving God and Father crowned by His Cross was far more truly Evangelical than the system which bears the name. It was derived, not from Christ Himself, but from a misconception of Paul's teaching concerning the death of Christ as showing forth God's righteousness in relation to the Law He was believed to have given the Jews, with its penalty of death for transgression, which has to be met before that Law would be taken away.

By the Spirit-filled Christ men were not regarded as standing under any such doom, but as the loved and yearned-over children of the Heavenly Father in spite of their sinfulness, always ready to forgive the returning child. The Cross, the acceptance of which the hardness of men's hearts made necessary, could not contradict His teaching concerning the Father on which everything must rest. It was not to ransom men from the God whose Spirit was seeking them in Him, but from self and sin and the inevitable consequences of persistent sin, that He died. It was God who by His Spirit within Him moved Him to the sacrifice and Himself made it as His final and uttermost appeal to men. Spiritually viewed, the Cross was at once the supreme manifestation of the seeking and forgiving love of God in Christ and of the reality and exceeding sinfulness of sin; and at the same time the means by which Jesus passed from the limitations of the flesh to the fulness of life in God as the Spiritual Lord and Saviour. It was these facts that the Spirit brought home to the hearts and consciences of men, God thus winning them for Himself in humble penitence and adoring love. And, if Jesus is really our supreme Teacher and sole Lord, it is Him we must follow. We must be Evangelical in greater, wider and more spiritual Evangelism of Christ.

The fact that we stand for, or, rather, are entrusted with, a purely spiritual conception of the church has a very serious import and throws a great responsibility upon us in two respects which I shall briefly mention in conclusion.

1. Dr. Dale maintained that the distinctive calling of Congregational Churches was "to reveal and realize" the true Ideal of the Church, and

by so doing, fulfil "that bright Ideal for the sake of which our fathers three hundred years ago endured scorn and exile, imprisonment and death." The Church, he held, was "a supernatural Society," which is perfectly true; for the Spiritual is the supernatural. Again, the church is meant to be the Body of Christ, as necessary to Him for His work in the world as our bodies are to us for the expression of our spirits, and as such it must be Christ Himself it serves in freedom. We are called to witness to the reality and efficiency of such a free and spiritually indwelt church, owning no authority save that of Christ alone.

This, I think, is especially important in our day, in view of the new impulse towards union that has come to all the churches. A real Christian union (or union in Christ) as distinct from merely Ecclesiastical unions, cannot be found by seeking agreement in doctrines or Church orders. It must rest on a spiritual basis — one on which all churches (and all Christians) can stand in their freedom, while manifesting openly that union in spirit with all other churches, acknowledging the one Lord, which they already possess, or ought to possess if they are Christian Churches at all. It is for us to show in our churches and unions of churches the reality and adequacy of such a basis, and thus help to promote the realization of the Christian Ideal, so greatly needed for the work of Christ through that unified Body which He longs to possess. For this reason, instead of standing in the isolation of an extreme Independency (which may really be an unspiritual individualism), we must come into ever closer union amongst ourselves, but in entire Christian freedom. This task is laid upon us by our Lord and it is a high honour to be called to its fulfilment. Here we are truly pioneers for Christ and should be willing, if necessary, to suffer in His Cause.

2. The other aspect of our responsibility is that toward the world around us in its need of spiritualization. It is its unspiritual ideals and aims, its want of influential vision of the unseen, Eternal and Divine, that are its curse — of which fact we have surely had sad and terrible evidence in recent years.

Only as the world becomes more and more truly spiritualized can it be saved; for it is only thus that God comes to be effectually operative in it, and it is God alone who can save the world. Deeper than all else it is a new spirit that is needed. The League of Nations, which we in Britain earnestly hope and believe generous and humanitarian America will yet help to make real, so essential is it, states in its introduction that its success depends on the Spirit animating the nations. As Congregational Christians we believe that God has entered the world in the Spirit that could save it in every aspect of its life.

Today, to the spiritual ear, the sad, struggling, weary, sinful and suffering world is crying aloud for salvation. It is salvation from its own unspiritual self it needs. While all churches must set themselves to answer this call, we, with our spiritual principle, should be specially anxious and able to meet it. We can proclaim the one authority that can unite men. We can go to them with the appeal of God in Christ and the Gospel of Salvation, inviting their response, quite apart from special intellectual beliefs and difficulties. We can show them that the appeal of God in Christ is not Ecclesiastical, nor primarily intellectual, but spiritual and ethical — an appeal to the Conscience and heart, that it is the Spirit of the God in whom they live appealing to the spirit in man, "where spirit with spirit can meet," and that men can respond to that spiritual appeal, come into union with God and have God dwelling in them, inspiring and uplifting their life, quite apart from any submission to Ecclesiastical rule or to human formulations of doctrine. We must put nothing between men and immediate response to the Christ who is their rightful Lord and as such their Saviour.

The world is dark at present, and if we would see a new spiritual age arise, we must not only pray but carry to it a fuller Gospel and a more spiritual and moving conception of God, not as a distant monarch with unlimited power, but a Father of perfect Love who sacrifices Himself for the sake of His creation; who, as Spirit, cannot act on the world as an embodied person can, and therefore seeks to act through us; who is with us ever, not as a Force but as an all-pervasive Spirit — a Higher Life — seeking to possess our hearts and make us co-workers with Himself — “the Father who is in secret,” as Jesus preached Him and as His Spirit found in Him its completest human expression, not only not indifferent to the sufferings of His human children, but “in all our affliction afflicted,” still bearing in His heart a sin-caused Cross, and yearning to save us from all evils and to uplift us into His own life.

For ourselves, we must be loyal to the Christ of the Spirit, as the actually present inspiring, teaching and enabling spirit of His Church, not an absent or distant Leader but with us ever, able “to make His grace sufficient for us and to perfect His strength in our weakness.” We must preach this present Christ in whom God comes to us, repeat His Call and urge His rightful claim as the Truth of man and universal Lord, not apologetically but authoritatively in His name, and so be the bearers to men of that Spirit in which God in Christ becomes the power of a new life in all who receive Him. It is in life that the spiritual is manifested, and this is the highest aspect of the Spiritual import of Congregationalism that our Spirituality should be, not for self-satisfaction merely, but an inspiration to life and service in that which is at once the great Cause of God and of man, that from us in ordinary life and through us in special efforts, the Spirit may go forth to the spiritualization of the world around us, as Jesus said of him who received the Spirit, “out of His body shall flow rivers of living water.” The world is dying for want of it, and we can give it. Christ cannot do it without us, for Spirit needs embodiment.

Feeling our responsibility, let us seek to realize more fully the great possibilities that are open to us as a church inspired and taught and enabled by the indwelling Spirit of God in Christ and free to follow its leading. Let us grasp more firmly the fact that the Spirit of Christ is the Spirit of the living God, as God has most fully expressed Himself in this world with the purpose of saving it from all that is lower than His own life in men, and that it is only by means of those in whom His Spirit dwells that His loving purpose can be fulfilled. A church, so indwelt, standing loyal to its Lord and independent of all else can be made mighty through God to the pulling down of the stronghold of evil and to pouring on the spiritually dry and barren ground that water of life that will make it fruitful in all that is good for men and pleasing to the great Father who is yearning over it, eager to save it, but needing instruments for His work.

To be such instruments let us without stint present ourselves, saying in the fine words of an American hymn,

Our Spirits lay their noblest powers
As offerings on Thy holy shrine,
Thine was the strength that nourished ours,
The soldiers of the Cross are Thine.
Send us where'er Thou wilt, O Lord,
Through rugged toil and wearying fight,
Thy conquering love shall be our guard
And faith in Thee our truest might.

TRAINING YOUNG PEOPLE FOR CHRISTIAN SERVICE

REV. FRANCIS E. CLARK, D.D.

May I be allowed to introduce my paper with a personal word? I feel honored to be asked to discuss this great subject at this important International meeting of the denomination to which all my ancestors on both sides of my family record have belonged, from the very earliest Pilgrim and Puritan days.

The customs of eight generations ago point to many a contrast as well as to many a moral. My first American ancestor, Rev. Zechariah Symmes, who, owing to the persecutions of Archbishop Laud, was in 1634 driven from the rectory of the Old Priory Established Church in Dunstable, England, to become the pastor of the First Congregational Church in Charlestown, Massachusetts, did not find the training of young people by the church for Christian service a pressing problem. Nor were the Pilgrims of the *Mayflower* obliged to wrestle with this subject, for, as a matter of course, every father and mother trained their own children for Christian service. To leave such training largely to any organization, even to the church itself, would have been considered an unnatural, perhaps a monstrous, thing, but our lines have fallen to us in very different places, and, in this respect, we have not so goodly a heritage as they.

If most young people today are to be trained for Christian service at all they must be trained in and by the church. Otherwise they are left untrained, for in these days even the custom of family prayers in nominally Christian homes is the exception, — an exception that proves no wise rule and bodes no good.

I would not strike too pessimistic a note, however, for the church can in large measure successfully accomplish this task, if she sets herself seriously about it. In some good degree she is accomplishing it today. Fortunately this has been felt to be a pressing question in all our churches for well-nigh half a century, and I believe that great progress has been made, for which we should be sincerely thankful.

In one sense, neither the parents nor the church can train young people for Christian service, — they must be led to train themselves.

What Training Involves

Training is by no means merely education. These two words have been sadly, sometimes disastrously, confused. To preach and to teach have often been considered the chief if not the only function of the church. But preaching and teaching are not the whole duty of preacher and teacher. Alone they do not lead the young people either to glorify God or to enjoy Him forever.

"Training" involves practice, personal effort. Education, to be sure, in its large, original sense, involved training. *Educo* is to lead out, to lead out the mind and soul and all the powers. But we usually think of it as inculcating (heeling in) the truth, as seed is heeled into the soil, or a nail is pounded into an unwilling board. Such education, however eloquent the preaching, however wise and persistent the teaching, is not training, and alone it does not develop Christian character or equip Christian leaders.

A young Christian can be trained for service only by using his own powers. The church can give him the tools to work with, but *he* must use them. To enforce right principles and lofty ideals in the pulpit and Sunday school is vastly important, but it is not all that is important.

To learn the principles and technique of art is necessary to a painter, but such knowledge will never make an artist. The brush and the palette and the colors must be actually handled by the would-be artist, or he will never paint a picture. Books on house-building are useful to the carpenter, but

the chisel and hammer and plane and adz and a practical knowledge of their use are more important. The young artist, very likely, will make many a worthless daub, the young builder will not always true his angles correctly, but he can learn his business in no other way than by making mistakes, or, at least, by running the risk of them.

The young Christian too, will very likely make mistakes, but let us remember that though young Christians may make mistakes in working for Christ, they make a greater mistake in not working for him. No failure in making the attempt is so bad as to fail to make it; anything rather than spiritual death. Only let there be vigorous life, and guidance is readily supplied.

The pastor or teacher who is too solicitous concerning juvenile mistakes, or too distrustful of youthful impulses, and so strives to do for the young what they ought to do for themselves, makes a sad blunder. The thread-bare story of the elephant who sat down on the lark's nest to brood over the poor motherless fledglings still has a point, in spite of its age.

We accept in theory, without hesitation, the dictum of the psychologist, "no *impression* without *expression*," yet we are constantly seeking to *impress* the truth without making any adequate effort to see that it is *expressed*. In their own meetings, with their own organization, under their own leaders, through their own committees, and plans and efforts, young Christians must practice what their pastor preaches, if they are ever trained for Christian service.

This does not mean that the wise pastor and teacher will not be with his young people in their activities and will not really lead and guide them. Of course he will, but he will also leave much to their own initiative, and will always remember Moody's motto: "It is ten times better to set ten men at work, than to do ten men's work yourself."

Expect Great Things

Again, if young people are to be trained for Christian service, their elders must *believe* in them as well as trust them; believe in their capacity, their sincerity, their high purposes, as well as their youthful zeal. This trust will lead us to set before them large and high tasks and genuinely *religious* tasks. Carey's motto: "Expect great things from God; attempt great things for God," is often quoted. So far as our young people's lives have been touched by the Spirit of God, we should ask and expect great things from them. Of course they are capable of these large tasks, for it is not they that work, but God that worketh through them.

Is it not a fact that we are often afraid to set any large, compelling, religious duty before our young people? We see the lighter, amusement-loving side of youth, and forget that there are deeper depths in their nature that we have not plumbed. I have seen more than one church calendar that provided for the young people, aside from the Sunday school, only the Boy Scouts, the Girl Guides, the Campfire Girls, the Bluebirds, and like organizations. These are all excellent organizations; the churches do well to encourage them. I believe in them thoroughly, but I do not believe that they provide, or were meant to provide, training for distinctively Christian service, such as young people must also have if we would have stalwart leaders for the church of the future.

In a long list of notices in an important Congregational church I recently read the following appointments for the young people: Meetings for the Orchestra, for a Musical Club, a Young Men's Gymnasium Class, a Girls' Gymnasium Class, a Girls' Club, a Girls' Guide Society, a Girls' Literary Society, an Elocution Circle, a Girls' Shorthand Class, and a Sunday-school Play Center. Here are eleven appointments for young people in one week, but no meeting for prayer, or for Bible study, except half of the Sunday-school hour, or for any distinctively *religious* service, — unless we take the

ground, popular in some quarters, that one thing is as religious as another, a gymnasium as religious and as important for the church as a prayer meeting. I may add that a dozen or two young people only were found in the scant morning congregation of that great church.

Whatever our definition of religion, one organization does not train for *Christian* service and for leadership in the church, as well as another. Kindergarten methods, meant to amuse, are not what the nature of stalwart young Christians demand, however useful they may be for little children. I am not, of course, alluding to the worthy organizations I have named. President Wilson, in an address concerning amusements in the church, declared that amusements that simply amuse, without resulting, year in and year out, in any addition to the spiritual working force of the church, have no right to exist. In this I believe he was everlastingly right. If self-determination in a church means simply a determination to enjoy one's self forever, it should be banished and some other plan substituted among the fourteen points for training young Christians.

Trust the Young People

Whatever may be true of older people (for there are "case-hardened" church members as well as case-hardened sinners), I believe that young Christians as a rule rejoice in real and earnest religious work. For forty years I have been delighted and sometimes, I confess, surprised, and even amazed, and my little faith rebuked, to see the devotion, the zeal, the joy, the intelligent resourcefulness of young people in their distinctively *religious* work, when appealed to on the highest plane of love for Jesus Christ and service for His dear sake.

I have come to believe in young people, to trust them, to count on them for service more and more as the years have gone by. The way they undertake great tasks, when great tasks, buttressed by great actives, are presented to them, has rejoiced me beyond expression: — tasks that crucify their timidity and bashfulness, tasks from which older people often shrink; tasks in their own church and community as well as outside, tasks for soldiers and sailors and prisoners, for slum children and the submerged tenth. They spring to them as did millions of youth in the late war, when appealed to in the name of their country. The years of adolescence and the few succeeding years constitute not only the "age of conversion" but the age of religious enthusiasm. They are the years of great expectations, of high hopes, of strenuous endeavor.

But it is only a call like Christ's own that will reach the young heart; not "Come and play, come and dance, come and enjoy delicious music and a soft seat and an eloquent sermon," but "Leave all and follow me; seek *first* the Kingdom of Heaven; sell all for the Pearl of Great Price." Happy is the pastor and the church which can reach the hidden springs of devotion which lie deep in the heart of every true young Christian, by presenting to him Christ's own persuasive, compelling call.

Training for Fellowship

Again, it is greatly important in these disjointed days, to train our young people for cooperation and fellowship, not only with their own comrades and the older people of the church, but with Christian comrades in other churches. The roots of a benumbing sectarianism run back into childhood years, and sectarianism dies dreadfully hard. We have been talking for five decades about denominational mergers of certain churches, and a real interdenominational cooperation, and, except upon the mission field, older Christians have as yet gone little farther than talk. Many a promising interchurch movement has been wrecked upon the rocks of an intense denominationalism. Vested interests were too much for it.

When an opportunity came to unite evangelical young people of every

church in new and peculiar bonds of Christian fellowship, while yet maintaining the strictest loyalty to their own church, one or two denominations forbade the banns, and certain ones in all denominations have ever looked askance upon their fellowship and union meetings.

Yet, though all this is true, I gratefully acknowledge and rejoice in such a measure of fellowship as our churches have achieved. We are no longer doubtful about the eternal salvation of our friends because they are in the church across the way and not in ours. The Auld Lights and the New Lights at least shake hands with each other. We do not leave our friends to "the uncovenanted mercies of God," even if they have not been ordained or confirmed by a successor of the apostles.

Said an old minister in my hearing: "When I was a young preacher in the south, I knew there was one way in which I could arouse the sleepy fathers in Israel who sat at the head of the pews, and that was by saying something mean about the other denominations. I would give it to the Presbyterians, or I would pitch into the Campbellites. Then the elders would sit up and take notice, and would say, as they passed out of church, 'Ain't our young minister smart?'"

Thank God, the worst of those old days of sectarian jealousy are over and gone, but we have yet some ways to go before we esteem each as good as (to say nothing of being better than) ourselves, or before we fully fulfil our Lord's prayer that they all may be one.

Never was the world in such crying need of Christian fellowship as now. I have but recently returned from a four-months' journey, largely in Central and Eastern Europe. Everywhere I found suspicion and hatred and distrust. Every man is a possible enemy of every other. The intolerable passport difficulties, the worthless currencies, the starvation and distress, are the results of the collapse of international friendship. Says a brilliant writer in an English review:

"You may trace back through recorded time, and you will not discover anywhere, even after the fall of the Roman Empire, a scene which in range and in awful significance, can eclipse or even parallel the amazing reality that lies before our eyes. From the Rhine to the Pacific Ocean, from the Baltic to the Persian Gulf, the Teutonic, the Slavonic, the Turanian and the Semitic peoples stumble bewildered and saddened amid the crashing *débris* of their broken civilizations. Hundreds of millions of people are without a settled state, sheep without a shepherd, men without a master sword to guide their confused and disordered lives through the chaos and darkness."

An Italian author in *La Tribuna* of Rome writes these significant and really awful words:

"By vote of the American Senate the world is divided into two halves. He would be bold indeed who ventured the statement that there are two governments or two peoples in our half of the world who after the conference in Paris would be willing to call themselves brother or sister nations."

It is a year and a half since the armistice was signed; many months since the so-called peace treaty, which has already resulted in half a dozen wars, was ratified; yet the writers I have just quoted speak with absolute truth. It is even true that one of our politicians dared to run for the nomination of President of the United States on a policy of aloofness and indifference to the rest of the world. Our Senate refused to extend the helping hand to Armenia in its terrible extremity, and adopted the general policy, so far as Europe and stricken Armenia is concerned, of "the devil take the hindmost." Every effort has failed to bring peace and good-will; — every effort but one, and that has not yet been made. Politicians and statesmen have failed, commercial ties and the bonds of moneyed interests have snapped like tow. The boasted solidarity of labor proved helpless when

tested by warlike passions, and has done nothing to bring real peace, but the religion of Jesus Christ has not failed.

I found religious ties still strong in these stricken lands. Christians are not enemies, even in enemy countries. I heard a multitude of young people in many lands singing the same songs, praying to the same Father, talking about peace and good-will and reconciliation. Everywhere I found Christian hearts open and Christian hands across the sea (and land as well) extended with the grip of friendship and good-will. Every day of travel was more and more convincing that only the religion of Jesus and the principles of the Golden Rule can bring order out of the present world chaos, and prevent the civilization of a continent from sinking into hopeless barbarism.

Does this excursion lead us far from our subject of training the young people for Christian service? I think not. If the church would accomplish the mighty world-wide task its Master has commanded, it must be united; and if it is ever united in the future, we must train the rising generation in Christian fellowship. The roots of sectarianism run back almost to the cradle.

"The man I dislike is the man I do not know," is a true saying. It is equally true that the denomination I dislike or scoff at, or fail to work with, is the denomination whose principles and whose leaders I am little acquainted with. By all means let us train our young people in the creed and the polity and the glorious history of our own denominations, but, through their associations and fellowships, let us also train them in broad-minded brotherliness toward others, for this is of the very essence of the religion of Jesus. Otherwise the narrowness of sectarianism, with its jealousies and its rivalries, will be read in the church histories of the future as those of the past."

Train for Christian Leadership

Once more, and finally, our young people must be trained for Christian leadership. Why does one local church differ from another in power and usefulness? It is largely a matter of efficient spiritual leadership. There are strong, efficient churches in small country places; there are feeble and powerless churches that cumber the ground in the most favored city locations. Wealth, social prestige and numbers by no means decide the real strength of a church. Its spiritual leadership is the decisive factor. Give us leaders, leaders, leaders, is the unspoken, perhaps the unconscious, cry of the church universal. One strong, sane, devoted leader has often turned the tide that was ebbing toward defeat, into the flood-tide of victory.

How can our young people be trained for such leadership? I would say, Give them an early chance to try their wings. A fledgling will never learn to fly until it is pushed out of the nest. You cannot learn to swim on dry land.

If this seems tritely self-evident, it is yet true that this plan of developing leadership is by no means practiced by all our churches. The underlying idea too often is the heresy of the past, as I have already urged, as expressed in the question, "What can *we* do for our young people?" rather than "What can *they* do for themselves and the church?"

What can we do for them? Provide a church and Sunday school? Yes. Give them the best preaching and teaching and pastoral care of which we are capable? Yes. But this is far from being enough. Leadership cannot be taught. It must be learned, and learned in the one efficient school of experience.

I learned more during my college course in two winters of teaching than in any four terms of instruction. It was very poor teaching, doubtless. I am sorry for my pupils, but it did me good.

None are injured by the young Christian's failures, however, for in his

efforts in the prayer-meeting and in his committee or in his community service, he is not teaching others but learning himself, and helping others at the same time. It is no exaggeration to say that hundreds, and I believe thousands, of ministers, missionaries and leading laymen have told me that their first impulse and impetus toward leadership came to them in the young people's meeting when they struggled to their feet, and told of their new-found hope in Jesus Christ, or when in their society they undertook some definite religious task for Him. At least a score of leaders in the great denominational and interdenominational movements of the day have declared unequivocally that they never realized that they could lead until some leadership task was thrust upon them.

So I close as I began. The training of young Christians is a matter of practice even more than of education. Christian muscle and brawn are the result of exercise. They cannot be acquired altogether in the lecture-hall. Every church must have a spiritual gymnasium as well as classrooms, if spiritual athletes are to be trained. Knowledge must be translated into service; *impression* into *expression*, knowing into doing and being.

Training for service, for fellowship, for leadership are really all one. They can all be acquired at the same time, and they can be acquired only by humble, docile effort to do the Master's will. We have not yet exhausted this profound saying, "He that willeth to *do* His will shall know of the teaching." He shall know also the joys, the power, the unending growth that comes from such *doing*.

God give us grace and wisdom to so train as well as teach that our young people may show their faith by their *works*, and that the church of the future may be not only a hearer but a doer of the word, and that it may never become narrowly sectarian, and never be leaderless.

THE CONTRIBUTION OF CONGREGATIONALISM TO RELIGIOUS AND CIVIL LIBERTY

REV. E. GRIFFITH-JONES, D.D.

I have to present to you the Report of the Commission on the Contribution of Congregationalism to Religious and Civil Liberty in Britain. We have tried in this Report to present the subject in all its essential bearings. The original springs are traced to the Separatists in the time of Queen Elizabeth, and the various stages in the moving story are sketched down to modern times along its three main channels — in England, Scotland and Wales. I would that it were possible to do the same for Ireland, but while Presbyterianism has done yeoman's work in the same direction in Ulster, and sporadically in other parts of the Emerald Isle, Congregationalism, which has sprung up spontaneously and with marked national characteristics among the three races inhabiting Great Britain, has only appeared in Ireland as a weak offshoot from the larger island; and while its witness has been precious in all four countries, it has been too weak to exercise much influence on the spirit of Irish liberty — a fact which I venture to say largely accounts for the unhappy condition of that country, as compared for instance with that of my own like country — Wales. We in Wales have been longer under English domination; in earlier times we had similar disabilities and wrongs to set right. Why is Wales happy, loyal and prosperous today, while Ireland is — what she is? Because the Congregational spirit has been the animating influence in Wales for 200 years. And because Congregationalism has always fought the battle of liberty along religious and constitutional lines, all our peculiar grievances have been gradually put right by a willing British Parliament, so that we are today one of the most contented and progressive parts of our Empire.

Apart from the Cromwellian Revolution, the victories of Congregationalism have been the victories of peaceful agitation, noble martyrdom and faithfulness to an ideal. I venture to think that if Congregationalism had been stronger in Ireland, the same happy issue would long since have been secured there and she would be as passionately loyal to the flag of the Empire as Wales was during the great World War and is today.

I

We are here today to do honor to the Pilgrim Fathers (Independents almost to a man), who in their search for spiritual and civic liberty left their motherland in the spirit of Abraham — not knowing whither they went, but determined to found another and better country across the stormy seas. How nobly they did their work, this mighty republic in the West stands as an enduring proof. "*Si monumentum requiris, circumspice.*" Their memory will never die, for their works do follow them.

It was a good thing that men and women of such quality should arise at the fateful moment and do such immortal work. The little *Mayflower* with her precious cargo of 100 souls bore within her storm-tossed bosom the germ of a great nation. But for the spirit that sped her across the ocean, one wonders what the story and condition of this land might have been today! That however is an idle question, what stands is the fact of their heroism — a heroism that embodies the very genius of Congregationalism in its spiritual quality and its social and political fruitage. We humbly thank God for what they were, and for what they have dared for all the world. Your nation has always been true to the Puritan traditions. It has always been a refuge for the persecuted and distressed from every land. Millions of pilgrims have followed the original company. They have been instantly received into the privileges and responsibilities of this free and equal commonwealth. So may it ever be!

It would have been a sad thing for Britain, however, if all lovers of liberty in England had followed them across the seas. While, therefore, we thank God for those who ventured to do so under circumstances so strange and conditions so bitter, shall we not also thank God for those who dared to remain at home and fought for the same high goal in the land of their birth? It is our privilege in presenting this Report to tell something of their heroism, struggles, temporary defeats and final victory. All praise to the Pilgrim Fathers who came to a new world and laid broad and deep the foundations of your free constitution; all praise also to those other Pilgrims of the spirit, who faced odds as hard and fought with equal courage, *and founded the British Commonwealth*, which today with you shares the honor of being the highest exponent of human freedom to all the nations of the earth.

As it was, we very nearly lost the two greatest protagonists of British liberty, who in a moment of revulsion and longing were strongly tempted to follow the men of the *Mayflower* to New Plymouth. One of your own poets — James Russell Lowell — himself a passionate exponent of liberty, has immortalized that scene in one of his poems, "A Glance Behind the Curtain." The two men were John Hampden and Oliver Cromwell, who one day about the year 1628 seriously discussed the problem whether they would go to New England or stay on in Old England to fight the battle of freedom in the Home-land. Hampden, the feeble scholar, was for going. Cromwell, made of sterner stuff, after a long soliloquy on the alternatives, voted for staying at home —

"The fate of England and of freedom once" (writes the poet)
 "Seemed wavering in the heart of one plain man;
 One step of his, and the great dial hand
 That marks the destined progress of the world

In the Eternal round from wisdom on
 To higher wisdom, had been made to pause
 A hundred years. That step he did not take,
 He knew not why, nor we, but only God —
 And lived to make his simple oaken chair
 More terrible and grandly beautiful,
 More full of majesty than any throne,
 Before or after, of a British King.
 So they two turned together; one to die,
 Fighting for freedom on the bloody field;
 The other, far more happy, to become
 A name earth wears forever next her heart;
 One of the few that have a right to rank
 With the true Makers, for his spirit wrought
 Order from chaos, proved that right divine
 Dwelt only in the excellence of truth;
 And far within old Darkness' hostile lines
 Advanced and pitched the shining tents of light."

Thus was the die cast for Cromwell, and the great Independent turned to his task of breaking the bands of tyranny and shaking to earth a despotism which if it had prevailed would have throttled the life out of the liberties of Britain. By so doing, Cromwell and his Ironsides also saved those liberties of Europe for which Britain has ever since dared to fight at all costs to herself. All hail! I say again, to the Pilgrims who crossed the ocean and founded the United States of America. All Hail, too, to the pilgrims who faced an even harder task and founded the Britain of today and tomorrow!

II

In our Report we expound at some length the distinctive type of liberty which is the essential outcome of the Congregational spirit. Let me paraphrase that Section for our inspiration and encouragement here today. Two ideals of liberty are represented in the democracies of the modern world.

The one has for its father and exponent, Jean Jacques Rousseau. He founds his theory of civil liberty on this principle — that man as made by Nature, what we call the "natural" man, is inherently good, and if all social and political shackles are removed he will live a life of virtue and be a good citizen. The famous sentence which stands at the beginning of his "Contract Social" — "man was born free, but is everywhere in chains" — reverberated through Europe and led by a straight path to the French Revolution. It was the Magna Charta of the "natural" man, and it roused him from the sleep of centuries to a sense of his rights and of his power. The French Republic of today is the outcome and monument of this struggle. How far it is based on an enduring foundation, history has yet to tell.

The other ideal has for its father and exponent the Apostle Paul, and it is crystallized in the equally famous and immortal sentence — "Where the spirit of the Lord is, there is Liberty." He founds his theory on the principle that the natural man is born neither free nor good, but with an obstinate and inherent impulse, not towards true moral freedom, but towards self-assertion and self-indulgence; weighted down by sinister hereditary tendencies, incapable by his own strength of ever becoming really free; and therefore in need of redeeming grace that he may realize his spiritual and social possibilities. His redemption has been brought within his reach through the person and work of Jesus Christ. He is the Great Emancipator of the human soul. Man, it is true, is everywhere

potentially a son of God, but actually he becomes such only through a new birth, a spiritual awakening, which breaks the power of heredity, evil habit and inherent weakness of will, and sets him free in the "precious liberty of the Children of God." When he has advanced to this, then is man first truly himself; he steps into the rights and privileges of real manhood, and can fitly claim immunity from any lower tyranny that hinders the soul from exercising its royal functions and of realizing its latent possibilities.

Now if French democracy, broadly speaking, is the embodiment of the theory of Rousseau of human nature, the British and American democracies in their essential principle and historic development are the fruit of the Pauline theory. The early Independents, who were the real founders of modern Britain and America, demanded liberty not that the natural man might indulge in his propensities, be they good or evil, with impunity, but that the spiritual man might have scope and room to work out his immortal destiny without interference from secular tyranny of every kind. That was why in the early stages the Independents demanded freedom of worship, freedom of thought, freedom of prophesying; that was why in the later stages they demanded freedom to vote, freedom for the press, economic freedom for the poor and downtrodden. That was why they strenuously opposed State Establishment of Religion, uniformity of creed and order, and every form of ecclesiastical interference with the spontaneous activity of the soul. The freedom of conscience which they demanded was not freedom to do as you like, but freedom to obey God as His will is revealed. In every fresh claim they made for the expansion of liberty in the state and in religious matters we note the same iron string of moral authority, the same fine quality of spiritual intensity. "Christ has made us free" — they cried — "let no man make slaves of His people."

This is the ground and plea of the Congregational claim for liberty. When first formulated it was so startling and dangerous a cry in the judgment of the political and ecclesiastical powers of the day that they sought to stamp it out as a pestilent heresy. In vain! By this time this "pernicious and damnable heresy" has become the orthodoxy of two continents. Theoretically at least it has won all along the line. It is the common place of the hustings, the press, and the market-place. There is no ecclesiastic and no demagogue who does not now bow to it as a self-evident principle of the social and political welfare.

May I venture to suggest that in the completeness of this victory lies a great peril? It is one of the strange penalties of such victories — the greater the victory, the greater the peril — that where a spiritual principle has become an acknowledged axiom, it is in danger of being forgotten, if not forsaken. Religion has ever thriven best under persecution and contumely; when it grows respectable and commonplace, it tends to grow lax and careless of its most precious promises. And I am not without grave suspicion that in our modern democracies on both sides of the Atlantic the Rousseauian theory of the rights of the natural man to the fullest and most unqualified freedom is beginning to supplant — has, I fear, gone a long way to supplant — the Pauline and Puritan theory that liberty in its highest sense is the prerogative of the spiritual man only, for he alone can rightly use it, and of the natural man only as a potential Child of God.

The first danger arises from the fact that in the modern community the spiritual man, while he is accorded the same rights, is swamped in point of numbers (though as yet by no means in point of influence) by the natural man. There was a contingency which did not enter the minds of the original Pilgrims, but one which they made possible when once they gave equal civil rights to all their citizens. It can be met in two ways — either by a process of national evangelization, a duty which the modern church is largely forgetting to exercise, or by a process of permeation, by inculcating a jealous sense of the sacredness of the political and social vote, or by both.

We may at least say that if the key to the situation is not in the hands of the church, the church alone has the ideal to which the community must conform if the qualitative value of the vote is not to be lost in mere mass. Its special duty now is to preach not the rights but the duties of citizenship, for the more widely the rights are diffused the greater is the peril of ignoring its duties. A democracy that merely counts heads, apart from what is in them, and settles concise questions by the mass vote of the moment in oblivion of all moral issues, is on the way to disaster by way of tyranny, a tyranny that is more blind and may be more cruel than that of the cruelest autocracy.

Another peril of modern democracy which may play havoc with true liberty is that of the undue dominance of the group. This is true of the party caucus, the trades union machine, the ecclesiastical hierarchy and the social class. When men act automatically in such groups and vote and act not according to a socialized conscience, but from the sense of a dominant class or group of interest, they are traitors to the Puritan ideal, which recognizes no group except that of free consciences thinking alike. All political, or social, or religious constraint on the individual conscience is essentially immoral, for it jeopardizes that free action of the soul which alone gives character and value to conduct, which alone gives moral dignity to communal action.

The same tendency is widely seen in the changing ideals of the individual life. For instance, the anarchic tendency of the natural man is playing havoc with the Puritan family ideal. What else accounts for the decaying home discipline, the premature breaking away of our boys and girls from the restraints of their parents, the slackening ideas of the marriage-bond, the alarming increase of divorce (in Britain as well as in America), the disastrous revolt against motherhood — the most perilous of all? We have as yet hardly begun to envisage these solemn facts; it is time we did so with courage and realized their tremendous significance. Ruskin has described the Puritan home at its best as the flower of the Christian centuries. Are we safeguarding its sanctities as we ought, are we jealous of its future in view of these disintegrating influences, as we may well be?

And may I boldly suggest as a last item in this list of perils that the catchword of the moment — the "self-determination" of the race or the nation, may be tainted with the same fallacy? You will notice that the claim is for self-determination, which is a non-moral term, not self-government, which is the last achievement of noble minds and peoples. It would be well for us at this solemn crisis in the world's history to examine our watchwords from the point of view of their moral value, and to recognize that self-determination may be prematurely claimed by races as well as individuals. It may be that the British system of a family of races and peoples mothered gradually into nationhood by a process of family training — some in a state of infantile dependence, others in the awkward stage of adolescence, others ripe for the full privileges of self government, is a better method of inculcating and practising the principle of liberty than the continental demand that each little race group, in whatever state of internal anarchy and inexperience, is *pro facto* fit for independence. Here at least is a problem for patient study, for wise diplomacy, certainly not for settlement by crude shibboleths and catchwords.

In conclusion I would return to my earliest position and say that the Congregational principle, so far from being a historic survival, is the one hopeful and statesmanlike remedy for all these modern perils. That is to say, the hope of the future lies in an enlightened and socialized Christian conscience as the moral unit of human society in the family, the church, the community and the state. Only as thought and action becomes crystallized and spiritualized can humanity ever progress, and only as we realize and preach our own distinctive doctrine — that the germ-cell of

such progress is the redeemed and socialized individual man — shall we contribute our own special gift to human welfare. Such has been our historic function; such — God helping us — must be our future programme.

THE CONTRIBUTION OF BRITISH CONGREGATIONALISM
TO RELIGIOUS THOUGHT: OUR PRESENT STRENGTH AND
WEAKNESS IN THAT FIELD

REV. ROBERT MACKINTOSH, D.D.

Had Dr. Forsyth's health permitted, he should have stood here today to deal with this important subject. But long ago it was necessary for me to relieve him of responsibility for the burden of preparation; and I have now to finish the work as best I can.

I come, therefore, as representative of the British Commission on our Contribution to Religious Thought. By the way, when the subject was entrusted to me, a Scotsman, the reference was to "English" contributions. But among the best papers handed to me were one by a Welsh member of the Commission, dealing specifically with Wales, and another by a Scottish member, dealing with Scotland. What then could I do but substitute the more reasonable and accurate term "British" for the less appropriate term "English"? And I am glad to note that the adjective "British" is making its way even into official use. Again, it may be worth recording that the wording of the subject entrusted to us has been repeatedly altered in public announcements. Even as named by you a moment ago, Mr. President, my subject was not precisely that upon which the Commission worked. Yet obviously we could only make our preparations along the lines indicated in the title as it was handed to us some months since.

We had to deal therefore with contributions to religious thought in all its breadth, and our task required us to piece together a rough outline history of the theological and religious thinking of British Congregationalists, dealing largely with the past, though not forgetting the present situation. Accordingly we felt it right to allot a good deal of our space to two great Nineteenth Century names — Dale and Fairbairn. It is matter for regret that time will permit of hardly more than this passing reference to that part of our Report.

I desire to say that our Commission was a strong one. We were strong numerically; two friends whose services we should have greatly valued found themselves unable to help us; but as compared with other British Commissions, we remained numerous. And if we were strong numerically, we were also of good quality. Better still, the members worked. Dr. Forsyth indeed felt unable to submit a contribution in writing, or to attend our meeting, but after our draft report had been circulated, I went to see him at his request and he made numerous suggestions to me. All of them were laid before the Commission at its meeting and many of them were acted on; so that, in part, we have the impress of Dr. Forsyth's mind in our Report. Every one of the remaining members of the Commission sent me a contribution in writing; and after I had constructed and circulated a draft report, they met with one single exception at Oxford, through the kindness and courtesy of Mansfield College; to think of meeting in London was hopeless. If, in those post-war days, one collected a dozen theologians in that great city, it was likely that ten or eleven of them as the night approached would be seeking rest, but finding none. At Oxford, then, we through our draft report, paragraph by paragraph. The result of our labors is a composite document. Sometimes you have two conveners' work, sometimes you have one contribution; sometimes another; some-

times a blend. At times a contributor's sentence has been modified by the conveners. At times the convener's draft has been altered in deference to the wishes of the Commission. In fact, the process and the result have resembled what scholars discover in the Book of Genesis or the Book of Exodus; and authors in a leisure hour might verify their material by applying them to our Report. In some cases the analysis would be easy and obvious; in others I must think it would be impossible. Yet if our report is composite, it has been adopted as a joint utterance. It is an agreed report. I claim therefore that ours was the model British Commission — diligent and punctual and harmonious.

At one point a difference of opinion arose — not as to what we held but as to what precisely we were asked to formulate. Were we to deal with the contributions of Congregationalism or in the singular — with its contribution? On the former view, Congregationalists are thought of as partners with Christians of other communions in the common task of a thought devoted to the things of God and of His Kingdom. Our affinities with our fellow-Christians are therefore emphasized and our more peculiar qualities fall into the background. But on the latter view the emphasis is reversed, and what is peculiar in Congregationalism becomes of central importance. In the end we tried to do both; and I am now of opinion that this makes our Report a more satisfactory performance, in spite of drawbacks — such as a changed emphasis at certain points in its course, and an increased danger of treading upon the toes of other commissions.

On the important doctrine of Christology, to which Dr. Jones referred in the Council Sermon, or upon the closely associated doctrine of the Trinity, we have found something to say regarding the history of thought. We put it on record that both Walter and Doddridge accepted views regarding Christ's humanity which were not in the line of strict church orthodoxy. Immediately afterwards, whether in part as result or as a purely accidental sequel, came the "Arian" movement in English theology; and we have noted the recurrence of our leading minds to the wonted forms of belief, but in two types — some conceiving the Trinity as three Personalities who in a certain mysterious sense are one; but another view being also represented, according to which God is one personality who in a certain mysterious sense is three. On Christology proper we briefly refer to the wide acceptance of Kenotic theories, with their strong ethical emphasis, while we also register the reverent and impressive statement of a personal and modern Christology by a member of our Commission, a member of this Assembly, one who has already addressed this great gathering — Dr. W. L. Walker.

These references in our Report might all be termed incidental. Much more deliberate is our general statement that the contribution of thought among us in England, in Wales, in Scotland, has been such that Calvinism, originally dominant and unchallenged, has disappeared, but that Evangelicism survives; and that in spite of difficulties and of not inconsiderable minority tendencies, the Congregational Churches of our country "maintain their stand for the Gospel of the grace of God in Christ." I drew the special attention of my Commission to these statements as formulated in our draft report. Had I said too little? Had I said too much? The meeting accepted the wording which I have submitted to them; therefore I pass it on as our central, considered judgment. It is no mere expression of personal preferences; it is our testimony as observers, as historians. But I should be sorry to be misunderstood! It is not a state of belief which we report with indifference, still less with reluctance. We of the Commission share it — unanimously, as I believe. What we say is both in one. It is our testimony as to the faith by which our churches live, and it is the confession of our own faith. On whatever grounds Congregationalism may commend itself to other minds, we value our polity almost

REV. R. MACKINTOSH, D.D.
Manchester, England

REV. E. GRIFFITH-JONES, D.D.
Bradford, England

RAYMOND ROBINS, LL.B
Chicago, Ill.

THEODORE E. BURTON, LL.D.
Cleveland, Ohio



exclusively as a fitting vehicle and servant of the Gospel of Jesus Christ.

At the same time the history of thought shows a wide shifting of belief in regard to subsidiary points or in regard to the mode of stating and expressing the faith. And hence the new evangelicalism, at least on a superficial view, is a very different thing indeed from the old.

In regard to future punishment, our Report puts on record strong pleading on behalf of a doctrine of universal salvation. Again, we record how other great minds among us sought relief in what is known as the doctrine of conditional immortality. Others again — and they are not a few — while breaking with the old, terrible belief, have returned to commit themselves to either of these dogmatically formulated alternatives; a notable example of this, in his own way, was Fairbairn.

So, also, when we turn to the Doctrine of Holy Scriptures there is marked change. In pre-scientific days, almost inevitably, the theory of verbal inspiration held the field. It is hardly too much to say that that theory has been destroyed by the triumphant march of criticism, especially the criticism of the Old Testament. There are doubtless other grounds, theologically more weighty, for breaking with old views of inspiration; but criticism of itself would require the change; and how tremendous a fact is modern criticism! Our own churches have contributed to the work of scholarship; and the Commission, with a certain hesitation, felt bound to deal not only with the names of departed leaders who have passed under the judgment of history, but with the living. We worked under conditions of pressure. It was hardly possible but that there should be omissions in our survey. I confess the fact, and I give expression to my personal regret.

On the great doctrine of Atonement it would be harder to formulate a definite contrast between present and past belief. To a summary of the views of Dale, so weightily urged by him and so widely influential, our report appends a brief statement of Dr. Forsyth's contentions as epitomized by Mr. J. K. Mozley, with the added remark that the intense earnestness exhibited by Dr. Forsyth is itself an indication how keen the contest of opinions is upon this great issue.

But is there really a contribution of Congregationalism to the changed thoughts and beliefs of modern evangelical Christians? Here the other view of our task asserts itself. Here we have to turn from the study of this or that detail, this or that portion of the wide field of theological and religious thought, to the general conception of the Christian life and the Christian task, as our churches view them. The Commission claims that the Congregationalism of today is not the less but the more loyal to the Congregationalist spirit and ideal because we or our fathers have broken with state churchism, with binding creed, with the proclamation of endless torment, with belief in the infallibility of the letter of scripture; let me add, with old, hard views concerning the substitution of Christ for sinners. In an age of doubt and unsettlement of opinion — which in God's good time will mean adequate reasonable resettlement — it is an immensely valuable option for the Christian mind, or for the mind striving to be Christian, that it may still follow the Congregational plan and be loyal to the uttermost towards the Son of David, without finding it necessary to wear the armor of King Saul. Hence, as the closing words of our Report insist, we feel there would be very real loss if Congregationalism were to be merged in some great union polity more elaborately ecclesiastical and more creedal. Here perhaps we trespass on the frontier of Commissions which deal with unity. Nevertheless, we take leave to say our say. We do not forbid the banns. But, in the light of our survey of history, we feel that a non-Congregationalist basis of church union, whatever gains it might bring in other respects, would involve grave religious loss.

Our survey then has thrust us back upon central principles, reinforcing our belief that Congregationalism, considered with the legitimate gains of three centuries — if true to itself — is eminently fitted to serve its Lord and to minister to the present hour. But a few pages earlier our Report had put on record the admission that — in contrast with the ideal claims so warmly asserted both formerly and now — there is no discernible difference today in the matter of "faithfulness" in admission to fellowship between Congregational churches and other evangelical communions. Nor does our Report call for repentance and reform! It calls for bolder thinking and franker utterance, in order that unreal barriers may not serve to delay or thwart movements towards union. At the risk of indiscretion, I may mention that this was not my own work but part of a contribution from a valued member of the Commission. I thought it ought to be at least considered, and it was passed without a word of protest. Accordingly, if our Commission holds aloft the banner of the Congregationalist ideal, we admit that in one most important point of practice we represent no advance on the life of other churches, and cannot hope to do so. I could wish that this part of my statement might not merely raise a smile, but lead to serious thought, and — if it had been possible — to counsel and debate upon the very important question at issue.

There is another matter in regard to which our Report asks for fuller thought and inquiry — social theory, including the theory of the State. My commission is of opinion that the extreme individualism of the early nineteenth century does not represent the true genius of Congregationalism. I bring with me here no plea for Socialism. Personally, it might be impossible for me to make myself the mouthpiece of any such plea. But it is our considered judgment that the safeguarding of individual rights, though part of the State's task, is not its whole duty. We feel that the State must seek to serve the common good by some more positive activities than merely by keeping a ring and ensuring what is called fair play.

One point at which this matter becomes of urgent importance for the Christian Church is when Individualism formulates the theory of the State's absolute religious neutrality. We venture to protest against that theory. That the separation of Church and State is wise and just and right we feel quite certain; that the ground and motive of that policy is to be found in the State's entire religious neutrality, appears to us eminently false.

The theory we dread may be stated in words used by Dr. John Brown of Edinburgh, the author of "Rab and His Friends" — a man of beautiful spirit and with a vein of true genius. According to Dr. Brown, "The State is to have nothing to do with the Church" and correspondingly "The Church is to have nothing to do with the State." Two great, divinely appointed institutions, both necessary for man's welfare, are to take no cognizance of each other! The suggestion is a paradox. We have no wish to join the High Churchman in securing from the Church a programme which the State is submissively to execute; but we do desire that the Christian Church should prove the inspiring soul of men of good-will in every part within the State.

Two applications of our principle may be noted.

If the State cannot be a pure neutral on religious questions, then in matters of education it is not the entire concern of Christians to secure justice for individuals, and for universities. There is also a duty incumbent upon individual Christians and upon the Christian Church to cooperate with the State in maintaining an education which not merely diffuses knowledge but builds up character.

Similarly the maintenance and fuller establishment of civil and religious liberty is not our only political concern. As Christian men and as members

of the Church, we are bound to live and labor on behalf of a policy, and of customs, and of laws which promote the widest and truest welfare of the community.

It is impossible, without transgressing time limits, to touch any other parts of this many-sided subject. You have been good enough to undertake to bestow upon the Reports of your Commissions the immortality of print. May I venture to express the hope that this immortality of theirs will not prove to be merely one of neglect and of oblivion? They deserve better treatment.

THE MOVEMENT TOWARDS UNITY

REV. K. L. PARRY

I am here this morning as a substitute for the Rev. F. A. Russell of Southport. It is a real loss to this Council that a failure of health has deprived it of his keen mind and brilliant tongue. It would be a great presumption on my part to pretend that I can fill his place. But I was very glad when the opportunity came to me of speaking upon this subject which seems to me to be second to none in its urgency and importance.

May I say at the outset that the title as printed in the Programme is not quite the same as that suggested to me? The title on the Programme is "Movements Towards Unity" — the title offered to me was "The Movement Towards Unity." Of these I prefer the second. The movements towards unity today are so many and so intricate that it would be impossible to describe them even in outline in the twenty-five minutes allowed me; but behind all these movements there are certain general influences at work and the same deep significance underlies them all, and it is this general interpretation of the movement towards unity that I shall here attempt. I shall speak of three reasons why this movement towards unity is to my mind supreme in its demand upon the thought and prayer of all Christian people. I shall state the first two reasons briefly, leaving myself more time to develop the third.

The first reason is this, that the movement towards Christian unity is plainly the work of the Holy Spirit. Let me remind you in a sentence of the immense range of this movement. It is world-wide. It is manifesting itself in every branch of the Christian church. In my own country there is scarcely ever a gathering together of Christian people for conference where the subject of church unity is not discussed. It is the dominating theme of our church life. We hear of unity among the free churches, unity between the free churches and the established church, unity between the Anglican church and the Eastern church, even unity within Methodism itself. I had not realized until I came to this country to what an extent this was also a burning topic among you. Throughout the mission field the spirit of unity is blowing like a mighty wind. Now what is the significance of all this, what does it mean? Brethren, it is the work of the Holy Spirit.

This truth is not always apparent and that is why I dwell upon it here. The case for unity is not always based on its truest foundations. To some people unity makes its chief appeal as a way of closing redundant churches. For myself, I rather expect that if we are obedient to this heavenly vision there will be more need to build churches than to destroy. To others the idea of unity appeals because it seems to make for greater efficiency of organization, the pooling of resources, the better payment of the ministry, and a differentiation of work. These are important issues. The movement towards the better payment of the ministry is a movement to rid the church of an open scandal. But, brethren, to pay your ministers a decent wage is a matter of common decency, and there is no need to exploit

a great spiritual movement in its interest. Others again are fascinated by the prospect of a great consolidation of Christian forces to exercise a more militant influence on national life. Frankly, that is one possible result of unity which I regard with grave apprehension. It savors too much of the medieval conception of the church. It is the "meekness and gentleness of Christ" that the world needs today.

I do not wonder that some among us regard with apprehension the movement towards unity, associated as it so often is with inadequate conceptions of the Christian church. Yet it is my deep conviction that the Holy Spirit is behind this movement. Brethren in the ministry, will you remember with me those earlier days, when we were preparing for the work of our life? Again and again did we not discover ourselves to be actuated by motives of which we grew to be ashamed? You remember those thoughts that came unbidden, and alas sometimes unforbidden, to the mind? We coveted influence, we were haunted by visions of a crowd beneath the spell of our words, we drew up orders of service and composed prayers of matchless beauty, we considered possible and impossible calls which offered congenial places of habitation. You all know how hard it was, even when we fought against it, to keep these unworthy motives from creeping into our minds. You remember too those first days in the ministry when the truth dawned upon you. We stood for the first time on the doorstep of the darkened home where grief had made her abode, we stood face to face with a man of sin, we looked into the eyes of the people who had chosen us to be their pastor, and we felt the utter humiliation of a man who is unworthy of his task. If we had known what it meant we should never have dared to enter the ministry. And then did there not grow upon us the real truth, that behind all those unworthy motives lay the guidance and control of the Holy Spirit? By strange and crooked paths we are led to ground that is holy. So He perfects His strength in our weakness. Our dear Lord lays hold of any dirty rope by which to raise us to his mount of vision!

So also in this let us be sure that the Holy Spirit is at work. Those who look to unity to increase our material resources, to make for mechanical efficiency, will probably suffer a great disillusionment! Christian unity means putting first things first, and that may mean a period of material loss, it may mean an actual loss of those things which are dear to the ecclesiastical type of mind; the path to unity is the way of repentance and sacrifice, but after Calvary will come a new Easter Day for the Church!

Let us not be deceived by false motives associated with this movement towards unity. It is the work of the Holy Spirit. Let us beware lest we resist the Holy Spirit.

But can we prove that it is the work of the Spirit? How can we discover the Spirit, that it is of God? In his great Sermon last Wednesday, Dr. J. D. Jones suggested one way in which we can identify the work of the Holy Spirit. The result of the Spirit is always to exalt Jesus Christ. "We shall glorify him." Let us apply that text. Will the unity of the church exalt Christ? This leads me to my second reason. What is the supreme function of the Christian Church? Is it not to bear witness to Christ? "Ye shall be my witness." A divided Church means a divided witness. It is often said that we Congregationalists are High Churchmen. What does that mean? Certainly not that we incline to the ritualistic forms of worship associated with High Church views. It means that to us the Church of Jesus Christ is no mere organization of Christian forms. It is an essential part of Christian relation. The Church is the body of Christ. Only in a fellowship can Jesus Christ be fully witnessed.

You may have seen in this country a remarkable little book, "As Tommy Sees Us," by the Rev. Herbert Gray; one of the most successful of many attempts to interpret the mind of our soldiers in regard to religion. All through that book there runs a sad refrain: "Those men have never seen

Jesus." If only they could be made to see Jesus, the real Jesus! How they would love Him, honor Him, adore Him. They would follow Him anywhere, if they could see Jesus. But they have never seen Jesus. They judge Him by the kind of company He keeps, and they don't like it! They don't want to be the sort of people Christians mostly are!

May I venture once more into the field of experience? I suppose the climax of the meetings of this Council was reached at that wonderful service last Wednesday evening. As Dr. Jones preached to that immense throng, there was not a heart amongst us that did not glow as the vision of the exalted Christ was set before us. Then followed the communion service, which some of us will never forget. As all those thousands of people, from all quarters of the globe, took the bread and wine as from an Unseen Hand; as Dr. Horton, in his closing prayer, brought tears to every heart, I felt as I have never felt before that nothing matters but to live for Christ. To bear witness to Christ! All that we know of life's meaning is contained in that. But we cannot do that fully as individuals. We can do much in our individual lives, we can do much by preaching, we can do much by writing about Him, as Dr. Glover has proved, but only in a fellowship can Christ be fully witnessed.

This fellowship already exists for many of us. There are groups within the church and groups including members of many churches, in which we have fellowship in His name, but so long as our divisions remain our witness is hidden from the world. There is no greater reason for unity than this, that we may bear witness to Christ.

Now I come to my third reason. This movement towards Christian unity is only a part of a far wider movement towards unity of thought and life. A study of history seems to show that at every great crisis in the development of the race some great idea is born into the general consciousness of mankind, takes possession of the human mind and becomes for a period the dominating idea, shaping the thoughts and institutions of the race. Thus the idea of liberty was the fruit of the reformation. The idea of equality possessed the human mind after the French revolution. Moreover, the coming to birth of these great ideas is preceded by the climax of their opposites. It is inevitable to ask what great idea is to be born out of the travail of the Great War. I think it is safe to answer that it is the idea of unity. Let us apply our text. Did not disunity reach a climax on the eve of the war? In a remarkable Chapter of "Cambridge essays on Education," Mr. Lewis Paton of Manchester says: "The last century, with all its brilliant achievement in scientific discovery and increase of production, was spiritually a failure. The secret of its failure was that the great forces which move mankind were out of touch with each other, and furnished no mutual support. Art had no vital relation with industry; work was dissociated from joy; political economy was at issue with humanity; science was at daggers drawn with religion; action did not correspond with thought, being too seeming; and finally, the individual was conceived as having claims and interests at variance with the claims and interests of the society of which he formed a part. As a result, nation was divided against nation, labor against capital, town against country, sex against sex, the hearts of the children were set against their fathers, the Church fought against the State, and, worst of all, church fought against church."

This is profoundly true. The War was an inevitable nemesis upon this climax of disunity. But already there are signs that the idea of unity has come into possession. All the greater movements of today are in this direction. The League of Nations, the reconciliation of labor and capital, the recent developments of science and philosophy, all tend in the same direction — the unification of life and thought. Now there can be no doubt whither this will lead. The foundations of unity are upon the

mountains of Galilee. A world that is intent on unity must find its ultimate basis in religion and the religion of Jesus Christ. But what of the Church? What part is the Christian Church to play in this movement? Can a church divided against itself lead the world to unity?

But this question also suggests the particular form of our immediate problem. Our most urgent task is not to arrive at unity of organization, but so to construe our religion as to provide the only possible basis for the unification of life. When the Church invokes the spirit of unity it will not be able to resist it; its own institutions must yield to its influence; but if we begin with organization we may fail at our greater mission of leading the world to the ultimate foundations of the unity of all life.

If I had more time I should like to illustrate my meaning here by considering the claim of Catholicism to be the trustee of the principle of unity. This claim is often made. Catholicism, we are told, has preserved unity. We hear of the disruptive tendencies of Protestantism. A distinguished Catholic wrote a book on "The Price of Unity." Yes, the cost may seem great, but have they not kept the pearl of great price? Now I wish to give a direct contradiction to that claim. In the larger sense of which I speak, Catholicism is not and never could be the religion of unity. For Catholicism is full of unresolved antimonies. For example, they contrast the natural and the supernatural into an ultimate antithesis. Consider the division of mankind into baptized and unbaptized upon a principle that bears no relation to the nature of things. Consider the antimonies of lay and priest, religious and secular, and worst of all a distinction between religion and morality which tends to antithesis. A religion that is so full of antimonies can never provide a basis for the unification of life. There is room in the universe for the sacramental system, but I cannot get my universe into the sacramental system.

It would perhaps seem a foolish paradox to say that it is not Catholicism but Puritanism that holds the principle of unity. But nevertheless it would be true. For is not the inner meaning of Puritanism really this, that religion must embrace the whole of life?

But we must return to our main theme. A religion that unifies is more important than a uniform church. The reason for our present divisions is to be found in our defective religion, and our immediate problem is not to embrace Anglicanism or to embrace one another, so much as it is to embrace art and science and politics. Religion is out of touch with life. When people say that religion today is not real, they do not mean that religion is not obvious in the sense in which incense, altars, vestments and moving priests can make it obvious; they mean that religion is one thing and to live one's life is another.

In what direction lies our hope of making the Church lead the movement towards unity? The war has surely taught us a lesson here. I have spoken of the disunity that reached a climax on the eve of the war. Those who lived through it will never forget the way in which this disunity disappeared in the early days of the war. Ancient feuds were forgotten; class differences disappeared; political parties came together; private and public quarrels were healed; rich and poor, high and low, commercial and professional, became of one mind; art, science, religion and philosophy lived in one camp and shared one table; the spirit of unity seemed to descend upon the nation. What was the reason for this? This wonderful unity was born of a common purpose. To beat a common enemy, to win the war, with that desire all hearts beat as one.

Let us now observe another feature of the pre-war world. We have spoken of the disunity which yielded to the discovery of a common purpose. May it not have been the want of purpose that lay at the root of our disunity? Was not the want of purpose a characteristic feature of pre-war civilization? Listen to this by Canon Scott Holland as long ago as 1892:

" Does not the godlessness that now so universally pervades us spring from the unhappy purposelessness that is our present curse? Is not this the terror of the hour, that on every side there is a vanishing of all purpose? Take society at large; purpose, the sense of purpose, is disappearing out of this huge civilization of ours. Who professes to see any distinct emphasis and growing purpose towards which modern society is moving? Who offers to detect a rational and coherent goal for these portentous accumulations of human masses in great cities, for these gigantic manipulations of capital? What is the end we have in view? "

I often think of that pre-war civilization as a great ship that had no goal before it. How proud we were of our huge *Leviathan*! We increased the power of its engines, we drove on at a stupendous speed, and we boasted of our great progress! It is true there was some discontent among the crews, there were complaints from the engine-room, and the steerage passengers were turning angry looks towards the luxurious comfort of the salon, but we would soon satisfy their grievances, and was it not wonderful? What speed! But it seemed not to occur to us to ask whither are we bound? After all, the measure of progress is not pace, but the distance that divides us from our goal. Here and there a voice of warning was raised that rocks lay ahead, but on and on we plunged with ever-growing speed.

Then came the war. Our ship became a man-of-war. The enemy was in sight. With purpose came unity, and now the war is over. Our purpose is obscured. Already the old divisions are appearing. What is the lesson? Surely this, that we need a purpose for humanity, large enough to embrace all conditions of human life.

Is it not of divine significance that just at this moment Christian thought has rediscovered the central place of the Kingdom of God in the teaching of Jesus Christ? Is it not as clear as day that our hope of unity lies just here? Here also lies the hope of unity among ourselves when we make the church subservient to the Kingdom of God. I cannot here develop this idea. I should like, if I had time, to show what that involves for the various churches; what would happen if the Anglican Church, the Roman Church, the various Protestant Churches, put first the Kingdom of God. The church is not the Kingdom, as Catholicism holds, neither is the church the mere instrument of the Kingdom, as we incline to say. That way lies a vain utopianism. The church is the Kingdom in process of leavening, as Dr. Forsyth says. In the church human nature in its infinite variety is brought into conscious relation to the eternal purpose of God in Christ Jesus.

Brethren, we can spend too much time on the minutiae of theological definitions and ecclesiastical usage; let us sound the trumpet; let us lift our banner; let us raise the sign; then will the Christian army close its ranks; we will take unity in our stride as we march on to the Kingdom of God.

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF CONGREGATIONALISM

REV. A. R. HENDERSON

Before beginning to write my paper I asked my bookseller if there was any literature on the psychology of Congregationalism. He thought for a moment and then replied that the only thing he could think of as being pertinent to the subject was a book on the psychology of the mob! Needless to say I left the book on his shelf and went back to the study of our origins in order to discover the attitude of mind out of which Congregationalism sprang.

That there is a psychology of the various denominations cannot be doubted. Denominationalism is to a certain extent temperamental. The

divergencies in ecclesiastical polity which followed the Reformation in England were the outcome not of perversity but of the varying experiences, the characteristic moods, the temperamental leanings of the people. By natural constitution some men have a strong sense of order and government, others a passionate love for freedom. The former believe that good government makes liberty secure, the latter trust that free societies will develop order and good government. Some are by nature the slaves of tradition, others the pioneers of liberty. For some minds ritual has a compelling fascination, for others the simplest form of service has the greatest attraction. Some claim the right to think for themselves, others are content to let the church do all the thinking for them. Some believe that it is possible to give adequate expression to divine truth in creeds, others contend that all creeds are partial and temporary utterances, and the attempt to make them permanent fetters the mind and imprisons the truth.

If we go back to the reign of Elizabeth in our attempt to discover the mental attitude of our ancestors we suffer at first a certain disappointment. The ecclesiastical controversies of the time were largely concerned with the question of vestments — the wearing of cape and surplice. But the vestments were to the Puritans only the emblem of a superstition they renounced and a tyranny they defied. Although Elizabeth had a great share in securing the triumph of Protestantism in England, yet in her heart there was, as Dr. Dale reminds us, "a lingering sentiment in favor of some of the practices and mysteries which had been renounced. She rebuked a preacher who argued in a sermon against the Real Presence and she kept a crucifix in her private chapel. . . . She was obliged to concede much to the Protestants; but it was her aim to make the service tolerable to the Catholics. All over England for some years after she came to the throne the people found their old priests officiating before the old altars, wearing the old vestments, and celebrating a service which was very like the old ritual. Elizabeth cared nothing for Protestant theology. She had no strong religious convictions. She was satisfied so long as the clergy acknowledged her authority, and the people attended the English service. To conciliate the Catholics she persecuted the Puritans. But she failed to conquer them. They regarded the vestments as the 'conjuring garments of Popery.' They contended that the men who wore priestly garments would be regarded as priests by a people brought up in Romanism. They denied the right of the queen to interfere with the religion of her subjects and claimed that Christ is the only Sovereign of the church. To them," says Dr. Dale, "must be attributed an immovable resolution to be loyal to conscience and to Christ at all hazards; a deeply-rooted faith that no compromise with error can be necessary to secure the ultimate victory of truth; a vehement abhorrence of superstition and idolatry; a relentless hatred of priestly pretension and priestly tyranny."

Hence the quarrel with the vestments of Rome was really the result of the great discovery of the Reformation — the saving grace of God offered in the gospel, presented by the Spirit, and accepted by faith alone. The ceremonial questions which they debated had a theological origin. The fundamental thing was the faith of forgiveness and new life in Christ. It was theology that created the church of the first century. Redemption is the burden of the apostolic gospel. And it was theology that made the Puritan and the Separatist — a theology of final and complete redemption through the cross of Christ. Our justification, our forgiveness is a great act of God. God's action in Christ is prior to and independent of our experience of it. Cromwell expressed what has been called the immortal soul of Independency in these words, "Those who believe the remission of sins through the blood of Christ, and free justification through the blood of Christ; who live upon the grace of God; those men who are certain they be so — they are members of Jesus Christ." Their great certainty

was the act of God's free grace in the death and resurrection of our Lord Jesus Christ, bringing to man deliverance from the guilt and power of sin and the glory of an endless life in union with God. God's act of redeeming grace was the greatest certainty of conscience.

When the Reformation came to England it was in its Calvinistic rather than in its Lutheran form. Christianity, as Dr. Forsyth puts it, is based upon two sets of facts, "first the life, miracles, teachings, death and resurrection of Jesus; and second, the action of the Holy Spirit upon the living generation." "The Holy Spirit does not effect a direct contact of God as the spiritual power with man's inner nature as if it switched on an inner light. That would make revelation illumination and not redemption." Nor does the ministry of the Spirit supercede the historic salvation. The Spirit takes of the things that are Christ's and shows them to us. The Spirit convicts, converts, regenerates on the basis of the work of Christ for our salvation. The difference between Calvin and Luther is thus stated by Dr. Forsyth, "Calvin regarded the connection of Word and Spirit as one of association. He kept distinct though inseparable the effect of the inspired word and the complementary action of the Spirit as really decisive, truly inward, and heart opening. The Word and Spirit are two casualties as far as psychological action goes." In the Lutheran view the Spirit is more "organic and immanent to the Word." "The supernatural action of the Spirit is involved, but not exhausted, in the psychological action of one Word."

It is this difference, on which we should not be inclined to lay much stress nowadays, that accounts for Independency. But it was Calvinism enriched by Anabaptism. For Anabaptism, persecuted and crushed in Germany, had its opportunity in England. And it gave to Calvinism that note of enthusiasm and of personal experience which made Independency what it was. As Dr. Forsyth tersely puts it, "The source of Independency was Calvinism. Its genius was Anabaptism. Its soil was the English character — that genius for practical politics, local self-government and public freedom, civil and religious, which is England's note in history." "It drew from Calvinism its positive and theological gospel of the word. It drew from Anabaptism its personal and subjective religion of the Spirit. It drew from England its free constitution of the church, non-dynastic, non-territorial and democratic."

Hence the essential thing in the psychology of Congregationalism is its positive gospel and its vivid personal experience which claimed for itself a wide circumference of thought around its evangelical center. The position was stated in memorable words by John Robinson in his final charge to the Pilgrim Fathers. "The Lord hath yet more light and truth to break forth from His Holy Word. The Lutherans could not be drawn to go beyond what Luther saw; for whatever part of God's will he had farther imparted and revealed to Calvin — they will rather die than embrace it. And so also with the Calvinists — they stick where he left them. A misery much to be lamented. For though they were precious shining lights in their times, yet God hath not revealed His whole will unto them. And were they now living they would be as ready and willing to embrace farther light as that they had received." Then he referred to their church covenant, "Whereby we promise and covenant with God and one another to receive whatever light and truth shall be made known to us from His written Word." There you have the immovable center in the historic act of God in Christ for man's redemption, and the ever-widening circle of application under the guidance of the Spirit and at the call of the changing conditions and needs of the world.

It was this new life with its claims which led to the conflict that ended in Separatism and finally in the sailing of the *Mayflower*. Queen Elizabeth and her ministers, ignorant of the movements of the Christian life,

determined to maintain uniformity and found in the shattering of the peace of the Church of England that life cannot be confined. If you surround a living tree with a brick wall, representing conformity, the result is not uncertain. Queen Elizabeth's brick wall of conformity sought to enclose and keep in order two sets of people — the Puritans and the Separatists. The Puritans were the non-conformists who remained within the Established Church. They were persecuted, admonished, checked, but the zeal of sovereigns and of bishops was no match for the patience and tenacity of the Puritans. The Separatists on the other hand came in time to regard it as their most urgent duty to sever their connection with a church that denied freedom to their spiritual life. In 1582 Robert Browne published his book, entitled, "A Treatise of Reformation without tarrying for anie," and promulgated a doctrine of the church which determined the whole future of Congregationalism. According to Browne a church is "a company or number of Christians or believers who by a willing covenant made with God are under the government of God and Christ and kepe His laws in one holie communion."

Severance from the national church was not easy. The Separatists were not light-hearted, irresponsible adventurers. Laud was never farther from the truth than when he declared the New England states to be "a receptacle for schismatics from whence, as from the bowels of the Trojan horse, so many incendiaries might break out to inflame the nation." The idea of a national church was deeply rooted in England. The Puritans, who shared in the same spiritual movement as the Separatists, doggedly clung to the national church from a high sense of duty to the nation. But the Separatists, no less patriotic than the Puritans, were compelled to take a different line. They too loved their country and were ready to die for it. The love of England was too deep to allow the Pilgrims in Holland to become Dutchmen. And when they finally tore themselves from the old land and sailed away to the West in the greatest Pilgrimage of history, it was with the dream of founding a New England where in addition to all the old things they loved they would enjoy the priceless blessing of worshipping God according to the dictates of conscience.

Thus the psychology of Congregationalism can be understood only when we take as our starting-point the rediscovery of the saving grace of God and the regenerated life that sprang from it. Our Congregational founders did not set out in quest of liberty. They were laid hold of by the grace of God, and their conduct was the outcome of their spiritual life. The new wine compelled them to make new bottles.

1. First among their achievements was the re-discovery of the New Testament conception of the church as a company of men and women who shared the same eternal life and sought the culture of that life in association with one another. Purity of fellowship seemed essential to their highest spiritual interests. "It was a matter of first moment to seek that the church on earth should be unspotted. They knew that their judgment was not infallible, but they could exercise common sense. . . . They believed that Christian character was patent and that it was the one thing essential to a true fellowship." Nor did they strive in vain to maintain a lofty ideal of church membership. Of the church in Leyden, Robinson said, "If ever I saw the beauty of Zion, and the glory of the Lord filling His tabernacle, it hath been in the manifestation of the divers graces of God in the church in that heavenly harmony and comely order wherein, by the grace of God, we are set and walk." When he was in prison Henry Barrowe bore the same testimony to the church in London. "So sweet is the harmony of God's graces unto me in the congregation and the conversation of the saints at all times as I think myself as a sparrow on the housetop when I am exiled from them." And coming down to the last century we have Dr. Dale's memorable description of the sanctity of the church in an address

to the Baptist and Congregational Unions in 1886. "To be at a church meeting — apart from any prayer that is offered, any hymn that is sung, any words that are spoken — is for me one of the chief means of grace. To know that I am surrounded by men and women who dwell in God, who have received the Holy Ghost, with whom I am to share the eternal righteousness and eternal rapture of the great life to come, this is blessedness. I breathe a divine air. . . . I rejoice in the joy of Christ over those whom He has delivered from eternal death and lifted into the light and glory of God. The Kingdom of Heaven is there."

2. The same spiritual life which demanded the association of regenerate men in the church called for the freedom of that church to obey the laws of Christ. He was its only Head and Ruler. The Christian religion was a relation of the individual to God. It was a matter of conscience, and as conscience could neither be compelled nor cajoled, the action of the churches must not be subject to external authority, either civil or ecclesiastical. Hence Independency in order to follow conscience in its allegiance to Christ was a protest against the authority of "pope, prelate, presbytery, prince and parliament."

Moreover, the carrying out of Christ's will in the church was a matter in which all the members were equally concerned. They neither recognized an authority outside the church nor allowed an oligarchy within the church. Congregationalism insisted on the spiritual equality of its members, and the right, duty and privilege of all its members to have a voice in its deliberations. Christ spoke through the reason and conscience of all who were united to Him by faith, and to debar the lowliest member of the church from taking part in its government was wilfully to close one of the channels through which Christ's will might be revealed. Hence Congregational Independency was the polity of the "gathered" church. We can remember with thankfulness that "in the days when Priest and Presbyter were contending who should set up the most powerful and the most overbearing spiritual despotism" our ancestors "raised aloft the standard of religious liberty and did not flinch under trials the most severe to assert that a man's conscience is in the keeping neither of minister nor of magistrate, that the spiritual priesthood of devout men and women seeking to do the will of God is the essential priesthood, and must be allowed to work out its own ideals under no authority but that of the divine Founder of the Church."

3. The religious life demanded freedom from creedal bondage. Our ancestors had a creed, a tremendous soul-renewing, work-regenerating faith. The evidence of its validity and power was in their own renewed lives. Of the sufficiency of Christ as Saviour they had no shadow of doubt. They had proved it by personal experiment. And they were never unwilling to state their faith, to declare their belief to the world. But they refused to allow a written and signed creed to become a prison-house of the soul. Of God's forgiving grace in Christ, and of the power of the Holy Spirit to sanctify and strengthen, they were so sure that they staked their eternal destiny upon it. But they were equally clear that of so glorious a faith and so blessed an experience, creeds and confessions were only partial and temporary utterances. They refused to put shackles on their own minds. They refused to construct an intellectual prison for their successors. They recognized the limits of their understanding and stood in awe of the glory of God in redemption that was yet to be revealed. Hence "their church covenants bound the members to hold all God's truth already revealed or yet to be revealed," and we owe them an infinite debt of gratitude for their courage in declaring that "never yet has so much enlightenment been granted to the interpreters of God's revealed will that they could say, 'We know not in part, but perfectly'."

It is quite true that there have been departures from this high attitude.

In the end of the seventeenth century the extreme orthodoxy of the Independents frustrated their union with the Presbyterians, while many of the trust deeds of the eighteenth century would if enforced create vacancies in our pastorates. Yet on the whole we can remember with profound thankfulness that psychological quality of the Independents which makes theology a living thing and not a closed system. Its fundamental position was thus stated by Goodwin, "If Christian judgments be well and thoroughly grounded in the doctrine of God's free grace and eternal life and redemption through Jesus Christ alone and in the most spiritual inward experiences of God's Spirit, that will fence them against all errors." Thus, according to Goodwin, the theology of Independency was historic in that it rested on God's supreme act of salvation in Christ, and psychological inasmuch as it has religious significance and value only in so far as it creates an inward experience in the saved. Resting on redemption through Jesus Christ independency was free to welcome every ray of fresh light that might break forth from God's word, and it claimed the right to state its belief from time to time in a declaration which was to be confessional but not coercive.

4. Independency with its august sense of personal experience became the pioneer of religious toleration. Because it valued its own freedom and fought and suffered to maintain it, Independency came to see that freedom in the realm of religion must be accorded to all men. The fight had varying fortune but the Independents never lost faith in their cause. "At the Restoration," as Green reminds us, "religious freedom seemed again to have been lost. Only the Independents, and a few despised sects, such as the Quakers, upheld the right of every man to worship God according to the bidding of his conscience." But while victory might be delayed the battle could never be lost. Freedom was in the nature of things and it was bound to prevail.

Of course it is not claimed that all Independents from the beginning of our history were in favor of complete liberty of conscience. At first only a few had worked out a harmonious doctrine of freedom. In the Westminster Assembly the plea for liberty of conscience advanced by Goodwin and his companions was not based on the universal right, the inevitable necessity of liberty of thought. They confine their protest to the matter under discussion, namely, their own Congregational action. At the same time it is admitted even by their opponents that "out of the discussions there was at length evolved the idea of religious toleration such as is demanded by man's solemn and dread characteristic of personal responsibility and consequent inalienable right to liberty of conscience." "Let truth and falsehood grapple," said Milton, "who ever knew truth put to the worst in a free and open encounter?" That it has become a commonplace of our thinking that loyalty to truth demands liberty for the utterance of all opinions which men hold is in no small measure due to those men who became the pioneers of toleration because their own spiritual life burst the bonds of uniformity and claimed freedom to develop.

5. In a study of the psychology of Congregationalism one cannot overlook its tendency towards an excessive individualism. The direct relation of the individual to God and the consequent priesthood of all believers was the discovery of the Reformation. Personal election to personal salvation was the note of Calvinism. Hence it is not to be wondered at that other aspects of the Christian life fell into the background. Baptism was regarded almost wholly as a confession of personal faith or a dedication of children to God, and not as a witness to the unity of the race alike in nature and in redemption. The Lord's Supper was a commemoration of the fact and meaning of Christ's death rather than a witness to the impartation of His glorified life and a consequent communion of those who are in Christ. The sphere of religion was limited to personal thought and action, and each

"gathered" church, large or small, was regarded as complete in and sufficient to itself. The conditions in which the early Independents lived were largely responsible for their conception of the church as "a little garden walled around" and for the fact that to some extent they overlooked Christ's headship of the human race, the Catholic oneness of the church, the obligations of the Christian to the society in which he lives and the race to which he belongs.

Attempts at the association of Congregational churches were made from time to time, but it needed the great impulse of the missionary movement in the end of the eighteenth century to make them realize the impotence of individualism. Indeed one may say that not till we were involved in the agonies of a world war in which all the great religions were represented at the battle front did we realize in a vivid and compelling way the vital importance of organized fellowship for the conquest of the world for Christ. That our Congregational churches need to be closely bound together for their own effective work in England has become more clearly recognized during the last few years. The old Independency has broken down. It has failed financially in the poorer districts, and the weak church can continue to exist only by the help of the strong. It has failed in respect to its ministry, and we have realized that the individual church must be protected from the incompetent by the denomination. It has failed in its witness to the nation which in the clamor of politics and the noise of warring factions can hear only the united voice of the church. A single community of believers may influence its own immediate neighborhood but to regenerate society and uplift a nation, to bring the gospel to mankind, the churches must abandon their attitude of isolation and unite their forces to secure the triumph of the Kingdom of God.

6. In studying the psychology of Congregationalism one becomes conscious of the fact that in some respects we have failed to live up to the freedom which we claim as our glory. We move painfully along in the old grooves. We pay unbounded homage to the traditions of the fathers. In some churches the final word in regard to any new proposal is, "We never did it before." That statement, pronounced with due solemnity by a leading official, is apt to awe a church meeting into subjection. Our stereotyped method of worship, our dependence on a one-man ministry who in some cases has to give all his time and power to the shepherding of a handful of people, our church architecture in which ugliness seems to be regarded as the handmaiden of religion, our exclusion of the liturgical from our worship, our reflection of middle-class opinion and our inability to make workingmen feel at home in our churches, our failure to lift men above the barriers of social and individual selfishness in the spiritual fellowship of Christ and to realize in actual practice the brotherhood which compels the members to bear one another's burdens, our exclusion of specialization in the training of our ministry and the subordination of individuality to the "style" and tone of the college — these are some of the evidences that we have failed to use our freedom as pioneers in the Kingdom of God. Our churches should be made to realize that they are free not to hark back to the seventeenth century but to anticipate the twenty-first and so to lead in the great adventure of bringing the world to Christ.

7. The great question of today is union. The reasons for separation, valid and imperative at the time, have grown less operative. The reasons for union have become more urgent with the need of the world. In regard to the churches that hold the reformed faith, it is difficult to justify the weakening of their forces by division. And it is becoming clearer that union cannot rest on visible reorganization, on historic tradition, on apostolical succession or on elaborate creeds. It is not a question of institutions but of life. We are one *now* with all who find their life in the redemptive work of Christ, and this inward unity must be the basis of our outward

union. The union of the church visible must have the same foundation as the unity of the church invisible which rests on the redemptive act of God and our acceptance of it. Hence Congregationalism, which cares supremely for the gospel of divine grace and the soul's committal to it, and refuses to make channels for that grace whether institutional or theological, which is content with a minimum of organization and is ready to adapt its methods to the changing needs of men, is freer than any other church to lead in the great movement of re-union, the accomplishment of which would mark a new era in the conquest of the world for Christ!

INTERNATIONAL PATRIOTISM

SIR ROBERT FALCONER, K.C.M.G., LL.D.

I thank you for the honor of having asked me in the absence of the Ambassador to represent the British Empire and Canada on this historic occasion. It seems to me most fitting that we should share in these celebrations, for few peoples understand one another better than we do, especially those who have inherited from Puritan forefathers similar fundamental beliefs as to liberty and the rule of righteousness among the nations. It may be also a matter of interest to this audience that the ordination of the first Presbyterian minister in British North America was performed in Halifax in "the Protestant Dissenting Meeting House," now known as St. Matthew's Church, on July 3, 1770, at which two Congregational ministers assisted, the Rev. Messrs. Seccombe and Phelps, both natives of New England, the former a graduate of Harvard. The Governor of the Province of Nova Scotia, the Right Hon. Lord William Campbell, was also present. There is some further reason even in sentiment for a Canadian to address you, because in the year 1597, the first expedition of Puritans set out for this continent bound for Canada. Of them there were only four, but they must have had minds of their own if we are to judge by this extract: "Humble suit was made unto Her Majesty to transport out of this realm divers artificers and other persons that are noted to be sectaries, whose minds are continually in an ecclesiastical ferment, whereof four shall at this present sail thither in those ships that go this present voyage." Her Majesty, pleased to get rid of them, doubtless, gave them permission to depart, but the voyage ended in failure, one vessel being wrecked on the Newfoundland coast and another captured by the French. So ended Canada's opportunity for being the home of the Puritan tradition.

You have given me "International Patriotism" as my subject. At first sight its connection with the Pilgrim Fathers appears to be somewhat remote, for at that time a hue and cry was raised against them in England and they were kept under watch at a distance in Holland, on the ground that they were anything but patriotic and were in danger of infecting not only the church but the body politic. These pestilential sectaries were not free even on the sands of Cape Cod and the wintry shores of New England from the hostile surveillance of their anxious foes, who believed that they had the safety of England in their keeping. Indeed it is remarkable that the Pilgrim Fathers retained any affection for their old homeland whose rulers alienated them more than the estranging ocean, but to England nevertheless they continued to cling because their friends were still there, and they believed that the heart of the people was sound. Together they shared in that common faith and possessed those fundamental virtues of character which in fact universally induced the most abiding patriotism.

Not less remote from their mind would the word "Internationalism"

appear to be. Think of the world from which they fled and that to which they came. The Age of Discovery had opened only about a century earlier. Asia with its vast recesses and its antiquity was to them a land of mystery; Africa was an almost unknown continent. The world of that day as they knew it was chiefly Western Europe and the Mediterranean basin. Moreover, that small world was in a ferment. The unity, somewhat fictitious, which the Roman Catholic Church imposed upon the faith and the imagination of the western nations, had been broken by the rise of the Reformed Churches and the strengthening of national spirit. Apart from the dogmas of the Roman Church there were no great principles that held that world together, nor no secular power like ancient Rome that kept the straining peoples in its leash, nor any common philosophy such as the Stoic doctrine of the Commonwealth of Humanity. Merciless wars, none the less so because prompted by religious dogma, were disintegrating Europe, and a common law had no court or opinion for its sanction.

It was also an era of rapid colonization. Spain, Portugal, France, the Netherlands, Britain were all sending out "merchant adventurers" whose purpose was well described in their name. They explored perilous seas, or induced daring men to venture at their charges into the unknown lands of the Americas for the sake of trade. Not in the spirit of modern commercial competition but in deadly rivalry, the traffickers of hostile nations sought to forestall one another in savage lands where there was no law. They defended their westward frontiers with stockades against the Indian, and looked toward the East with suspicion on every sail that appeared upon the horizon lest it should be that of an enemy.

In such a world how could Internationalism even be born? I think it may be said partly through the coming of the Puritans. They were the most enduring of all the colonists, and their mind and faith have been more deeply impressed than any other on this new World. It must be remembered that to them mainly is due the fact that the English tongue has prevailed in North America. When they arrived the French were endeavoring to get a foothold in Canada, and on the South the Dutch on the Hudson, but New England with its 26,000 settlers soon outdistanced them both and left its indelible mark upon the continent. The reason is not far to seek. It was the same as that which lies at the root of the change that was passing over Europe. On both continents the Calvinists were creating a new democracy, and a prosperous one. It sprang from their belief as to God and the world. They sought no comfort from the world: they scorned it, regarding it as an enemy to be trodden under foot; but in their masterful disdain for their antagonist they brought it under their power and compelled it to yield up its resources unto them, and they grew rich as they turned them to their own advantage. That old Puritan was no pacifist. The latter almost deifies comfort, and assuming that the world is good at heart he fawns upon it and flatters it and tries to lull it into unconsciousness with soothing words lest the evil spirit should rise and overpower him. But the Puritan believing in an eternal opposition between the flesh and the spirit, the world and the Kingdom of God, cried out "Up and Smite! By the Spirit of the living God ye shall prevail"; and as he learned from experience that a victory over the world resulted in booty in the shape of worldly goods, he slyly applied another text, "And all these things shall be added unto you." It was, therefore, due to the logic of their character that that sturdy immigration, many of them gentlefolk of breeding, fighting both the elements and a reluctant soil from the moment of their arrival, created a prosperous New England before many generations had gone by.

To revert to what I have already remarked, I will make bold to affirm that it is the faith of the Puritans that creates a tough patriotism and a sinewy internationalism, and that the one is so far from excluding the

other, that the former as it is realized provides the strength for the latter. Genuine internationalism is not the same as the spirit which makes a man forget his own country to become a citizen of the wide world.

But I hear some one ask, "Is not patriotism too exclusive to be essentially Christian, and must not the developing faith of our religion lead to cosmopolitanism?" I do not think so; and in support of my opinion I appeal to Jesus and to Paul. Jesus was a patriotic Hebrew. He loved Galilee, He loved His own people who heard Him gladly, He loved the traditions of His nation. During His lifetime He was content to preach His Gospel to His own folk; so much so, indeed, that when the Syrophenician woman came to him on behalf of her daughter He seemed at first sight to repel her because of narrowly nationalistic motives. How His heart yearned over Jerusalem, the city of David. "And when He drew nigh, He saw the city and wept over it, saying, If thou hadst known in this day, even thou, the things which belong unto peace! but now they are hid from thine eyes." Of course the rulers regarded Him as a rebel against His country, but in all ages reformers have been dubbed disloyal by the upholders of corrupt privilege. Not till His message was rejected by the Jew was it carried to the Gentile, and Jesus has become a perfect Teacher for the whole world because He was first so loyal to His own people.

The apostle Paul also was a patriot. That he always remained a good Jew in the sense that his countrymen were nearest to his heart is obvious to any reader of Rom. 9-11. Many do not associate affection with this master of logic and sagacious administrator, but he was profoundly attached to his own nation. He always offered his gospel to the Jew first, and he returned to Jerusalem again and again. But he was also the most cosmopolitan of all the early Christians. As Jerusalem, once the city of his dreams, faded from the vista of his hope, there opened before him the prospect of the capital of the Empire of which he was proud to be a citizen. He steadily set his face toward Rome, and was not ashamed to enter it with his gospel, believing that even the mistress of the world would yield to its power; and past Rome his vision led him to Spain, till in imagination he saw his gospel encircling the Empire. Unlike the cosmopolitanism of the contemporary Stoics, his gospel offered not a philosophic hope but an actual program, which he expected to see realized in churches organized as hearths of the new religion and citadels of virtue. To the end he was no mere dreamer, but preserved both his own national individuality and his grip upon the actual wide empire. In his love for the world he never forgot his own people.

Patriotism has been exhibited in its purest form again and again throughout the history of Christianity. When challenged it has been as a rule by those who assumed that some political or ecclesiastical institution was so essential to the welfare of the state, that no liberty was to be allowed to any who because of conscientious reasons or religious convictions were unwilling to conform. This repression of the religious freedom of men who were often the best patriots has been a sad and discreditable story. Was there a nobler Christian patriot than that most resplendent genius of the Puritans, John Milton? "Give me the liberty to know, to utter and to argue freely according to conscience, above all liberties . . . liberty which is the nurse of all great wits; this is that which hath rarefied and enlightened our spirits like the influence of heaven; this is that which hath enfranchised, enlarged, and lifted up our apprehensions degrees above themselves." (*Areopagitica*.)

Surely those who love their people not for their material prosperity or their power in the world, but for the richness of their human virtues, love them best. May we not by analogy take the family? Which father is the finest citizen? He who is so centered in his own home that he selfishly lavishes his all upon it? or he who has such love for his family that while

DEAN CHARLES R. BROWN, LL.D.
New Haven, Conn.

PRESIDENT MARY E. WOOLLEY, LL.D.
South Hadley, Mass.

REV. W. BLACKSHAW, M.A.
London, England

REV. J. A. PATTEN, M.A.
Ipswich, England



providing for them and rejoicing in their affection yet out of his abundance is not forgetful of his neighbor? The former, when death or misfortune crushes his selfish affection, is left utterly disconsolate. The latter, cherishing his wife and children no less tenderly, finds relief from his own distress in doing kindness to others who may be in suffering. Such is the worthiest citizen. The best father makes the most trustworthy patriot.

I am, therefore, justified in saying that the Puritans were genuine patriots because of their Christian faith, because in spite of their harsh theology they had a fervent love for the truth, which is the most fundamental of all virtues. Their home life was rich. People who chose such names as Faith, Charity, Prudence, Hope, Patience for their daughters must have known the charm of moral excellence, and their offspring were as corner-stones polished after the similitude of a palace.

The affection which glowed in those homes radiated forth also into a fellowship of all those who held the same faith. Theirs was a patriotic unity arising from the family of the faith, and so they were one not only in their homes and communities on the bleak shores of America, but also one in spirit with the friends whom they had left behind and the whole family of the Reformed Faith in Europe. We are now in a position to see how the faith of the Pilgrim Fathers has contributed in the interval to something wider than patriotism; how it has opened out into a society of nations.

Contemporaneously with their departure from England and their earlier years on this continent, Grotius was engaged upon the first great work on international law, which was to express what good men and clear thinkers were beginning to feel to be necessary if the world were to hold together. The idea of Law as a divine obligation was sinking into the minds of men, and from that day until the present there has been a succession of great jurists who by their expansion of international law have done much to create the conception of Internationalism. It is possible, indeed, that if the fabric had not been rudely shattered by the recent war, a conviction as to the obligation of a law of nations might have grown into an international virtue of our Western civilization, so fundamental that any breach of it would have at once called forth the reprobation or even punishment that is meted out to any member of a community who transgresses those laws upon the observance of which the health of society depends.

But this growing pre-war conviction has yielded to cynicism. At the opening of the struggle how often we heard "This is the war to end war." Today not a word of it. Instead we are being warned to prepare for the next war. Our hopes of disarmament are dissolving. Of course the reason is that in the immediate present there is no true internationalism. A few weeks ago a writer in the *London Times* said: "There hardly exists now in the world a thinking being who is not aware that the forces of destruction at our command are a menace to the growth and development of any consistent meaning in human life." He asks, "Are there any agencies that may check the rivalry of nations and the intoxication of the national spirit?" . . . "Can we have any grounds for believing that there may appear a controlling spiritual authority in the affairs of the world capable of securing the allegiance of men?" It is further significant that a change is coming over the minds of many as to the validity of the conception of Progress. That pet dogma so cherished by the 19th century is being scouted. Autocracy has been overthrown, but triumphant democracy seems blind and stupid, and the nations after the war are even more self-centered and grasping than before. Seeing that the idea of progress did not become fixed in the minds of men until the rise of the modern world, especially the three hundred years that have elapsed since the landing of the Pilgrims, may it not now be discoloring into decay? or, to use the figure of Dean Inge, should we not remind ourselves that "Our Sun is an

elderly star on its way to join the most senile class of luminiferous bodies"?

But there is a brighter side. I shall dwell briefly upon some favorable changes that have taken place in the world since the landing of the Pilgrims, which may tend toward a more optimistic view. Of course the society of the world is one today, as it was not then, because of the enormous change in facilities of transportation and trade and the transmission of thought. Commerce and the press have been agencies for good as well as evil, and new ideas often powerfully beneficent are implanted in the minds of masses of the people the wide world over.

Science also and learning have distributed their riches without recompense to mankind at large. He is no scientist who keeps his discoveries to himself; he has not the spirit of the scholar who locks his knowledge unproductively in his own library. These human accomplishments, the greatest pride of man's intellect, have banished some of our mutual suspicion and have made us realize in a measure that there is a common human family.

But of all the sources for hopefulness that there is a better day for internationalism, the strongest is I believe the success of Christian Missions. In the last century they have been the most distinctive and universal characteristic of our religion. I am not unmindful of the vast change that has been produced by the reinterpretation of Christianity, loosening it from its dependence upon special dogma and upon any one form of Government as being the supreme organic expression of our faith. But of course there are still very large churches that almost identify dogma and faith, and others that claim a particular order of the ministry as being essential for the survival of Christianity. Nevertheless, it may be affirmed that during the past century all churches have been active in the propagation of the faith beyond their own borders. Go where you will — to India, to China, to the South Sea Islands, and you will find almost buried from sight thousands of humble men and women of every creed, living heroically in the belief that they are sowing a seed which some day will produce a great harvest. These missionaries have often been the first of their country folk to escape from a selfish provincialism, redeeming some small town, it may be, when under the impulse of faith they went out into the wide world, and multiplied themselves both at home and abroad an hundredfold by their sacrifice.

It would not be difficult to prove that Christian missions have had an enormous influence at home in the development of our modern internationalism, for this idea is not essentially political or even legal, but is vitalized by the conviction that it is the duty of those who have been served heirs to higher privileges to share them with their unenfranchised brethren of mankind. Such a conviction when it once takes hold upon the mind is very potent. It creates a new idealism and becomes a regulative factor in every department of a man's activity.

Abroad the world has been in some measure unified by the work of missions. Their total effect is not to be measured by converts, but by the displacement of cruder ideas by the moral conceptions which accompany the new doctrine even when it is not consciously adopted. More than this, new standards of political and commercial conduct are created in the minds of less civilized peoples whereby they judge those from whom the missionaries come: and thus they also are made not only receptive but expectant for a new international rule of practice which is not codified in any system.

But since it is from the faith of the Puritans that Christian Missions spring, I venture to think that the most enduring foundation both for International Law and Internationalism is their belief that the world is ruled in righteousness, or that the Law of God is to be made of universal

obligation. All sorts of fantastic and even cruel applications there were of this belief, especially as long as your forefathers acted upon the assumption that their state was a theocracy; but, as is always the process in the moral education of the race, the regulative idea had to be interpreted and defined by growing experience. Today we do not claim that the Church in any or all of its parts is the complete manifestation of the Kingdom of God, but we believe, even after the war, just as strongly as before, that there is a divine rule which is progressively realizing itself. We endeavor to bring this Kingdom to pass not through the otherworldliness of the ascetic, nor even by statutes of limitation such as the Puritan imposed upon himself and others, but by shaping for the best possible uses the intractable material that this world affords us.

We, therefore, begin as *patriots* at home. The discredited theory that progress consists in material advancement, the accumulation of vast wealth, the diffusion of comfort, or freedom from the care of others' troubles, must be abandoned, for a country progressive in that sense only would soon have no patriots left with enough idealism to die for her. Patriotism always involves potential sacrifice. We shall become patriots indeed if we use unremitting and sacrificial effort to permeate the mass of the people with the idealism which has given us our heroes, and has made our average folk accomplish so much that is worthy of admiration.

More than this, however; we who believe in the Kingdom of God are impelled to make it actual in the wider world. We must live also for a true *internationalism*. From the chaotic universe of this post-war period there comes to us a world-call which will be for the saving or the losing of our national soul.

When you Americans of Puritan stock and we Britons of our Commonwealth speak of a new internationalism, we have no such sinister or selfish purpose as the imposition of any political system or combined military power or economic conditions, which will make lesser nations subservient to us and divert their resources for our aggrandisement. We mean by the word the hope of a common humanity governed by those moral ideals which we, even in their partial realization, have discovered to be of inestimable worth to ourselves. They have created in our peoples a lofty and fervid patriotism; and they will make a happier world if by our consentient support we give other peoples the opportunity to make trial of their value.

CONTINUING THE FIGHT FOR FREEDOM

REV. A. C. HILL

To find liberty means to find a society which shall express the personality of each citizen. There is the ideal after which men of good-will have always striven. But whenever this form of human freedom has seemed to be near attainment it has always been subjected to attack by those who have seen in it the threat of destruction directed against their own ideals of personal authority. Thus liberty has been attacked from above and from below.

The only freedom which can meet the needs of men for any length of time must be in its roots religious. Nothing less can liberate men from the tyranny of external forces under which they continually groan. The merely outward liberty, which means the removal of restrictions, this is not sufficient.

The man with the sword, to whom all ideas of liberty are anathema because they interfere with the subjugation of the mass to his own will, we have seen almost disappear. His place was taken by the owner of land, to whom it seemed natural that the earth should belong to him and

his posterity, not as trustees for the commonalty but as absolute owners of the soil. With this control of the land, followed by control of movable wealth, there has gone control of the person, that slavery against which man has always been in incipient rebellion.

Following on this there has been that ecclesiastical tyranny, exercised by those who have sought to possess authority in the name of religion. Medieval Europe offers many attractive pictures to the eye, a continent united by one faith and order of life, a civilization which succeeded for a long time in keeping in subjection the avarice and pride of the individual man. Yet it also offers the less flattering picture of a community over-ridden by a harsh system of life which precluded all free movement in the body politic, and robbed the individual citizen of most of his rights as a man.

Liberty then has been attacked by the soldier from Alexander to the Kaiser, by the proprietor, the thinker, all acting in the interests of a special theory, and the inference is that liberty can only be guarded and maintained at the price of eternal vigilance. Absolutism, the rule of one person over vast sections of the human race, has perhaps gone forever, but that should not lead us to suppose that the effort to crush liberty will cease. The eternal opposition of freedom and power will continue under other forms, and already we may see some of the agencies threatening liberty in the future.

The freedom we seek must be more than simply intellectual. Stoicism gave this to a portion of the ancient world. But liberty in those times was only for the few, and the mass were compelled to accept slavery as their portion. In the East, India and Egypt for example, liberty has been killed by philosophy, the rights of the individual vanishing in the mists of abstract thought and only the elect few of those who have been initiated into the secrets of truth daring to claim it as their own. The philosopher king may think for his people. What he has never done is to make his people thinkers, and until that is accomplished, liberty is nothing but a name.

If then we seek for such a liberty as will coexist with a strong social order, where shall we find it if not in religion and above all in Christianity? I claim for Christianity that it holds the essential element of all true liberty in its historic groundwork, in its doctrine of the Incarnation, since through the Incarnation every man is allied with God, placed on an equal level with his fellows in the only realm where equality can ever rule, the realm of the spirit. It gives to man that sense of the Infinite Within which was unknown to the ancient world. The pagan was limited to the natural, the apparently real; the Christian has been admitted to that inner world where spirit holds fellowship with spirit and may expand itself indefinitely in the midst of a universe which is the expression of an Eternal Spirit, forever growing and becoming, the spirit in whom we live and move and have our being.

Further by the simplicity of its counsels Christianity offers free access to every man for the attainment of the higher graces of the soul. Because its root ideas are not simply intellectual but spiritual, because it is not dependent on definitions but on a frame of mind, a disposition of the heart, it opens for all men a park where each may roam where he will and find pasturage for the soul. Well might Lacordaire say, My liberalism was sucked in from the breasts of the gospels.

Such a liberty, the liberty to obey the inner sense of the Absolute, is found in its highest form in the gospel. Jesus knew it in its widest range and lived by it as by the light of the sun. Paul was no stranger to it, finding in it indeed the emancipation of soul after which he had panted for so long in the strait waistcoat of Judaism. Luther found it and made it real once more when it had been overlaid by the falsehoods and mum-

meries of a church which had forgotten its Master, and remembered only its purse and its treasure. And whenever the church is weak, broken, helpless, it will be by a return, in even braver spirit, to the liberty of this religion, that it will revive itself again and stir once more its dried and withered limbs.

This freedom will have enemies in the future as it has known them in the past. An ideal faith which proposes to make of every man a true law-maker, giving him the conviction that laws of the society are not enforced upon him from without but spring from the impulses of his own heart and the judgments of his own mind, must of course create enemies amongst all those who love to keep the mob in its place whilst they sit in the galleries enjoying the play. What then are these foes?

First amongst them I put the collective ignorance from which the mass of democracy still suffers. We are not yet sufficiently educated as a race. We do not understand, as we should do, the origin of our own being, the growth of our own societies, the position we ought to occupy in the world and the inevitable rules under which we must always work. Democracy is ignorant of its own strength and does not yet know its own history.

This has for a long time been traded on by the men who make it their task to create and foster evil passion, and to keep the multitude in subjection. The press has done something to remove this ignorance, and a vast deal to strengthen and increase it. Mr. Kennedy Jones has recently told us, with the utmost candor, that he guided his newspaper life by the conviction that there had been no great change in human nature since men went and stood all night to see a man publicly hanged.

There is only one remedy for this congenital ignorance, the elevation of the type man and the steady diffusion of knowledge throughout the whole community. That is one of the tasks which will fall more than ever upon those who believe that truth needs no favor, and that the intelligent citizen is the best of all supports to the state.

We shall meet our enemies in the propagandists of false ideals, especially in that notion, popular recently all over the world, that egoism is the root principle of human conduct and its manifestation a commendable form of activity. The denial, blunt and direct, of the whole Christian ethic which we have witnessed during the last half century is far more alarming than any attack that has been made on the historic evidences of our faith. There has grown up amongst men the belief that the ideals of the Master are either wholly impracticable or, worse still, that they are thoroughly wrong, and pernicious to every society that would live by them. The creation of the giant figure who is to dominate the world, the Superman who without heart or entrails is to march to his goal over the corpses of millions, has been regarded as the high-water mark of modern philosophy. That means at least the separation of men into classes, those who rule and those who are whipped by their rulers. The function of Christianity will again be to make plain the rights of man as man to the consideration and regard of his fellows.

Not less will our foes be found in the creation of new social tyrannies, the forms of which may have altered, but within which will still be embodied the spirit of the ancient evil. There may still arise the individual who will exploit the multitude, the soldier or statesman who regards men as instruments for the furtherance of his own ambitious designs. We may again see the tyranny of the Group, either as the Trade Union or the Capitalist Combine, the one as pernicious as the other in so far as they make freedom impossible for the individual citizen. And we may even see the time when the community itself, as the Socialist State, or as the society dominated by a small number of strategists and tacticians, may render thought and utterance on the part of free men almost impossible.

Against all these possible dangers I know of no guarantee save that which can be found in the diffusion of Christian principles and the creation of that spirit of noble and proud freedom which is the precious fruit of true religion. Set men free within, give them self-knowledge, self-reverence, self-control under the leadership of Christ, and there is no power in the community, no genius in the mind of the evil man, which can finally prevent them from seeking and attaining a full measure of the liberty of the just, the righteous man.

Where indeed should this gospel find fuller acceptance than here, on this soil made sacred by the blood of those who have fought and died to preserve inviolate the freedom they have cherished? There are two spots on this continent which seem to me almost holy. The one is Mt. Vernon cemetery, where rest the glorious dead who from north and south fell in the war, the other is that green spot outside your city, where rest the bones of Hawthorne and that saintly hero of the mental battlefield, Ralph Waldo Emerson. Those soldiers near Washington died for freedom in the body politic, that soldier of the spirit lived for freedom of the mind. We believe they have not died or lived in vain.

ADDRESS IN PRESENTING REPORT OF BRITISH COMMISSION ON POLITY

REV. ALBERT PEEL, D. LITT.

To summarize Congregational polity, its past — two thousand years — its complex present, and its limitless future, in about twenty minutes, is the difficult task assigned to Dr. Barton and myself. Fortunately we are aware of the magnitude of our task, and therefore we do not set out with the sublime confidence of the small boy of six, the product, I imagine, of one of our Primary Departments, who was busily engaged one day with pencil and paper. "What are you doing, Johnny?" said his mother, to be slightly shocked when the boy replied, "Drawing God." "But you can't draw God," she said. "Nobody knows what God is like": and she received a bigger shock when the answer came at once, "They will when this is finished." Our task is almost as difficult as the boy's, but we are conscious of it, and it is lightened somewhat by the knowledge that you recognize that to deal with a topic as wide as this we have to pick and choose and to leave out many important features.

The other day a delegate to the Council offered me his sympathies because, he said, I had "the driest subject on the program." I replied that we were in a dry country, and the audience was accustomed to hard and dry reading, and that, therefore, the subject would have a fair chance. That delegate's comment is significant, however, because it is typical of the attitude of a large number of Congregationalists to their polity. They think of it as of Parliamentary procedure, and of regulations for debate; they deem it the mere husk and shell of religious life, the mint, anise and cummin, and not the weightier matters of the law. We must, therefore, never cease to insist that *for Congregationalism* polity is fundamental and spiritual; it stands for the spiritual conception of the church, and a right relation thereto is without doubt, as the last paper suggested, the first condition of revival. To believe that the Living Christ is present when and where those who love Him gather in His name is to handle not the tassels and adornments of religion, but its very body and life. This the British Commission has emphasized in the introduction to its report, and it is the preliminary point I would make this morning.

Of the history of our polity one must begin to speak in the words that

introduce the most precious of all American books — "Bradford's History of the Plymouth Plantation."

"And first of the occasions and inducements thereunto, the which I may truly unfold, I must begin at the very root and rise of the same."

For Congregationalism began at the same time as the Christian Church. There is surely no need to stay to prove that, to show that the polity of the Apostolic churches was Congregational, for the fact is now accepted by all but a few prejudiced obscurantists. Those churches could not but be Congregational, for they were composed of those who were "called to be saints," men and women gathered out of the world, who forsook not the assembling of themselves together, in spite of hatred and persecution, calumny and scorn. And yet — and here is a point often overlooked, and the point our report would especially stress — when Christians were gathered into such churches they had at the same time a very distinct and vivid consciousness of the One Church to which they all belonged. Apostolic Christianity, that is to say, was organized essentially and almost exclusively in local churches, with no regular or organized provision for the expression of its unity, and yet its feeling of the reality of the fellowship of the whole body was most intense, perhaps more intense than it has ever been since. The little communities in Ephesus or Philippi knew that they were independent of all but Christ, but still they knew too that, with Him, they were the One Church, Catholic, Universal.

The history of Congregational polity is the account of the decline and fall of this conception, and of recent attempts to revive it, and the problem of Congregationalism in the future is how to recover this Apostolic sense of the church, so that our local churches realize that they are subject to no Lord but Christ, and at the same time feel, as did their Lord, that the Church is One.

Consider the story, for a moment, in rather more detail, passing by in a sentence the development of church organization to the Reformation. During that period inter-congregational and super-congregational organization were so developed that congregational life was enfeebled and local autonomy and spiritual initiative lost. The notion gained credence that where an official was, and not two or three with Christ, there was the Church. Catholicism gained the world, but lost its soul, and though it built a stately edifice to express its unity, the Apostolic consciousness of unity disappeared as the building became more and more imposing.

And when Congregationalism was reborn in England in the sixteenth century, that consciousness was not immediately recovered. The early Separatists found Congregationalism in the New Testament, and they are worthy of all praise for their courageous witness, their uncompromising assertion of the idea of the gathered church, and their attempt to secure reformation without tarrying for any. In spite of their achievements, however, the Elizabethan Separatists failed in one respect — with rare exceptions they did not recognize that with the Living Christ in its midst the church was not static but dynamic, a living organism that could grow and develop and adapt itself to the needs of the times. For them the written Word was the sole and complete authority; in it the Church was described in fulness and in detail, and no deviation from the pattern there set forth was permissible. Very slowly did the early Congregationalists relinquish this idea, very slowly did they assimilate Robinson's teaching of an ever-growing enlightenment and become willing to follow the gleam wherever it led. The story of the last three centuries is that of the increasing willingness of our churches to recognize that God still leads His people, that through His word, His church and His children He still teaches and guides. Crossing the Atlantic I discussed Modernism with an educated

Roman priest. Speaking of Biblical criticism, he said: "The Church has now decided that Moses wrote the Pentateuch. It is no longer an open question." Thank God, there is nothing like that in Congregationalism today. Finality of belief or creed has now no place, neither are we rigid and immovable in our forms of organization or modes of worship. We are now willing to do what the Scrooby men declared in their covenant — surely written by Robinson, who was generations ahead of his time:

"To walk together in all God's ways, made known or to be made known to men."

If the Eternal Christ is in the midst of the Church, making its acts His acts and its decisions His decisions, there can come no time and no circumstance which the Church need fear to meet. With the Living Christ, it can adapt itself to the changing environment of the centuries, for His resources never fail, and they who feed on Him never hunger or thirst. Merely human systems have their day and cease to be; churches, constitutions, and states built by the wisdom of men all reach an age when, having served their purpose, they decay and die; there is a glory that was Greece and a grandeur that was Rome, but because Christ is in the Church, its Eternal Lord, we can sing with gladness and joy

"So be it, Lord, Thy throne shall never,
Like earth's proud empires, pass away."

This power of adaptation through the presence of the Living Christ is one of the reasons why it is right to say that Congregationalism is inevitable. The other reason is, not merely because it is apostolic, but because it is the form into which church life naturally and inevitably falls when Christians come together. The churches in Asia Minor and Greece in the first century, in England in the sixteenth, and in Holland and New England in the seventeenth, could not but be Congregational, composed of men and women who were gathered into them solely by their love to Christ and desire to worship and serve Him. And is it not true to say that in every church, by whatever name it may be called, the real church, the *imperium in imperio*, is Congregational, composed of the "keen" people who separate themselves for service and fellowship?

And so our problem today is to make all such churches conscious that they are the One Church, that their local unit expresses the ideal and ultimate unit, the Church Universal, that they are all members of the One Body, Branches of the Living Vine. How shall it be done? What will be the development in the next few decades? Unfortunately those who constituted the British Commission, while placing on it authorities on Apostolic Christianity, the Elizabethan period, and the Commonwealth and the Ejectment, chose no authority on forecasting the future! But one or two suggestions may be thrown out:

1. Is it too much to say that one of the deductions of our principle is that our churches must be small, like those of Apostolic days and of the days when Congregationalism made its finest witness? Has there ever been a time when the church counted for as much as when it met in houses and barns and the deserts and caves of the earth? Was its influence ever more powerful than at the time the largest Congregational church in the world met in Newgate prison? John Owen exercised a powerful ministry, but his congregation was not more than two hundred. The Church of the future, one is convinced, is the Church composed of Christian men and women gathered in such communities that they can all know each other well, and be united in joyous fellowship. That minister will render most service to the Master's Kingdom who will be the true pastor and guide of a little flock, and not the preacher to a fickle and changing crowd,

for — to use Chrysostom's familiar illustration — the latter takes water in buckets and throws it on a large number of bottles with straight necks, and but few drops go in, the former takes the bottles individually and completely fills them in turn. The church is to be more than a preaching station and more than a social club; she is to be a communion of saints, a fellowship of kindred minds, and so, in the majority of cases, she must be formed of small companies.

2. And does it not also follow that we must resume the old practice of church discipline, that difficult problem which our churches almost all shirk? The Christians of the first century were noticed by those round them because their garments were always white; while they were anxious to save sinners, they were ever careful to purge the flock of those whose connection with it brought dishonor upon their Lord. Even so it was with the Pilgrims. We often think of the happy fellowship at Leyden and rejoice in the spontaneous testimonies of pastor and people concerning it. But even in Leyden, on some occasions,

"The church was purged of those that were incurable and incorrigible, when, after much patience used, no other means would serve."

Do we not make a mistake in allowing it to be supposed that "once a church member, always a church member;" in not insisting that there is a minimum standard of life and conduct below which a member must not fall? How many of us ever exercised *any* discipline within our churches? How many have always shirked the delicate and difficult task of making plain that there are things which sully Christ's banner, and persons whose association with the church bring dishonor upon His name? In the early days of the plantation in this country, one church wrote to another:

"We have a name of holiness and love to God and his saints; the Lord make us more and more answerable that it may be more than a name, or else it will do us no good."

If the world does not see a higher standard of life in those who belong to the Church, the Church's hope of impressing the world is gone forever.

Finally we must ask ourselves the question that Dale was never tired of putting — What form of polity most nearly expresses the mind and life of Christ and bears the most effective witness to the truths of His Gospel? Answering the question we shall see what polity is mostly likely to live in the future.

And surely the answer can be given on these lines, following the suggestions already made:

- 1 That polity which is truly primitive and apostolic, to which men naturally revert when they gather together in societies.
- 2 That polity which has shown itself capable of development and adaption to the varying needs of the centuries.
- 3 That polity which makes its members subject to no Lord but Christ, and all kings and priests unto God.
- 4 That polity which, unchurching no other Christians, insists that only Christian people can make a church, and places on such Christians the individual and corporate responsibility of being the medium through which the principles of the Kingdom must leaven the world.
- 5 That polity which can make a true synthesis between the Independent and Catholic conceptions of the Church, so that it feels in its local expressions the pulsing, healthy life of the Church that is One, the Body of Christ.

The more fully the Congregational polity can meet these tests, the more certain is it to live on. Until now our churches have been enabled to survive and progress in proportion as they have shown fidelity to their formative principle, and the first desideratum today is that they should recognize that principle and be inspired by it. They will then be saved alike from an Independence which isolates and from a Connexionalism which becomes professional and bureaucratic. But if we have church meetings that never meet, a ministry that never serves, and a communion that knows no joy of fellowship; if our pulpits exist merely for social and political propaganda, and a seat in a pew just entitles to membership in a literary and social club, the life of our churches must inevitably be poor and short.

The primary need of the hour is not more organization or even better organization. It is the recovery of the sense that Christ is in His Church and a renewal for each member of that direct communion which first gathered Him from the world, so that in every church the One Presence to which all are conscious is that of Him who is Lord and Master of all.

If all the members of our churches can be made so conscious of their Lord, what a future there is for Congregationalism! Three hundred years ago the number of Congregationalists in the whole world could be counted probably not in thousands but in hundreds, and now think of all those represented here today.

If we can be filled with the spirit of our fathers and if we can accept the new light God continually sends, in another three hundred years what shall the harvest be?

THE CHURCH AND THE SOCIAL ORDER

REV. W. BLACKSHAW, M. A.

At the outset of my remarks, I should like to pay a tribute of admiration and gratitude which all British students must feel to the American scholars who have done such pioneer work in the field of Sociology. While we owe much to Durkheim in France and Troeltsch in Germany, Americans have led the way in the scientific study of the Social Order. I need only refer to Franklin Giddings of Columbia University, and Lester Ward of Brown University who have traced the Biological foundations of the Social Order; to Prof. James Mark Baldwin, who has done so much fine work in Social Psychology; to Albion Small of Chicago, whose systematic work in social science has laid us all under a debt, and last but not least to Professor Peabody of Harvard, whose "Jesus Christ and the Social Question" is the companion of all preachers and whose fine manly Christian spirit is the inspiration of us all. Neither can we afford to neglect Prof. Josiah Royce's analysis of the Beloved Community in his problem of Christianity, which emphasizes the social implications of the gospel, and makes loyalty to the community a conspicuous quality of the Christian mind.

The American contribution and the American experience are of immense importance and value, and no minister or student can afford to neglect them.

However, my task is to represent the British point of view and the British experience, though we are here to learn all we can from our American brethren, who share with us the common task of maintaining the essential witness of our church in relation to the social experience of the world by which it is surrounded.

There is one thing that I feel sure we shall be agreed upon. The primary concern of all churches is to make their conception of the Spirit of God manifest and real upon earth. This at once defines our fundamental principle and our primary and most imperative duty. It ought never be

forgotten amid all our other interests and tasks. It gives us the justification of our existence. At the same time it sets limits to what we ought to claim and to attempt. It is not the function of the Church to formulate schemes or systems of social and economic order, or to identify itself with the program of any party or association. Our experience and knowledge of the industrial system are extremely limited, and we should show great modesty when we venture to enter upon a field of such difficulty and complexity. The very fact that in the case of many of us we have had no special training in social and economic science and no practical experience in business ought to make us speak and act with caution and reserve. Happily it is not inevitable that we should cease to be students when we left college or the university. I may perhaps be allowed to put this a little stronger. We are not any of us worth our salt if we do cease to be students. But nowadays the claims upon the ministry are so exacting and the duties so multifarious that the hours in the library become all too few. To secure them means a running fight with the ruffians who drop in just to pass the time of day and to inquire whether the headache or the cold have given way to the treatment they have suggested. It requires some courage, particularly in the young minister, to show an anxious deacon the door. Still he must be shown the door if he is wasting our time. Somehow we must learn to live on twenty-four hours a day, and if we are to be efficient we must not try and squeeze thirty-six hours into them. We cannot be experts upon everything and be able to give an answer to all the questions that are put to us. At any rate it is quite clear that we ought to hold our tongues upon things about which we are ignorant. For if we dogmatize here, men will distrust our judgment upon matters about which we ought to be authorities.

The excursions of men like Huxley and Haeckel in Biblical criticism ought to be a warning to us not to assume that our knowledge in one department of experience qualifies us to dogmatize in another which may be altogether beyond our capacity and knowledge.

One other preliminary point needs emphasis. The soundest part of the Marxian philosophy of society is that which inculcates the lesson that the structure of a new social order must be built up within the old while it is still in being, and that the face of society can only be changed when new associations and ways of life have been created within the fabric of the old in readiness to take its place. This doctrine appears in Marx coupled with the deadening materialism and determinism which vitiate his whole system. The appearance of the new forms within the old is made to appear as something inevitable, whereas it is a product of will and effort.

Society is neither a mechanism nor an organism. It implies the coherence and the harmony of wills and depends for its future development upon the consecrated activities of men. Advanced labor men in Britain recognize this. It differentiates them from their continental confreres. As one of our most able younger labor writers, Mr. G. D. H. Cole, puts it in his latest book: "Society is not a machine which we can invent and put together at will in the measure of our collective capacity; and still less is it a thing that grows without being made by our wills." The same idea, expressed more positively and from a Christian standpoint, will be found in the Archbishops' Report on "Christianity and Industrial Problems." "For Christianity regards society, not as a machine, but as an association of men, the ultimate object of which is to promote the development of the human spirit and its preparation for the Kingdom of God."

We must welcome this change of standpoint. The social order depends for its development not on the grind and thrust of mechanical or organic forces, that work inevitably and irresistibly. These may be directed by the wills of men and for ends which are deliberately adopted, as they are thought to have a value for man's highest development. The Social Order

tends increasingly to be constructed by the conscious efforts and struggles, the wisdom and initiative of individuals and groups of individuals. In so far as there is disinterestedness, deliberativeness, intelligence, and above all religious and Christian idealism, to that extent society is rescued from the natural process of growth and is confided to the faculty of conscious and consecrated effort. That is to say it is brought within the operations of the will. This gives us our great opportunity — an appeal to the wills of men under the directing control of the great ideals and the great forces which our Christian faith inspires.

It will be seen from our Report that we have studied the Social Order from four main standpoints: Family, class, industrial system, state. I hope it will be felt that while this classification of social experience is not exhaustive, it does provide us with a basis for discussion. The Church is deeply concerned with each of these aspects. They have behind them a long history. It is, however, not with history that we are concerned now. What we are concerned with is, how far the Church may help to make these the instruments or channels by means of which Christian experience may be developed and the Kingdom of God be realized upon the earth.

Family

We are deeply concerned with the family. It is the most fundamental social institution. The welfare and good order of the state rest upon the purity and sacredness of the family. And further the family is the nursery of the Church. Weakness here means weakness everywhere, fatal weakness and ruin both to church and state.

The family rests upon marriage, and there never was a time when it is more necessary to emphasize the words of our marriage service: "Marriage is therefore to be held honorable by all and ought not to be engaged in rashly, thoughtlessly, or lightly, but advisedly, reverently, and in the fear of God." A few days before we left England, Mr. John Murray of the famous British publishing house sent a letter to the *Times* in which occurred this sentence: "When we read the deplorable evidence, almost daily, of unsuitable or fraudulent marriages, we cannot but feel that many, if not most, of them could never have taken place if the simplest precautions had been taken beforehand." Only two days ago a man admitted in court that he had only "got married for a lark." To get married for a lark is to cheapen, to degrade, and to debase the most sacred of all relationships. What must be the future of the Social Order when that which gives it stability and sanctity is treated with the levity of a joke? People are not only in a hurry to get married, but they are often in a hurry when they are being married. They hustle and worry us to get the service over quickly because they have a train to catch or a party of friends to meet and feast with. The old custom of a short address in which the divine meaning of the rite was emphasized might be revived with profit both to the bride and the bridegroom and to all who are the witnesses. Marriage is not merely a legal contract, it is a sacrament. We should use all our influence to make it such. This is not the occasion for me to introduce the difficult and, with us at least, much debated question of divorce. A report of a Royal Commission on this subject was issued in 1912 and a bill is before the British Bar at the present time. I may perhaps be permitted to quote one sentence from that Report: "The community in general is interested in its citizens maintaining proper standards for themselves, and especially in their bringing into the world healthy children and maintaining and educating them, and in the maintenance of that family life which results from marriage and is the foundation of society." We should all endorse those words, though as the ministers and representatives of churches we should go further in our recognition that the continuity of the marriage tie and the harmony of the family life are essential to the progress, the well-

being and the witness of the Church. I think perhaps I ought to add that Dr. Jones stated to that Commission that the general view of the Congregational Union of England and Wales was that adultery should be the sole ground of divorce, that this opinion was based partly on scriptural reasons and partly on the general conception of marriage which obtains amongst Congregationalists, but some members expressed views in favor of other grounds.

Following this is another important matter to which a reference must be made. This has been dealt with fully in our Report. At the commencement of our marriage service we speak of the divine origin and authority of marriage, and we go on to say that it was instituted by God in the time of man's purity and innocence, for the comfort and help of man, and that families might be trained up in obedience, love, wisdom and piety. That last sentence requires fresh emphasis today, especially in view of the evidence brought before the Birth-rate Commission, which published its evidence and conclusions in 1916, in a volume entitled, "The declining birth-rate, its causes and effects." Dr. Garvie, our distinguished chairman, and Dr. Horton, known throughout the world by his writings, and loved and revered by us all for his long and faithful ministry and noble life, were members of that Commission, and though it was not official in the sense of being authorized by King and Parliament, its importance and value are generally recognized.

Statistical and biological evidence will be found in that Report, which will startle and alarm all who are concerned with the well-being of the race and the future of the church. Men and women are wilfully and deliberately refusing the responsibility of parenthood. And Mrs. Bramwell Booth, a woman of wide social experience, has come to the conclusion that the classes of society that have got on best and been most successful, materially, in life are just those, who from the motives which *they call prudence*, but which *she calls selfishness*, decline to have children. This is intensely serious. The British nation, as Dr. Mary Scharlieb, a medical woman of fearless courage and great force of character, says, requires a bath of "physiological righteousness." If ever there was an occasion for a wise and faithful appeal to the wills and the consciences of men and women, this is one. We must not hesitate to use all the opportunities and the privileges of the friendship we enjoy to urge this as a duty. But our task does not end here. Families must be trained in obedience, love, wisdom and piety. What hope have we to secure the boys and girls of our two nations, if this is neglected? What chance have our Sunday schools if the atmosphere of the home is materialistic and worldly? We have no chance. The hourly contact and example of parents are more potent factors in shaping the thought, the temper and the ideals of children and young people than our occasional influence and teaching. Leaving this to chance is a betrayal of a sacred trust. I must repeat the words of your own Dr. Newman Smyth: "The most effective and purest ethical and religious influences must always find their abiding-place and power in the Christian Home." There is no substitute for this. There is no deputy that can take the place of the father and the mother. If we want to see society healthy, if we want to see the church strong, both the health of the one and the strength of the other depend upon the faith and loyalty of those whose harmonious and loving cooperation create an atmosphere in which boys and girls may grow into noble men and women.

Class

All who are following closely the movement of thought in Europe must be aware of the revived interest in the Marxian philosophy of society. No element of this is more popular in communist circles in Europe than that which interprets social evolution in the terms of the law of the struggle

of the classes. Prof. Enrico Ferri of Rome states this with absolute clearness. "This theory does not give us only the secret motive power and the sole positive explanation of the history of humanity, it gives us also the ideal and rigid norm which disciplines political socialism and which saves it from the elastic, vaporous, inconclusive uncertainties of sentimental socialism." This is what Alfred Fouillée called "the biological cant which has invaded sociology and ethics and has given to theories the most erroneous and false air of exactitude." Class war is preached and proclaimed as a holy crusade. Lumps of Darwinism uncritically detached and badly digested are brought forth again as theories of society which have or are supposed to have a scientific basis and a scientific justification. The struggle of class is said to be the continuation and the renewal in the history of man of the grand and tragic drama of the struggle for life among organic species. Hatred, a moral poison, is elevated into a moral virtue and hostility becomes the natural and necessary attitude of class and class. Marx himself was a first-class hater. He hated the ruling classes everywhere; he hated the ministers of all religions; he hated the bourgeoisie, though he had the misfortune to belong to it himself; he hated the capitalists; he came in time to hate his fellow haters, such as Proudhon, Lassalle and Bakunin, with whom he quarreled as to the ways and means by which they should give effect to their common malignities.

In Britain I am thankful to say that the most respected labor leaders repudiate this gospel of hate. I would emphasize what we have quoted in our Report, from a speech of Mr. Wardle, "We cannot have domination either by a clique or a class. You cannot grow good-will in a soil of hate. . . . Class hatred breeds class war, and class war aims first of all at destruction and domination. Following as it would upon the war which has already destroyed so much, it would mean to Great Britain and to the world ruin and disaster." I am sure that we should all approve these sentiments. If the task of religion is to see life singly and to show it whole, the task of the church is to see the community singly and to see it, influence it and enrich it as a whole. The church has a great and splendid task in exhibiting social unity and social harmony, in witnessing to the reconciliation of class and class in the unity of a living faith, and in allegiance to a common Lord.

Cliques and classes due to differences of culture, status or wealth must have no place and no recognition in churches. We are all equally sinful and we all are equally saved by the free Grace of Christ. Class consciousness must be washed completely out by the love of God and the love of man. Not easy. The language and the habits of people are often different. May I give you an illustration of this which comes from my own experience?

O Lord, thou knowest th'll kill this poor devil before they've done with him.

We need a large charity, a generosity of judgment, a capacity for entering into the mind and the heart of others, a tact and a delicacy in speech and conduct. The best service the church can render in the direction of the reconciliation of social classes is to exhibit within its own borders that unity and harmony of spirit which marked the first Christian age and should mark every age in which the spirit of God is felt with power.

Industrial Order

The longest section of our Report is devoted to the problem of the Industrial Order. This has brought us up against the most pressing, the most living, the most perplexing problems of the present time. Here we must once more state that it is not the function of the Church to formulate schemes of industrial and commercial reconstruction. But this does not

mean that we are to hide ourselves behind vague and sonorous generalities that may mean anything or nothing. The prophets of the Old Testament were more outspoken, and so were the apostles. A preacher may be forgiven if he takes Isaiah as a model, and none can read the first five chapters at least of the great prophecy without realizing that he had something to say about the industrial and commercial system of his day. I suppose we may assume that Isaiah wrote some of this, in spite of Professor Butcher's interesting suggestion that Isaiah was not really written by two men, but by a committee with power to add to their number.

It is a heartening sign that we are so conscious of the discords of our present industrial system, though we must not be too agitated with some of the speeches we hear and some of the articles we read. The men who talk and write the most are not always true representatives of the feelings of the rank and file. In Britain not one wage-earner in five is in an effective Trade Union. I make this statement on the authority of Mr. Henry Clay, one of our younger Economists and the author of a book widely read by the working classes, "Economics for the General Reader." We must keep our heads while a great agitation is going on.

From a study of many books and pamphlets and speeches, and many private conferences and talks with representatives of labor, one thing stands out, and that is the claim, place industry on a more democratic basis. This seems to me to be the fundamental thing. In a Memorandum on the causes of and remedies for labor unrest which is appended to the report of an Industrial Conference summoned by the British Government last year occurs this sentence: "The motive of public service should be the dominant motive throughout the whole industrial system, and the problem of industry at the present time is to bring home to every person engaged in industry the feeling that he is the servant, not of any particular class or person, but of the community as a whole. This cannot be done so long as industry continues to be conducted for private profit, and the widest possible extension of public ownership and democratic control of industry is, therefore, the first necessary condition of the removal of industrial unrest." This Memorandum is signed by Arthur Henderson and G. D. H. Cole. Many here will not accept this solution of the industrial problem. And with regard to it there are two observations I should like to make. We must not forget that Edmund Burke one hundred and fifty years ago affirmed the permanent *political* incapacity of Democracy. He resisted the extension of the franchise and advocated the system by which there were not more than 400,000 voters in an election when the population was about eighteen million. But the great leap in the dark was taken in the three Reform Bills that extended the franchise. And Democracy has falsified the prophecies of Burke during the years in which it has acquired political experience. Democracy has been trusted. It has fulfilled that trust. Is it not another step to trust it further and give it at least a share in the control of its own economic destinies. But I add another observation. Men must understand before they are qualified to share in control. It is for this reason and in this connection that we have emphasized in our Report the significance of the Industrial Councils identified with the name of a distinguished Congregationalist, the Rt. Hon. H. J. Whitley. His own view is that whatever may be the future of this demand for democratic control, a necessary step in this direction must be the provision of opportunities for mutual conference between masters and men and of opportunities for acquiring experience in the responsibilities and difficulties of management.

It will be noticed that we have devoted some space to a consideration to schemes of co-partnership and profit-sharing, and one of the members of this Commission — Mr. Theodore Taylor, the head of Messrs. J. T. & T. Taylor, Ltd., of Batley Yorks, is one of the leaders in this movement in

Britain. Since our Report was written the ministry of labor has issued an elaborate report on the various schemes in the country. It is rather disquieting to find that out of 380 who are known to have existed at some time or other, no fewer than 198 have come to an end. Only fourteen of the schemes now existing are of more than thirty years standing and only thirty-six were started earlier than the year 1901. Perhaps the Rt. Hon. J. R. Clynes, a well known and distinguished labor member of the British Parliament, has put his finger on the weak spot. He says, "That the hostility of Trade Unions to a number of schemes was procured in advance by the manner in which employers devised and applied their schemes. Frequently they were thrown at workmen by means of notices in the works to the effect that on and after certain dates certain changes would take effect. Those employers no doubt talked of partnership and thought in terms of partnership, but they did not act like partners. They did not call the workmen or their representatives together to participate in the initiation of the schemes, or at any rate in the discussion of the more material parts and features of schemes which their workers were expected to accept. But it ought to be pointed out that if the employers are to act like partners, so must the men. The obligation is mutual. The faults are not on one side. The grit will only be got out of the gear of the industrial mechanism when there is cooperation and respect, fair play and justice on all sides. We can come in there, for these qualities are human and moral and our work is to encourage and inspire them. The churches must exhibit a fine sense of social justice and ministers of Christ must be fearless and resolute in applying the principles of Christ to the industrial conditions of our own time.

"If the social order is torn with confusion and noisy with tumult, we may be sure that somewhere in that order there is injustice and inequity. We must find that out and expose it with the same courage that Isaiah manifested in his day. Above all we have every right to maintain that men and women *must not be sacrificed to the production of wealth*. They are the greater values. Ruskin brought that home to us. Dickens made us feel it. To these two more than to any other influences in Britain we owe the recognition that the human element must dominate industrial relationship. To speak and to treat men as 'hands' and to ignore the fact that they have hearts, that they are persons, is an outrage on humanity and an insult to God, who created men in his own image and destined him for a splendid and an immortal life."

State

My time has almost run out. But I hope you will bear with me for a few moments longer while I add a few words on the service of our churches to what we usually think of as the most imposing, the most commanding, and the most exacting of the aspects of the Social Order, viz.: the State. The consideration of the relation of our churches to the state is an element in a much bigger problem which is a very live issue in the world at the present time. The problem of the relation of smaller communities to that "*Communitas communitatum*" which we call the state. This problem is discussed with great ability by Dr. Neville Figgis in his "Churches in the Modern State," and by a young American scholar, Mr. Harold Laski of the Harvard History School in "Studies in the Problem of Sovereignty," a very valuable book dedicated to the British Minister of Education and to one of the best known of the History Tutors at Oxford. The movement of thought represented by these two important books has its origin in Gierke & Maitland, and aims at vindicating certain inherent rights in groups and communities which are not conferred by the state, the right for example of a church to develop its own life and define its own doctrine in harmony with its own needs and its own consciousness of its

REV. A. C. HILL
Glasgow, Scotland

REV. W. NELSON BITTON
London, England

REV. WILLIAM I. HAVEN, D.D.
New York City

REV. SAMUEL A. ELIOT, D.D.
Boston, Mass.



mission in the world. With the wider implications of this problem I am not concerned for the moment. But there is one thing that is relevant to our discussion. If it be true that communities have inherent rights and that among these communities churches must be reckoned, if Cavour's ideal of a "*Libera Chiesa in Libero Stato*," only with the Chiesa in the plural, then the state should show no preferences and the individual churches should make no claims to special privileges and be fired by no ambitions for power and status. It is difficult work for an Anglican apologist in Britain to defend what we call the establishment. The Anglican Church is restive or an influential section is restive in the grip of the state. Through centuries of suffering, neglect, contempt and social ostracism our churches have been the champions of the Free Church in the Free State. They have preserved and kept alive an ancient tradition while the absoluteness of the Monarch and the omniscience of the state threatened to undermine and to destroy Liberty. The Free Churches have been the champions of the inherent rights of groups within the state to control and to develop their own life, and in this way they have made a substantial contribution to the growth of Freedom in the world. In the seventeenth century it was not the isolated individual but the religious body with its passionate assertion of its own rights to be, which finally won toleration from the state. By himself apart from religious discords the individual would have secured no freedom. The orgy of state-autocracy which set in with the Renaissance and was developed by the Reformation would have gone on unchecked, as indeed it did in those states like France or the German principalities, in which uniformity in religion was enforced on the principle "*cujus regio ejus religio*." Your fathers and our fathers, for we have a common parentage, saved us from this. It was the competing claims of religious bodies, and the inability of any single one to destroy the others, which finally secured liberty. Political liberty is the fruit of ecclesiastical struggles, and in these struggles our fathers took a conspicuous and leading part.

In the wider relations of states to each other, I know I have behind me the Congregational churches of Britain when I endorse with all my soul some magnificent words which I heard uttered in the Sheldonian Theatre at Oxford in 1910 by Mr. Theodore Roosevelt.

The foreign policy of a great and self-respecting country should be conducted on exactly the same plane of honor, of insistence upon one's own rights and of respect for the rights of others, that marks the conduct of a brave and honorable man when dealing with his fellows. Permit me, said Roosevelt, to support this statement out of my own experience. For nearly eight years I was the head of a great nation, and charged especially with the conduct of its foreign policy; and during those years I took no action with reference to any other people on the face of the earth that I would not have felt justified in taking as an individual in dealing with other individuals."

Those are great words. We can safely join hands in our common task for humanity with a nation whose public men think and talk in these terms. The churches' great task is to interpret the relation between states in the terms of ethics and religion, in the terms of the Laws of the Kingdom of God. Great words. One almost heard behind them the echoes of Lincoln's voice.

"Four score and seven years ago our fathers brought forth on this continent a new nation, conceived in liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal. Now we are engaged in a great civil war, testing whether that nation, or any nation so conceived and so dedicated, can long endure. We are met on a great battlefield of that war. We have come to dedicate a portion of that field as the final resting-place for those who here gave their lives that that nation might live. It is altogether fitting and proper that we should do this. But in a larger sense, we cannot dedicate, we cannot consecrate, we cannot hallow this ground. The brave

men, living and dead, who struggled here have consecrated it far above our poor power to add or detract. The world will little note nor long remember what we may say here, but it can never forget what they did here. It is for us the living rather to be dedicated here to the unfinished work which they who fought here have thus far so nobly advanced. It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us, that from these honored dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion; that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain; that this nation under God shall have a new birth of freedom, and that government of the people, by the people, and for the people, shall not perish from the earth."

This speech contains two hundred and sixty-seven immortal words distributed into ten sentences. In these ten sentences one word occurs six times, the same idea eight times. The word is "dedicate." The key-stone is dedication. Each sentence is joined to the next, and so on through these ten sentences, link on link, until a chain of conservation is forged, dedicating the nation to liberty, equality, and democracy.

But this speech is more than an oration, incomparable in style, perfect in logical thought, finished in diction; it is the index of a mind, the exponent and the revelation of a spiritual self. It is as perfect a portrait of Lincoln as could be put in human speech. We see here the thinker, the patriot, the leader; but we see here also the spirit and soul of a truly great man delivering a great message to his own nation and to the whole world; but also *with the message* imparting his own soul. His soul is in the speech — truly, but his soul is in the task.

Edward Everett on this occasion gave an eloquent and masterly oration which lasted over two hours. But the world has forgotten it. Lincoln's two-minutes' speech will be found hung up and framed in millions of homes.

I have given you the reasons of the difference. It contained a political gospel, but with it he imparted his own soul. It is the conjunction of these two facts that has made it immortal.

That is always so. It was so in Christ, who has shown us the living way. He preached his great message of love and reconciliation, but he gave his own soul, his own life, as the gospel says, a ransom for us all.

PRESENT FEATURES OF THE TEMPERANCE CRUSADE

REV. HOWARD H. RUSSELL, D.D.

" As one lamp lights another,
Nor grows less,
So nobleness enkindleth
Nobleness! "

A week ago " Pussyfoot " Johnson, who gave an eye to help make the world dry, told a great audience in Chicago that the Prime Minister of England, in a recent talk with a friend, exclaimed: " If America stands firm and makes good on prohibition, England will adopt the same policy within ten years! " The vital present feature of the temperance crusade in these states is embodied in the question: Will America stand firm, — will America make good? The Anti-Saloon League and its allies are now upon the defensive. After winning Constitutional Prohibition by methods held valid by the Supreme Court, after securing from Congress an effective Enforcement Code, they are now compelled to defend their cause against as treasonable assaults as were ever made against organic law. The old liquor gang openly declare they will make a " scrap of paper " of the

Amendment. They are disobeying and defying the statutes with a fabulous campaign fund. They are out to try to elect a Congress which by raising the alcoholic content will nullify prohibition. Do you ask: "Watchman, what of the night?" I reply: Much more educational work must be done — especially in "wet" localities. For several years the Anti-Saloon League must stand on guard for the amendment and enforcement of the law. But an examination of the strength of prohibition is radiant with hopefulness.

Upon the foundation of constitutional government two mighty pillars support the arch of prohibition. One of these gigantic supports is the moral and civic conscience of the nation. It has been said that the adoption of prohibition has been a sudden national impulse. Not so. For a century public opinion has been forming. Wendell Phillips said: "Agitation is the marshalling of the conscience of the nation to enact and enforce its law." Agitation began in the churches a hundred years ago. In Connecticut, in 1812, an association of Congregational ministers held a business session in the morning, but drank so much at the lunch hour that they were incapacitated for the rest of the day. Lyman Beecher's indignant soul blazed forth in resolutions at the State Association, followed later by his six mighty sermons against intemperance, and the reform in the Congregational church was under way. The Methodists, about the same time, considered a mild resolution: "A Methodist preacher ought not to be financially interested in the liquor traffic." This did not pass the first time. Some seemed to think it interfered with their personal liberty. It passed at the next general conference. The Presbyterians took their first official action without difficulty. They agreed that a Presbyterian clergyman ought not to get drunk in public. In those days a local Baptist church adopted a motion that the members should not sell liquor upon the church grounds during the church services. From these slender beginnings the churches have moved slowly onward until practically all denominations at last have cooperated in transforming public opinion, and the pillar of permanent national conscience stands firmly in its place.

The second massive pillar is economic and scientific truth. The powerful force of industrial and business demand has, in recent years, hurried the national and state legislative bodies toward the goal of prohibition. "Lest you forget, we tell you yet, safety first!" The DuPont Powder Company discharged every drinking employee. A powder mill is no place for an unsteady hand nor a dull eye. "Whiskey is the monkey-wrench in the machinery of efficiency," said an employer. Therefore, United States Steel and the other great corporations organized to keep their men from liquor and liquor from their men. Why are safety and efficiency dependent upon sobriety? Let science reply, — The Carnegie Institution at Washington: "Alcohol is not a stimulant, it is a depressant. Alcohol is not a food, it is a narcotic, habit-forming drug, and decreased organic ability is shown after even very moderate doses of alcohol." The Scientific Federation of Boston has made the most thorough and world-wide investigation of any organization. These are its findings: The drinker is the first to fall sick and the last to get well, — two sicknesses to one of the abstainer and twice as long for recovery. The drinker is the first to have an accident and the last to have a promotion. The drinker is the first to die and the last to leave his family in comfort. Forty-three insurance companies agree that for every forty deaths of abstainers there are sixty deaths of those who use liquor with the extreme moderation necessary in order to be insured. Industry and business are interested too in the reduction of taxes. Wherever prohibition has come, there poverty, crime and disease have been greatly reduced. With increased output of legitimate trade, with lessened cost of accidents, absenteeism and inefficiency and with taxes reduced, industry and business will not allow prohibition to turn back.

While some of the hardest defensive battles are just ahead, and we shall not relax organized vigilance, the twin columns of national conscience and economic and scientific decision and the crowning arch of prohibition will endure. In the name of the Christian churches and of the captains of industry, in the name of the recruits of women voters, in the name of the powerful champion of all these interests — the Anti-Saloon League, — I promise you America will stand firm and make good.

And now what about England and the rest of the world? The second outstanding feature in the United States is the organized movement for prohibition extension. Nations, like individuals, have lately learned they are "members one of another." In the new age of brotherhood, hastened by the experiences of the late war, the nations are trying to learn anew the Lord's Prayer. For Jesus said: "When ye pray, say Our Father," — a new prayer to the Jew, who had prayed "My Father," leaving the Greek, the Gentile and the Barbarian out of the prayer. Say "Our Father!" And it is but a step in inspired logic to understand if God is Father of all, then all mankind are blood brothers and sisters. We American Congregationalists lament in shame and humiliation that political partisanship in both parties has delayed the formal entrance of the United States into the League of Nations; but America is sure to do its part to substitute for the pagan retributive justice of the past, the Christian distributive justice of the future. In this spirit, in the spirit of sacrifice, in the spirit of our League representative, Pussyfoot Johnson, in the spirit of Jesus Christ, the Anti-Saloon League of America, four years ago, began its movement to respond to calls now coming from everywhere and to carry the liberty we anticipated and have won to our brother nations. At Washington, in June of last year, with one hundred delegates from forty other countries, all guests of our League, with eighteen signatory national temperance organizations we formed the World League Against Alcoholism.

Our world movement is frankly defensive as well as fraternal. We know very well national prohibition cannot fully succeed without world action. So long as there is a brewery or distillery anywhere we are safe nowhere. This is indeed a world problem. It has directly to do with world peace. Where villagers or men in cities drink they brawl and fight. So with nations. The Germans became military and fiendishly belligerent partly because they drank more alcohol per capita than any other nation. Sobriety is not only necessary for industry and social safety and efficiency, it is essential to future good order and peace of the world. Our missions, too, need the salvage of prohibition. Our church missionary investments have been discounted and to a great degree squandered because on the same ships with the Bible and missionary we sent booze and misery. This is why every missionary society in America has urged the Anti-Saloon League to push world-wide sobriety.

The past two years we have sent thirty men to survey the nations. We have found a movement germinant in nearly every country. Here are some of the facts. In our Western Hemisphere we are well under way; the United States dry; four-fifths of Canada; three states in the Mexican Republic. Happily, the new President of Mexico, the commanding general of the army, the new minister of war and the recent ambassador to the United States are all committed to national prohibition. Of the 220,000,000 of people in the Western Hemisphere more than 125,000,000 are now living under legal prohibition. In the Eastern Hemisphere a fine start is made. Watch Scotland! which votes in November, — the first local option voice on the liquor question in the United Kingdom. Finland yonder is dry. Most of Denmark, Norway and Sweden is under prohibition. An intensive campaign against liquor is on in Italy and Switzerland. Some of the new nations carved out of Russia are planning

for constitutional prohibition. Call the roll farther eastward: Japan? Industrial and business leaders and national officials are already in vigorous crusade against the liquor traffic. Australia? Several Australian states have been granted the right to vote. New Zealand? Almost dry by the recent plebiscite. "Next time," they say, "over the top!" South Africa? Wrestling right now with a prohibition enabling act. India? Under the new home rule, granted by Britain, an early contest is certain. Our "Pussyfoot" Johnson has been invited to come next fall and to unite Mohammedans, Hindus and Christians in an Indian Anti-Saloon League. Come back a moment to Europe. The new German Constitution provides for local option on petition of ten per cent of the voters. Recent and aggressive agitators for prohibition include the new President of Austria, the President of Czecho-Slovakia, the Premier of Holland, the leader of the government party in Poland, and the leading minister of Belgium. And listen! The new President of the French Republic has just announced that for the first time in the history of France the President and his family are all on the water wagon!

And, oh, my Congregational brethren, do you not behold in these luminous world-facts a strategic Christian opportunity? May I not in this hour of privilege call upon you as preachers and as lay leaders of all our churches to take up a definite and urgent advocacy of this world-around cause as an interdenominational and omni-partisan movement of the churches. Sir R. Murray Hyslop, the eminent English temperance leader, and a Congregationalist of high standing, tells me by letter that a majority of our Congregational churches have temperance committees and are cooperating to some extent in the movement against drink in the British Isles. In this past movement for liberty here in America, it is not surprising that the descendants of the Pilgrim Fathers were in the vanguard. The Anti-Saloon League, the chief non-partisan political force, was born in the Spear Library at Congregational Oberlin. This league was manifestly a God-inspired plan. It was initiated in prayer led by the sainted Dr. James Brand. May I be personal enough to say that I would not have asked Oberlin's indorsement and backing of the plan if I had not believed that the churches ought to become responsible for a united fight to abolish the hellish liquor traffic. I left my pastoral service, which I loved and in which God had greatly blessed me, and became an exile from home, because God had inspired a belief that the churches by and by would join together against this worst foe of the church, the home and the state. Some of you realize how hard it will be to set your churches zealously at work. But hard tasks grow easier when God says, "Forward, march!" How hard it was here at first. Twenty-seven years ago I sent from the little office room at the Ohio capital two hundred letters to the leading pastors in the Western Reserve, the New England of Ohio. I stated that our League had pledges of moral and financial support which justified the opening of a state office; that a letter from them would save the expense of an advance agent. Would they open the way for a meeting, allowing individuals to pledge their support if they were willing, after the hearing? How many replies do you think I received? Not one. In the apathy, cowardice and discord of that day it was difficult to obtain a footing or support. More than once I visited the pawnbroker; more than once a chattel mortgage upon my household goods and library kept the League work going. But by and by, after the testing time, God moved upon the spirit of the pastors and churches and they began to respond. The pulpit and the church are the only forces that can anywhere prevail over this satanic power. This kind goeth forth only by fasting and prayer. About the time our League was started, Dr. Charles Parkhurst led a winning local fight in New York City against Tammany. He gave a testimony of the power of the pulpit which corroborated our theory: He said:

"I uttered only thirty minutes of indictment against the blood-sucking scoundrels who were draining the veins of our body municipal and they were all set wriggling like a lot of muck-worms in a hot shovel. I am not such a fool as to suppose it was the man that said it that did the work, nor that it was what was said that did the work, for it had been said a hundred times before with more thoroughness of detail. It was the pulpit that did the work. Journalistic roasting these vagabonds will enjoy and smile over. But when it is clear that the man who speaks it is speaking not for the purpose of putting money in his pocket or power into his party but speaks it because it is true and in speaking it appreciates his oracular authority as one commissioned of God to speak it, there is the suggestion of the Judgment Day about it, there is a presentiment of the invisible God back of it that knots the stringy conscience of these fellows into contortions of terror."

So the Anti-Saloon League, kindly but firmly pressing its way into the pulpits, at last mobilized the churches of this Union. Slowly but firmly, regardless of sect or creed, they came to see the awful destruction by the crime-breeding, poverty-producing, home-destroying, politics-poisoning, Gospel-blocking, soul-damning, hell-crowding liquor traffic. The honest, intelligent pastors and prophets, anxious for nothing so much as to be oracles of God and to see the Lord's Prayer turned into history, with conscious and confident authority, blazed forth against this social and civic wrong. They definitely accepted and strongly cooperated in the program of the Anti-Saloon League, gave their people an annual opportunity at their best-attended service to hear a report of progress and to aid in systematic financial support. Regardless of party the church voters were listed and kept informed and directed for action at primaries and polls. Under the blessing of Almighty God thus the churches enabled the Anti-Saloon League to build an organization of more than a thousand employees devoting their whole time, and as many more part of their time, to agitation, legislation, and the enforcement of law. The League has branches in every state, with 150 well-equipped national, state and district headquarter offices, and a Publishing House lately appraised at \$500,000. In twenty-five years of time and at a cost of twenty-five millions of dollars cheerfully laid upon the altars of the churches, thirty-five states have been persuaded to adopt state-wide prohibition, and the Eighteenth Amendment, ratified by forty-five states, has been written into the organic law, which prohibits forever the manufacture, sale, importation, exportation and transportation of intoxicating beverages throughout the length and breadth of the United States of America.

As in America so in the other countries there now is, or there can be developed by the preaching of the truth, enough moral sentiment, when tactfully organized, to do in the course of a little time what has been done in this country. I especially appeal to the delegates from Great Britain. If only our English Congregational leaders will do there what Beecher, Edwards, Moody, Finney, Brand and many more leaders of the Congregational churches did for this cause in America! The manly and womanly material of Britain only lacks one thing: Adequate leadership. The prophets of God are commissioned thus to lead. If they are ordained for anything, it is to foster moral sentiment, to marshall and mobilize it and to hold it steadily to the great purpose of evolving social and civic welfare. Under God's spirit the people will be as surely subject to the mastery of your inspired and imperial words as were the people of Israel amenable to the inspired dictatorship of Moses, Joshua, Samuel and Elijah. For the sake of wrecked lives and lost souls, for the sake of depraved and despoiled

womanhood, on behalf of the hundreds of little children smothered every year by drunken mothers, in the name of Christ our Saviour, will you not lead out and help marshall all the churches of all names against this great destroyer?

Comrades in Faith's War: — I propose today a union of hearts and hands between America and Great Britain for world-wide sobriety. Marching together as cousins and allies, in the helping-hand spirit of our common Master, how invincible will be our joint struggles for human liberty; how will the God of mercy multiply his champions, solidify their ranks, put might into their arms, chivalry into their hearts, and crown us all with steady and widening victory. In how brief a time shall there be wrought the happy deliverance of the whole world from the cruel bondage of strong drink! In the appealing words of our Quaker poet on behalf of another great cause which came at last to triumph, and likewise timely at this hour of crisis:

Children of bravest fathers, will ye falter,
"With all they left ye periled and at stake?
Ho, once again, on freedom's holy altar
The fire awake!

Prayer-strengthened for the conflict come together,
Gird on the harness for this moral fight,
And with the blessing of our Heavenly Father,
Maintain the right!"

SOME PRESENT FEATURES OF THE TEMPERANCE CRUSADE

SIR R. MURRAY HYSLOP, J. P.

The Drink Problem may be summarized in two sentences — how to keep the people from strong drink, and how to keep strong drink from the people, and it is along these two lines the ultimate solution of the problem will be found.

Experience is the best teacher but her terms are oftentimes high, for as Carlyle put it, "Experience takes dreadfully high school fees but she teaches as no other." In one of his cheer-up speeches, which did so much to hearten the British people in the darkest hours of the war, Mr. Lloyd George declared, "We are a thousand times wiser through the war." This reference was not to social reform, although it may be applied to it. That the wisdom of a thousand years can be concentrated into four years of national upheaval may be overstated, still it can be conceded we have learned much during those years, but the wisdom so acquired has been costly, entailing a huge expenditure alike in blood, treasure and material. One lesson we have learned in the crucible of experience through which we have passed is that the well-being of all depends upon the well-doing of each, and this lesson has a direct bearing on the Drink Problem.

National Efficiency

When the allied nations settled down to the colossal war struggle it became clear that National Efficiency must be the watchword. It required no great vision to appreciate that drunkenness in war time, especially amongst munition workers, constituted a real menace. The case against drink was that it impaired efficiency and consequently retarded the output of war supplies, and loss of efficiency at home meant loss of life abroad. It was essential that the fighting men should be able to rely on the munition workers and the munition workers upon one another, for one drunken man in an explosives factory might endanger the lives of his fellow workers, besides leaving the men at the front short of supplies. Neither could

a man give his best work if his leisure hours were spent in a crowded liquor-bar, or if his home were wrecked by the drinking habits of an intemperate wife. Again the intemperate habits of a minority might seriously delay the output of the majority and thus throw the economic machine out of gear. Therefore, it was the question of efficiency rather than the question of drink that led those in authority to recognize at the outbreak of war the necessity of controlling drink, otherwise irreparable disaster might follow. The general appreciation of these facts stirred all the warring nations to special effort for the repression of drunkenness.

Central Board Liquor Control

In the United Kingdom we are mindful that for three-quarters of a century our reformers, together with statesmen of almost every school of thought, have with a sincerity of purpose sought to find a solution for this vexed problem, but prior to the war progress was precarious and disappointing. The problem has, however, been profoundly modified since 1914. Granted it be impossible literally to make men sober by statute, still our experience during the five war years has proved it is not impossible to throw the force of law upon the side of sobriety, and by a proper control to restrict the inducements to insobriety without interfering with the legitimate liberty of the individual, so that even sobriety can be secured.

During the first year of the war excessive drinking increased to such an extent as to necessitate drastic action being taken. Accordingly the Central Board for the Control of the Liquor Traffic was constituted in June, 1915. About nineteen-twentieths of the people of the United Kingdom came under the orders of this Authority, which was charged with the task of weaning the drinking portions of the population from alcoholic drink, as fast as it could be weaned.

The principal measures it adopted to attain this end may be classified under four heads: (1) The curtailment of the hours of sale of alcohol; (2) Facilities for non-alcoholic refreshment, notably by the establishment of canteens for munition and transport workers; (3) Prohibition of the sale of spirituous liquors of excessive strength, and (4) Prohibition of incentives to excessive consumption, such as treating, credit and canvassing for liquor orders.

The Board, in munition areas, where the immense prosperity of the workers was manifest, seriously restricted the hours in which drinking was allowed, which regulation produced a progressive reduction in alcoholic excess and wrought a social improvement which can be described as amazing in its rapidity. In addition to the restriction of the hours of sale, industrial canteens for the provision of hot and cold food were established in munition areas, as the provision of thoroughly good food was an indispensable condition of obtaining and maintaining maximum output of energy and labor. Upwards of a million workers were thus provided for, 800 canteens being erected for this purpose, 95 per cent of which were "dry," that is to say no intoxicants were supplied in them. One of the results of this experiment has been the humanizing of industry, because temperance is not a question of restrictions alone, it is also a question of providing facilities whereby men may pursue their avocations under conditions which will increase their self-respect and make them feel that getting drunk is not consistent with the dignity of manhood, so that drink may no longer be looked upon as an "industrial anæsthetic."

To quote the words of Lord D'Abernon, the chairman of the Control Board: "Past experience of drunkenness statistics indicates the parallelism between high wages and excessive drinking. But this parallelism has now been replaced by extreme divergence. Although the earnings of large sections of the population very materially increased, and unemployment in both sexes practically ceased to exist, the convictions for drunkenness in

1915, 1916 and 1917 fell at a pace without parallel. In England and Wales there were nearly 190,000 cases in 1913. In 1916, there were considerably less than 90,000, and in 1917 the figure fell to 46,000. This progressive decline in alcoholic excess cannot be accounted for on any other hypothesis than that it is in a large part the result of the regulations applied."

The Carlisle Experiment

No part of the Central Board's operations has been more instructive than those associated with what is known as the "Carlisle Experiment," where the Board introduced a dual scheme of State Purchase and Control. The Board did not embark upon this enterprise in order to carry out a social experiment, but because the conditions in Carlisle and the district became such as to make it imperative that a different method of conducting the liquor trade in that area should be adopted. The Ministry of Munitions in 1916 erected one of its largest National Factories in the pastoral village of Gretna, some four miles from the city of Carlisle, where ultimately some 15,000 navvies and constructional workers were employed. A large proportion of these people were housed in Carlisle and the immediate vicinity, which put a great strain upon the available accommodation. They had nowhere to spend their leisure time except in the streets and public houses, and it is not surprising that the licensed houses in Carlisle became the haven of refuge for the Gretna workers out of working hours. Here thousands of men aimlessly wandered about, with no home ties, with plenty of money, and with licensed houses at every few yards inviting them to conviviality and seeming comfort, with the result that scenes of a degrading character became of common occurrence, especially on Saturday. Fierce fights raged round the public house doors and almost every alley was littered with prostrate drunken men. The main thoroughfare of the city became a veritable Bedlam, which the diminished police force was unable to cope with. Drunkenness and inefficiency are cause and effect, and as the men who created this situation were engaged in erecting a National Munition Factory the Board were under obligation to find a new way of dealing with the situation, hence their decision to acquire on payment of compensation the whole of the liquor trade in the district in order that the state might be unfettered and, therefore, able to take drastic action to improve the prevailing conditions. Local Prohibition of liquor would have been bitterly resented by the army of Gretna workers, for to single out one industrial area and impose prohibition on its population, while the sale of drink was permitted everywhere else, would have been resented as an act of partiality and could not have survived the inevitable outburst of local indignation. The Carlisle and District Direct Control Area covers some 320 square miles, with a population of 120,000. When the Board commenced operations there were 339 licensed premises in the area, nearly one-half of which have now been suppressed. Of the five breweries, there are now only two in use. Previous to the Control there were seventeen spirit stores; now there is only one central spirit store and all grocers' licenses have been abolished. Further, the Board provided places where rest and refreshment could be obtained without any inducement to buy intoxicants. It established tea rooms in country public houses and made provision for the sale of food in all licensed premises, and as the result of these arrangements the convictions for drunkenness, which in 1917 were 275, had been reduced in 1919 to 56 and on the testimony of the Chief Constable in his last Annual Report, "The beneficial effects of this increased sobriety are far-reaching and fundamental. There has been a resulting improvement in the economic efficiency of the people, and the reduction in misery, crime and degradation of every sort can easily be imagined." This is not to be wondered at, as many of the generally accepted temperance proposals were embodied in the Carlisle scheme. The total capital in-

volved in the scheme amounted to £853,000, and it is estimated the accumulated surplus to 31st March last accruing to the state will amount to £300,000. Whatever may be the fate of the "Carlisle Experiment" it can claim to have left its mark on the social history of the country, for it is the first piece of constructive licensing reform undertaken with the prestige of a Government department. Above all it has offered one solution of the problem of intemperance, and it is a question whether all the measures of licensing reform introduced in the United Kingdom during the past half-century have accomplished as much as that which has been done in Carlisle in four short years.

The achievements of the Central Control Board have, therefore, provided a substantial contribution to the problem of national sobriety and efficiency. Excepting the Trade, its work has been universally applauded, for out of what seemed the wreck of Temperance hopes, it has brought not salvage but a prize. It has provided for the legislator, social worker and Temperance reformer a fertile field of suggestion and inference, for the United Kingdom now knows that the "drink difficulty" is not insolvable, and no proposals for the future regulation of the liquor traffic will be satisfactory which do not ensure that we shall not relapse to the level of alcoholic excess which prevailed before the war. Out of this new experience a new policy must be evolved, one which will appeal not only to public opinion at large, but especially to organized labor, for the repression of insobriety is vital to the realization of labor's best hopes.

The Great Adventure

All British citizens are watching with a deep interest the results attending the great adventure of the American Republic in decreeing the entire prohibition of intoxicating liquors. We recognize the magnitude of the achievement because it marks the greatest social revolution in history and sounds the death knell of the Drink Trade. That it will bring immense gains to the American people there can be no question, and for this reason, if for no other, the experience gained by this achievement will be of particular interest to Great Britain, whose political ideals and institutions, as well as its social and moral habits, are more in common with America than with those of other peoples speaking different languages and having different social, moral and political traditions.

For more than two generations an active, organized and persistent agitation has been carried on in England and Wales for the prohibition of the Liquor Traffic. The agitation has been conducted with great ability and devotion, the total expenditure of money in connection with it has been greater than the outlay upon any other social propaganda in the country. In 1864 Sir Wilfrid Lawson, the leader of the prohibition movement — one of the most courageous men in public life our country has ever known — introduced his Permissive Prohibition Bill into the House of Commons, but from that day to this the principle has not been inscribed on the Statute Book. It is true Wales obtained its Sunday Closing Act, but no measure of substantial licensing reform has been enacted for England and Wales during the past 50 years. Nevertheless, during the same period there has been a striking growth in temperance opinion, the public attitude toward the question has changed and developed, the practice of total abstinence is far more general, and the number of temperance men in the House of Commons today is greater than ever before. What then is the obstacle which has blocked and continues to block the way?

There are two great difficulties — first, that probably three-fourths of the men of England and Wales are occasionally or regularly buyers and consumers of intoxicants, whose support it is necessary to secure if we are to carry the legislation we desire; the second is, there are hundreds of thousands of persons in the United Kingdom who are directly interested in the

trade and who are dependent upon it for their livelihood or whose income therein is at stake. The trade have more than a hundred thousand licensed premises, which are committee rooms for an active propaganda for opposing temperance reform, open daily, with interested persons in charge of them.

But although prohibition has not been adopted by the state, there are large bodies of persons who endure this privation with equanimity, for in upwards of 3,900 parishes in England and Wales no licenses are issued. There are also large areas in London, Liverpool, Nottingham, Newcastle, Grimsby and Goole where by the will of the landlord the people manage to perform the incredible feat of living their lives without a public house round the corner, because no liquor shops are allowed within the said areas. On the testimony of Lord Rowallan, who owns some 7,000 houses providing accommodation for 35,000 people, where he has imposed a prohibitory rule, no complaint has reached him once in forty years, and in these protected districts there is a great demand for housing accommodations.

Scottish Temperance Act

During the coming autumn the Scottish people are to have the opportunity of applying a measure of local prohibition under the Temperance (Scotland) Act, 1913, which enables them in their several localities to prohibit the issue of liquor licenses in such localities. This Act has a three-fold option. Electors may vote in favor of (a) No change from the present state of things; (b) A reduction of the number of retail licenses by one-fourth, or (c) No license; and the question that is now being asked is, Will Scotland avail itself of this opportunity and go "dry"? There are several facts which encourage the hope that the Act will lead to a wholesale closing of public houses in Scotland. One is that Temperance opinion is more advanced there than it is in England and Wales. Already there are 300 Scottish parishes without a licensed house and no fewer than eleven of its counties are already "half dry." But what is even more important, organized labor in Scotland is distinctly Prohibitionist, whereas in England it is against Prohibition and in favor of State Purchase. The Scottish Trades Union Congress has declared in favor of complete prohibition and advises its members to vote for "no license." At the recent General Assemblies of the Church of Scotland and The United Free Churches resolutions in favor of no license were adopted, which decision has given a great impetus to the movement. In almost every voting area "no license" committees have been formed and the widest use is being made of all publicity methods for educating and arousing public opinion. It is certain the Act will not be allowed to remain a dead letter and that a poll will be demanded in practically every area. We shall await the results with much interest but with no fear.

Two Currents of Reform

The "stream of tendency" of public opinion on the drink question in England and Wales today is moving in two directions. On the one hand there is a quickened demand for national prohibition, either direct or by Local Option, and on the other hand, sometimes even in the same area, the tide is setting in the direction of state ownership and control. These policies are not strictly antagonistic, for they are each devised to meet a different set of conditions. The policy of state ownership and control is not a challenge to idealism, but rather the answer of practical statesmanship to an insistent question which the experience of the war, together with the urgent needs of the reconstruction period, have forced upon our attention. The question may be briefly summarized as follows: In what way can the state most satisfactorily meet the deep-rooted demand for alcoholic beverages, whilst safeguarding itself against the evils of excess and at the

same time give freedom to the movements of public opinion? In the opinion of many, Prohibition does not provide an answer to this question, because it ignores the demand for liquor. Without doubt national prohibition, if it could be enforced, would remove the evils which flow from the present drink trade, because there would be no evil consequences from a trade which ceased to exist. The effects of the drink habit would disappear with the habit itself.

In England, therefore,— for the moment at least — national prohibition is not a practical proposition, and as practical men we have to deal with the conditions as they exist. Some one will sell drink until the nation can be persuaded to abolish the sale. The problem we have to face is how can free scope be given to the best interests of the nation with regard to one of the most vital problems of our social, economic and industrial life in the grave times in which we are living? By all means let us prohibit the trade whenever and wherever we can, but until we can it is our duty to control the trade so as to render it as little injurious as possible. It is said that General von Gluck, the Commander of the First German Army, failed in his advance on Paris because he lacked cooperation with General von Bülow, the Chief of the Second German Army. And in like manner, unless the Temperance forces in England are prepared to agree on a common policy of advance, the solution of this pressing problem is in danger of being postponed, for the problem is one of the most thorny and dangerous questions that a government can handle, and no government is likely to attempt any genuine temperance legislation unless the temperance forces are ready to give it a unanimous support. It is far easier to legislate by consent than attempt to do so by conflict.

The Verdict of Modern Science

Another feature of the temperance crusade today is the clear indication that the ground of attack on the liquor evil is now mainly scientific, for in this direction the best work is being done in the laboratories and by the economists. When we come to deal with social evils which retard efficiency, the knowledge most likely to prove effective is that which is grounded upon scientific fact. No longer can we afford to divorce zeal from knowledge or enthusiasm from intelligence, because social evils cannot be effectively dealt with except upon a basis that is substantial. We cannot hope to build a temple of social reform on the sands of sentiment, for if it is to withstand the gusts of prejudice and political partisanship, it must be founded upon the solid rock of scientific truth. In the early days of the movement its advocates relied largely upon emotional appeal, abounding in pictures of unutterable pathos, coupled with statistics compiled with all the ingenuity to which statistics lend themselves. Not for one moment do we imply these were wasted efforts, for we memorialize in our grateful thoughts the loyal men and women who stood at the forefront of the crusade in whose day no other method would have stirred the public conscience. Truly they wrought better than they knew, for as the result of their labors mighty campaigns of moral education and potent suasion have been waged, so that public sentiment has grown to the point where the drink habit has become disreputable and the drink trade a condemned institution. But present conditions call for new methods, and if we are to enlist thoughtful opinion, without which all efforts for practical social reform will fail, we must utilize any new light which science furnishes, especially if it will set our feet upon the new way we should enter. It is here that the contribution of medical science is of such incalculable value. Every step the profession has taken in the direction of scientific temperance and hygiene, every new light it has thrown upon the evils of moderate drinking, every window it has opened through which the light of scientific knowledge may stream, has been an immense gain to the social reformer. Research in relation to

alcohol is carried on today in a way it has never been carried on before, and has been weighed in the balance and found wanting. The verdict is that alcohol from first to last is a narcotic drug, a protoplasmic poison which tends to shorten life, both by causing widespread degeneration and by bringing on prematurely the changes of age. It assails the brain, the organ of the mind, the citadel where conduct originates. It creates and fosters leaden ideas and stifles golden conduct. It poisons the race at its source, pouring into the future population a stream of imbeciles and epileptics and is the chief cause of national infanticide. And that nothing will contribute more effectively to the evolution of the new order than the proclamation that total abstinence is essential for the highest standard of health, morals, mental and physical efficiency and economic production. In a word we must fall back on our first line of defence, namely, the collective evidence of modern science, if we are to dispel the superstition which clusters round the alcoholic habit.

Need of Counter-attractions

With the statutory reduction in the hours of labor and the consequent increase in the hours of leisure the problem of providing counter-attractions to the licensed house becomes more pronounced. Man is essentially a social animal, and as such requires some place of resort after his day's work is done, his home, generally speaking, owing to lack of accommodation, not being suitable for the gathering of friends. The licensed house, on the other hand, is a center for social communion, but being a place where drink is sold it tends to increase the drink habit. Thus drink becomes associated with so-called sociability, friendship and good-fellowship. People frequently talk about "refreshment," but in the majority of cases it is not refreshment they want, but drink and nothing else. Now pure and unadulterated temperance bars a man from the questionable sociability of the public house, and in many cases no substitute is provided for him. We may attempt to persuade a man by scientific demonstration that he would be safer without alcoholic stimulants, but in many cases if abstinence involves separation from his fellows and the losing his evening resort, it may be difficult to convince him of the benefits of abstinence. Another serious development is the working man's club, the origin of which was not to provide drink, but a center for social intercourse under agreeable conditions. As time went on these non-drink clubs failed from lack of revenue, and resort was made to the sale of liquor, so that now they are very formidable anti-temperance organizations exercising a serious political influence, and the weakening of the attitude of the labor party towards temperance, especially during recent years, is largely attributable to this influence. Apart from the liquor question it is a reasonable desire on the part of wage-earners that places for social intercourse should be provided, and whilst we admit the reasonableness of this claim we are diametrically opposed to any strengthening of the connection between drink and recreation. Much has been done to provide counter-attractions to the licensed house and drinking club, such as the provision of tea rooms on a large scale, the removal of licensed bars from theatres and music halls, the establishment of "dry" canteens where wholesome food is supplied. The opening of cinemas also gives an opportunity for entertainment without temptation to drink. The question calls for the active cooperation of the Christian Church. It has often been urged against the institutional church that there was a billiard table in the vestry, but the sting is taken out of this criticism by the thought that many men captured by the recreative side are also retained by the religious side. If we are going to catch fish we must use the bait they will take, and not offer them what they might consider a scientific and religious diet. It is no use placing at their disposal a badly-lighted back room on church premises in the belief that

dulness and piety go together or that dinginess is the mother of devotion. We must offer them bright and warm surroundings with every comfort — alcohol excepted. It ought to be possible under the shadow of every church to provide a social center where true-souled Christian comradeship can be offered to friendless men and women. Our plea is for counter-attractions which will supply the social need that the licensed house furnishes today, but where drink is eliminated. Our aim should be to divorce recreation and social intercourse from facilities for drinking and temptation to drink.

The Christian Social Order

Considering the genesis of Congregationalism and its attitude toward human freedom and progress it is not surprising that its churches have invariably cast their influence in favor of moral and social reforms. They have placed thousands of abstaining ministers in their pulpits and maintained many thousands of temperance societies, and in addition to the work done in and by the churches the temperance movement as a whole has shared the advocacy of a large army of Congregational abstainers. To the denomination belongs the honor of being the originators of the temperance movement, first in America and then in Great Britain, and in this great work for humanity we must continue to join hands, for in our united enterprise lies the world's fairest hope for the final triumph of the Christian social order. Never were the churches in England and Wales so well inclined to a temperance advance as at the present time. Their working ministry is a temperance body, and the movement is recognized as part of the regular work of the churches.

As America preceded us in the promotion of the temperance cause, so has she preceded us in the attainment of national freedom from the blight of alcoholism, but in Great Britain social movements advance slowly. There is a conservatism that is slow to admit change, but even that is being overcome.

The Britisher is an incorrigible individualist. He will not be done good to against his will. He must be educated and persuaded before he will submit to personal deprivation. The educational process is going on and America is accelerating it.

Meanwhile our work is that of fostering where it exists, and creating where it does not exist, that living mass of belief and custom, out of which law grows. To that we must bring our contribution day by day.

Burke once said: "The only thing necessary for the triumph of evil is that good men should do nothing." Leave the Drink Trade alone and it will throttle all that is good in a nation's life. Let it alone, that is all that is required. Cowardice will suffice for its triumph. Courage will suffice for its overthrow. The patriotism of the good citizen must be as sleepless as the selfishness of the Liquor Trade. Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty. Your Dr. Parkhurst once exclaimed: "Oh! what a world this would be if the perseverance of the saints were made of such enduring stuff as the perseverance of the sinners." To this end we need a patriotism that will recognize party, only as a means to good citizenship and good government, and also sees that the sacrifice of public interests for the sake of party is obvious inversion and perversion. For Lord Morley reminds us: "For all the progress of social reform, taken together, would not do half so much for improving the material prosperity of a nation, and the well-being of its people, as the progress of the Temperance Cause."

PROHIBITION IN CANADA

REV. E. D. SILCOX

It is a great privilege on such an occasion as this to speak on a subject of so much importance to our national and international life, for "we be brethren" and what interests one interests all.

The fact that an imaginary line nearly 4,000 miles in length separates us in Canada from our first cousins on this side of it in no way separates in bringing about prohibition for the whole North American continent. When once these two great nations settle the problem of strong drink in the only way that it can be settled satisfactorily, viz., by the introduction of prohibition, we shall have gone a long way towards settling the question for other nations as well as our own,—at least helping to do so. We shall be glad to stretch hands across the sea and help our brothers there in their great struggle.

The growth of the temperance sentiment in the Dominion of Canada has not been a mushroom growth by any means, but one more like the century plant, which blossoms once in a hundred years.

Parkman, in "The Old Régime in Canada," gives an account of a temperance meeting held in the Mission of Sillery, Quebec, in the summer of 1648, "the first in all probability on this continent." It was held by an Algonquin chief of the Indian tribe. Here is the account:

"The drum beat after mass, and the Indians gathered at the summons. Then an Algonquin chief, a zealous convert to the Jesuits, proclaimed to the crowd a late edict of the Governor imposing penalties for drunkenness, and in his own name and that of the other chiefs exhorted them to abstinence, declaring that all drunkards should be handed over to the French for punishment. Father Jerome Lalemant looked on delighted. 'It was,' he says, 'the finest public act of jurisdiction exercised among the Indians since I have been in this country. From the beginning of the world they have all thought themselves as great lords, the one as the other, and never before submitted to their chiefs any further than they chose to do so.'"

The present condition of prohibition in Canada is the result of a long-fought battle against the bottle and the bar, and the victory won is due to the eternal vigilance of the temperance forces, and among these, I am proud to say, there have been no stauncher friends of the good cause than the Congregational churches of the Dominion. From the records of their Annual Union meetings we learn that for more than half a century the question came up year after year and resolutions were passed strongly urging the churches to do all in their power to bring about prohibition, while our churches taught total abstinence for the individual and total prohibition for the state.

Canada is a confederation of nine provinces. By the British North America Act, an Imperial measure, certain legislative functions are assigned to the provinces and certain to the Federal Parliament. Speaking broadly, the Dominion Parliament has power to control the manufacture, importation, exportation, and interprovincial shipment of liquor. The provinces have power to control the sale of liquor within provincial boundaries.

For many years our country tried vainly and foolishly to regulate the traffic, and though we made some progress in curtailing the business, in the main our efforts were very unsatisfactory.

The very fact that we licensed it threw about it a glamour of respectability. We were protecting instead of prohibiting the traffic, and by so doing we were making a thing that was morally wrong, legally right, thus allowing "the throne of iniquity to have fellowship with us which frameth mischief by a law," and that is the worst kind of mischief. Those engaged in the traffic could always quote the law, which justified them in their actions.

They had legal sanction and cared nothing for the moral aspect of the question.

What Canada needs today and what the world needs is not a palliative but a remedy for the evils of intemperance. Our concern must be not in what way the liquor traffic can be revived and conduct itself, but how can it be exterminated. The real issue is not what manner of life the traffic shall live, but by what manner of death it shall *Die*. We want this problem solved, and solved rightly.

How to combat this dire evil was a problem, and we soon discovered that the only way to do so successfully was to organize all our forces, and this we did by forming Bands of Hope for the young and kindred organizations for those of more mature years. These all helped to strengthen public opinion and increase the number of prohibitionists. In October, 1883, there was organized in the city of Montreal one of our strongest allies, at which time a branch of the Women's Christian Temperance Union in Canada had its birth. It was incorporated by Act of Parliament in July, 1894. When once we had enlisted the hearty cooperation of the women of the Dominion we felt that we were on the highway to victory, and so it proved, for from that date we went forward as never before. More than any other class of society, women had suffered through the curse of strong drink and their entrance on the field of battle spelt success. They certainly saved the situation there, and they continue to this day increasingly strong and persistent in their advocacy of prohibition. God bless the W. C. T. U. for their noble self-sacrificing service in the good cause! By their splendid help we are today enjoying the benefits of the Woman's Franchise, that has added to our voters' lists hundreds of thousands of prohibition voters.

In the year 1876, the Dominion Alliance was organized, the object being "to call forth and direct an enlightened opinion to procure the total and immediate suppression of the traffic in all intoxicating liquors as beverages and to unite all churches and temperance and moral reform organizations in judicious effort for the attainment of this end." For nearly fifty years the Alliance has continued to prosecute its work in the conviction that this was a "Holy War" and therefore it must be carried on prayerfully,—and this has been done.

At the time of its organization there was in the province of Ontario — similar conditions were in other provinces — no less than 6,185 licensed bar-rooms, and we determined by the help of Almighty God we would banish every one of them from the province.

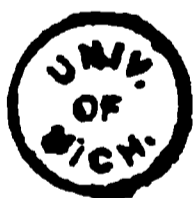
Before we were successful in getting prohibition in the province we had put out of commission more than 5,000 of these barrooms; and in 574 municipalities out of 874 there was not one drop of liquor sold legally. This Alliance has done more than any other agency for the suppression of the traffic. Its influence has been felt in our Houses of Parliaments as they had under discussion some phase of the liquor traffic. Deputations were present from the Alliance at times in large numbers making their demand for prohibition, the need of which was plainly seen, for in spite of all that had been done in curtailing the traffic by reducing the number of licenses, lessening the number of saloons, shortening the number of hours of sale, prohibiting altogether the sale on special days, yet with all these restrictions intemperance was on the increase, insanity, criminality, idiocy, the white slave traffic and kindred other evils were on the increase. We felt justified in demanding from our parliaments such legislation as would forever put an end to the appalling conditions that confronted us. For one thing only did we ask and we never asked for less, namely, Prohibition, for in our judgment that was the *only* solution of the problem. For years we did not get what we asked for, we were defeated, we were side-tracked by such measures as the Duncan Act, the Scott Act, Local Option, etc. We did the best we could with these half measures, but we were not satisfied.

REV. OSCAR E. MAURER, D.D.
New Haven, Conn.

MISS JANE ADDAMS
Chicago, Ill.

REV. ALBERT PEEL
Blackburn, England

REV. A. J. VINER
Oldham, England



The heart of Canada is sound on the prohibition question. The people are determined to secure better, not poorer, laws and the government or parliament that stands between the people of Canada and what they want is doomed to defeat.

Our legislature deemed it wise to make it more difficult to secure local prohibition by passing an Act that made it necessary that we should get a *three-fifths* majority vote before local option would become operative in any place. In other words it took *Sixty* of our votes to equal *Forty* of those opposed to us. This was not British fair play, but we accepted the situation and continued the more fiercely to fight along those lines, with the result that in spite of this handicap we won victory after victory.

For years we have held what we call Sunday Field Day Services in the churches. We take a whole county at a time and have speakers in all the churches open to us on the same day. We hold annually about 2,500 of these services in Ontario alone — our churches are very sympathetic.

It cannot be too strongly emphasized that we regard this as a religious war of extermination. Jesus Christ "came to destroy the work of the devil," and we went into the war to help Him.

In 1892, another step was taken by the Federal House in the appointment of a *Royal Commission* for the purpose of obtaining data respecting the effects of the liquor traffic upon all interests affected by it in Canada and all other information bearing on the question of Prohibition. The *Personnel* of the commission was a disappointment to the friends of temperance. With *one* exception the commissioners were bitter opponents of prohibition — what could be expected from them?

When their report was submitted to the House there was a spirited debate, some declaring that the commission was not in the interests of prohibition and was not intended to be so, but was merely side-stepping the temperance question. The minority commissioner brought in a faithful and true report showing the havoc wrought by the traffic, and declared that prohibition was the only effective remedy for intemperance. A Royal Commission was not necessary to acquaint our people with the evils of the drink traffic. When this commission went out of business we knew as much as we did before. If they had done their duty they would have called attention to the baneful effects of strong drink on the young life of our nation in so far as their *Education* was concerned, for under the license system this was being sadly neglected.

The young people were not attending high, technical or night schools, but when the bar was eliminated a wonderful change took place — instead of lounging about the saloons they became interested in education, and just in proportion to the increase of municipalities voting "dry," just in that ratio did the number of high schools increase, for they became a necessity. For *Forty Years* under the license system the average number of high schools built was *One Per Year*. Now note the change. In 1913, Local Option made the greatest gains — 502 municipalities were "dry," giving the temperance element a majority of 169 in the province. In that year the demand for a better education was met by establishing *Thirteen* additional high schools. In 1916, the Ontario Temperance Act came into force, when there was a perfect avalanche of applications of young men and women to be admitted into our technical schools, some 30,000 seeking admission.

Another encouraging feature is that in all our schools we have text-books on Scientific Temperance, and this subject is a part of the curriculum and teachers have to qualify in order to teach the same. The Minister of Education consulted us as to the character of these text-books, so today we are teaching our young people the baneful effects of strong drink, believing that we cannot afford to allow them to grow up in ignorance of these things.

As an object lesson we are teaching the young that our Provincial drink bill under license was \$35,000,000, and that this amount spent in building good roads would pay for eight of them from Windsor to Ottawa, a distance of 500 miles, or 4,000 miles in all.

The year 1916 will long remain in the minds and memories of tens of thousands of our citizens. The great world war had been fiercely carried on for two years, and our sons and yours were being mown down like grass in France and Flanders. "Their name liveth forevermore." "Nobly they loved, nobly they died."

But horrible as the war was it did more for the cause of prohibition than anything else ever did. With other nations we took action. Some of our provinces were already under prohibition. Eventually, all of them with but *one* exception came under that law. That one exception was the Province of Quebec, and this fact became a great menace to the other provinces, for liquor was continually being sent into these provinces by what was known as "short-circuiting," which even an Order-in-Council did not prevent. Despite this one regrettable condition we have enjoyed the benefits of prohibition for upwards of Two Years, and these have been years of blessing, as thousands of homes bear witness, and our police courts do the same. Prohibition was a great success.

Canada's experience with prohibition emphatically demonstrates that the nation which cuts loose from the debasing, degrading liquor traffic will develop efficiency, practice economy, introduce comfort and happiness into the homes of the people.

In the month of October, 1919, a referendum was taken in Ontario to ascertain the wish of the people in regard to the continuance or discontinuance of prohibition — the result being that we rolled up a splendid majority of 406,676 in favor of its continuance.

It was a great triumph for prohibition, and we were jubilant — for a season. Our joy was short-lived, for on the morning of January 1st, 1920, the Order-in-Council prohibiting the manufacture and importation of liquor was lifted and in came train-loads of liquor into the province, and there was no law to prevent it. This wholesale importation soon found its way into the cellars of those who could afford to pay for it. and though we had banished the bar we now had full cellars instead.

Liquor may be now manufactured and imported into Canada for beverage purposes and shipped from one province to another. It cannot be legally sold in any province except for shipment out of the province, the only exception being the Province of Quebec, as already indicated.

For any government in this age of the world to decline to pass adequate prohibitory measures against the liquor traffic and also to refuse to the people the right or power to pass such laws for themselves, and then to deliberately foist that traffic upon the people powerless to protect themselves legally, is the utmost that any government in Canada has ever dared to do in defiance of decency and righteousness.

The upshot of it all is that our legislatures have taken up the matter, and between now and the end of the year another Referendum will likely be taken, this time to decide whether the importation of liquors from wet provinces into dry provinces shall be permitted. We have already had *four* in the province and we have won out every time, and with the 400,000 of a majority at the last vote, we anticipate another victory.

Whatever may be the result of the present campaign, one thing is certain. We shall never give up the fight until we have reached our objective, which includes not only prohibition for the North American Continent but one which reaches out to the ends of the earth, and already there is on foot a movement for World-Wide Prohibition. We have been fighting for half a century, and if needs be we will fight a half century more; we are not discouraged nor down-hearted, but full of hope and inspiration. Three

of our speakers are today in old Scotland helping in the fight there, and their reports are optimistic. How glad we should be if a similar call came from England, Ireland, and Wales, asking to "come over and help us."

Canada has long stood in the fore-front of the battle for prohibition and she stands there still, and we congratulate our brethren on this side of the line on their magnificent victory for Prohibition, and we pray for our brothers across the sea that God will abundantly bless their efforts and crown them with success.

With faith in God, confidence in our cause, belief in humanity, love for country and loyalty to one another, let us go forward to the help of the Lord against the mighty, and victory is ours, for:

The thought of the world is waking out of slumber deep and long,
And the race is beginning to understand how Right can master Wrong;
And the eyes of the world are opening wide, and great are the truths they see,
And the heart of the world is singing a song and its burden is "Be Free."

Now the thought of the world and the wish of the world and the song of the world will make a force so strong, that the fetters forged for a million years *Must Break*.

Canada has tried Booze and she has tried Prohibition, and with heart and soul we cry, Out with Booze — Come, Prohibition.

THE CONTRIBUTION OF THE CHURCH TO SOCIAL UPLIFTING

REV. JOHN A. PATTEN, M.C., M.A.

On the night of the greatest explosion of the War, when Messines Ridge was blown sky-high, a man who witnessed it said to his companion, "That is a picture of modern civilization being blown to atoms." Allowing for the exaggeration natural to such an occasion, we may let the remark stand. It will serve as a succinct expression of an attitude of mind which the War did much to accentuate, if not to produce, in large masses of the young manhood of the world — an attitude of profound dissatisfaction with present social conditions, and a growing desire and determination to find some sort of remedy. The aim throughout this Council has been to deal with the realities of the world situation, and the War has had its bearing upon most of the questions that have come up for discussion. This is certainly so in the case of social problems. If we refuse to reckon with the thoughts, feelings and ideals of the millions of men who fought our battles in France and Flanders and on other fronts, we shall be omitting a vital factor from our consideration. I hold that the man who in seeking to give guidance on social questions ignores the beacon-lights of the War is walking in a darkness he has called down upon himself. The student of sociology cannot afford loftily to ignore the lessons of the battlefield. If he writes in that spirit, he is writing in sand, and his message has no permanent value.

I trust I am not over-emphasizing this point. I myself spent between three and four years on active service in close touch with the young manhood of Britain, and I confess that I learnt in that time more of everything — more theology, more ethics, more philosophy, more homiletics, more politics, more sociology — than I had learnt through all my University and Divinity College days. In saying this, I am not unmindful of the debt I owe to honored and scholarly teachers. To sit at the feet of Gamaliel is a privilege that no minister would ever minimize, but most of us would add that there are sterner schools further on in life — with more to teach. My particular school was the battle-front of our armies — my teachers,

the boys who fought and bled and died for us. And, therefore, you will not be surprised if in this paper I never get far away from the noise and din of the firing-line, the tramp of marching men, and the murmur of talk and discussion that went on in dug-out and billet.

I come from that world of youth and vigor to report to you two fundamental facts that bear upon the subject of our discussion. The first fact I have already hinted at — the War revealed among our men a deep and widespread discontent with present social conditions. Whether or not this turns out to be a "divine discontent" making for progress depends upon how we mould it in the next ten years. It may well prove to be one or other of two things — the foundation upon which we shall build a finer civilization, or the precipice over which this old world of ours will crash into darkness and chaos.

Dean Church, that magnificent specimen of the Anglican clergy of a past generation, gave what may well be called the finest eulogy upon modern civilization that has ever been penned. I shall quote but one sentence, but I warn you that it is a long one:

"That great spectacle amid which we live, daily before our eyes, and with so much that we could not do without — so familiar, yet so amazing when we think of the steps and long, strange processes by which it has grown and the vast results beyond all human anticipations which it has come to; that fruitful elaboration of the best arrangements for the secular well-being of man, not material only, not intellectual only, productive not merely of comfort and light, but goodness; that complex and delicate social machinery, the growth of centuries, and *our* inheritance and possession — let us make all abatements for its defects and inconsistencies, all reserves for its blemishes and drawbacks — yet deserves more respect than it has always received from religious people, as the great work of God's providence and order."

But these words were written fifty years ago in the complacent days of the mid-Victorian era. Much water has flowed under the bridge since that time. We live in a different world, and more than the wizardry of Dean Church's pen would be required to reinvest our modern civilization with the glamor with which he clothed it. The storm of War has passed over that civilization, and as we stand amid the *debris*, our thoughts and speech are very different. At any rate I caught at the front few accents of Dean Church's unaffected contentment. War opened many eyes, awakened many minds, stirred many hearts, unsealed many lips, and the result is a sense of profound disappointment and discontent with things as they are.

The second fundamental fact I feel called upon to report from the land of War is a scepticism as to the power of the church to meet the present social trouble and grapple with it victoriously. That remarkable book, "The Army and Religion," compiled by Dr. Cairns of Aberdeen on behalf of a representative committee, from a mass of evidence collected from trustworthy sources, deserves careful study on this point, and may I here interrupt myself to say that the book may well be regarded as a vademecum by all who are engaged in work among our young men? The chapter entitled "The Men and the Churches" is painful reading for every lover of the church. It is as though one listened to the disparagement of one's mother — but with this difference: it is good for us to hear all that can be said against the church. With full knowledge of all criticism, we can the better meet it or mend our ways. The charge against the church comes in three waves of criticism: (1) The Church Lacks the Spirit of Reality; (2) The Church Lacks Love; (3) The Church Lacks Life. Time forbids examination of each separate charge. Sufficient is it to say that the evidence was overwhelming that a majority of our men had come to regard the church with grave distrust. It was specially felt that the

church had done less than its duty in the fight for juster social conditions, and that it would only gain the trust and devotion of the ordinary man when it marshalled all its forces in the struggle for a better social order.

There will be general agreement that much of this criticism is sound and just, and there will be no resentment on the part of fair-minded people that our men, under the stress and strain of war, should have spoken out what had long been in their hearts to say. Such frankness is the first necessary step towards a better understanding between our men and the churches. It is beyond all dispute that they showed an extraordinary interest in the church, and in this connection I shall quote a sentence or two from a carefully prepared report from one of the great Bases in France: "It is significant that no subject provokes keener interest and more animated discussion than the church — from which it would appear that the average soldier, whether he is or is not an adherent, is deeply interested in the church. That the men also have an ideal, and a very high one, of what it should be, is apparent from the abundance and nature of the criticism offered." Thus it will be seen that the church — faulty though it be — still makes claims upon the hearts of men, and the hope is that the church may yet win the manhood of the world — a task it has never yet accomplished. I would recall at this point a memorable word spoken by Dr. John Kelman to a gathering of chaplains in the darkest days of the War: "When the War is over, and our men get back home, I believe they will give the church one chance; I don't think they will give it two."

What is the contribution of the church to Social Uplifting? Or, more particularly, what contribution have our Congregational churches to make towards the solution of the perplexing situation in which we find ourselves? Admitting the two contentions that have been the burthen of this paper so far — the dissatisfaction with social conditions as they are today, and the uncertainty as to whether or not the church can cope with them — have we as Congregationalists a message and a mission for the new age in the attempt to solve its social problems? What is our contribution to the building up of a better social order?

(1) Congregationalism must go on doing what it has always done — it must continue to produce and train men and women to take their part in the public life of the nation, the city and the town. Is it too much to say that it has been the peculiar genius of Congregationalism to encourage, prepare and fit men for public service? I think we may say that our Congregational churches have been the training ground for citizenship of a high order. In America, in Britain, and in other parts of the British Empire, this has been a distinctive part of our work. To speak of England only, my fellow-delegates will support me in the statement that English public life is the stronger and purer for the part played in it by men who were brought up in our Congregational churches. To apply but one test, take any typical English city or town — I shall with your permission take my own town of Ipswich. Examine its public life over the last fifty years. It was ably represented in Parliament for more than twenty years by a Congregationalist, Sir Daniel Goddard and, also, latterly by the revered and loved Silvester Horne. The office of Mayor has again and again been filled by men of our church, and Congregationalists have taken their full share in sustaining the public life of the town. Every cause that has made for the uplifting of the people has had their hearty and generous support, and none but the most churlish would deny that Congregationalists have played an honorable part in the upbuilding of a strong and vigorous community. And Ipswich is not peculiar in this respect. Examine the public life of any part of England — London, and the great cities of Manchester and Liverpool, Birmingham and Bristol, the large industrial towns of Yorkshire and Lancashire, country towns in every part of England, watering-places on the coast — Bournemouth, Brighton, Scarborough and

the rest — even small cathedral towns where non-conformity sometimes languishes, yes, and the villages of England all up and down the land — I say, go where you will and find out who are the men and women who are bearing the burden of public service and exercising upon public life a wholesome and uplifting influence, and Congregationalism will come out of such an examination with flying colors.

All this is said with due acknowledgment of the splendid services which other churches are also rendering in this respect, but I do urge here and now that we do not allow this particular aspect of our work to drop out of sight in coming days. Personality is still the greatest force in politics, and in this connection the sober statement of Dr. Cunningham in his "Christianity and Social Questions" may be pondered: "New ideas are not brought to bear upon the state directly, but through the minds and activities of individuals, to whom these ideas appeal; for men who personally have high aims and force of character can often do something to influence their surroundings and modify society for the better." And we Congregationalists can do nothing better for the strengthening of political life and the amelioration of social conditions than to train and equip our sons and daughters for public service. We have already been reminded that both America and England owe much to the witness of the Puritans, and we have further been reminded that that witness is still needed. Let us see to it that the need is met.

(2) We must preach the Social Gospel with ever greater fearlessness. In 1887, Bishop Westcott faced the objection that such preaching is outside the province of Christianity, and his words have a prophetic ring: "And if it be said that the problems which the coming generation will have to face, problems of wealth and poverty, of luxury and want, of capital and labor, of population, of class, of national responsibility, of peace and war, are to be solved irrespective of the Faith, I can only reply that if I am a Christian I must bring every interest and every difficulty of man within the range of my religion; that I must believe that as it is Divine so it is inexhaustible; that I must proclaim at all cost — bearing sentence, as I shall do, against my own inconsistency and unbelief — that its supremacy extends to all social organizations, to all civil compacts, to all imperial designs, no less than to all doctrine of God and the single soul." That is the grand reason for the preaching of the Social Gospel — its truth. It is God's will that it should be preached: therefore, we must preach it. I confess that I have not much patience with the line of argument that we should preach the Social Gospel in order to draw more of the working people into our churches. I know that there must be an increasing sympathy on the part of the church for Labor aspirations, and I believe that the expression of that sympathy may yet draw the church and Labor closer together. But any policy dictated by ecclesiastical self-interest is suspected from the beginning, and may fail on that account. Also, we may be disappointed — indeed we have been disappointed — with the comparatively meagre response which the awakened social sympathies of the church have so far aroused in the hearts of the people. Lack of social emphasis in our preaching is not the main reason why people do not go to church. A little common sense is needed on this point: the main reason why people don't go to church is that they don't want to. But I urge, nevertheless, that we preach the Social Gospel, and preach it with more wisdom, fearlessness and directness than we have done — even though it does not bring a single socialist within our doors, and our inspiration for the task will not come from the ebb and flow of popularity with the multitude, but will spring from a sense of obedience to the Divine will.

What is the Social Gospel? Its permanent truths may be expressed in such phrases as social justice, the brotherhood of man, universal peace, and the like. But every age calls for its own emphasis, and we may say

that the nations are faced with two problems which the church must help to solve. Both are problems of reconciliation, and the first is — how can Capital and Labor be reconciled? How can a working agreement between them be reached? It is becoming more and more evident as the days go by that this is *the* problem of the future; all others pale into insignificance beside it. In so far as it is an economic question I do not see that the church can interfere with any advantage. Ministers of religion are not experts on questions of wages and production, and Church Councils are not qualified to take to themselves the functions of Arbitration Boards. But economic problems have moral and spiritual aspects, and the church may play a powerful though indirect part in bringing about a reconciliation between capitalists and working men. For instance, we may well stand for such principles as justice between employer and workman — justice for the worker in a fair wage that has a real relation to the profits of the business; security against unemployment and an adequate pension when old age comes; a decent house to live in; a reasonable amount of leisure, and such facilities as will enable him to enjoy his leisure. In return, the workman must realize his moral obligation to give a fair day's work, and must understand that under-production is heading for bankruptcy and ruin, not only for himself and his employer, but for the whole of society. My experience as a chaplain taught me that the paramount need in the industrial world today is good-will, and the church, in which all classes mingle and ought to mingle, has a great opportunity in cultivating that spirit.

The other problem is also one of reconciliation — the establishment of friendly and trustful relations among the nations. I do not attempt to say whether or not the War we have just fought is to be the last of all wars, but I will say that the blood of our men who died will cry out against us if we have another war. Whatever idealism animated our soldiers, it took this form — they were fighting to end war. I speak of what I know. I can never forget an hour I spent beside the stretcher of one of our dying boys in a dug-out in France. He was in pain, and he asked me to read to him. I read the 21st chapter of the Revelation, and after I had finished, he kept repeating some of the words. "There was no more sea — no more sea," he whispered, and then in a louder voice, "No more war — no more war." Then he died. If the League of Nations fail, then our dead are betrayed.

(3) Congregationalism is the living embodiment of a Christian democracy, and this leads to our third contribution to social upbuilding. Whether we like it or not the world is becoming more democratic. Probably the governments of the great nations will presently pass into the hands of men who directly represent the interests of the toilers. Many people are afraid of democracy: Congregationalism, so far from being afraid of democracy, has committed its life and destinies to it. Does this fact not fit us to bear a special witness today? Does it not entitle us to say that democracies can always be trusted when they are composed of true-hearted men and women? And does it not further entitle us to insist that democracy will only be safe for the world in so far as it is guided by the spirit of our Lord Jesus Christ?

Our churches are Christian democracies, and have been such for three hundred years. We are now enjoying the novel sensation of being told that we were right all the time. Both church and state in England are discarding aristocratic privileges. The Church of England in the lately passed Enabling Act is seeking to democratize her institutions, giving to her people a small measure of self-government. In English politics, democratic ideals have gained ground enormously in the last six years, and the old-fashioned Tory now speaks like a leader of Labor. Democracy is coming to its own.

I am well aware that you on this side of the Atlantic have lived and moved and had your being in an atmosphere of freedom from your earliest days. The American Constitution was fortunate in the place of its birth, and it has never lost the atmosphere of the cabin of the *Mayflower*. You have always had a free church in a free state: we were long bound by the shackles of oppression. You were free-born: we have had to win our freedom. With a great price obtained we this freedom, and we shall never let it go. Everywhere freedom is coming to its own, and democracy is taking control of world affairs. The Congregational witness, based upon its own history, is that freedom and democracy are both good if they are controlled and guided by the spirit of God. A God-directed democracy is the hope of the world, and we all echo the stirring words in which Mr. H. G. Wells voices this hope: "We need a standard so universal that the plate-layer may say to the barrister or the duchess, or the Red Indian to the Limehouse sailor, or the Anzac soldier to the Sinn Feiner or the Chinaman, 'What are we two doing for it?' and to fill the place of that 'It,' no other idea is great enough but only the World Kingdom of God."

These are some of the main directions in which our churches can contribute to the social uplifting of the world. I have dealt with large principles and movements, believing they will work out their own implications. We live in a day of strange uncertainty. No man can say what the morrow will bring forth. Few would dare to prophesy the trend of world events in the next half century. Great fears are only equalled and surpassed by greater hopes. We who belong to the Anglo-Saxon race believe that we have a great part to play in world affairs — some definite task to accomplish in the establishment of the Kingdom of God. Even as in the olden days the church at Antioch heard the voice of the Spirit of God, so can we hear that same voice today: "Separate me America and Britain for the work whereunto I have called them."

Forty years ago yesterday, 4th of July, 1880, being Independence Day, Phillips Brooks preached in Westminster Abbey, and at the conclusion of his sermon pleaded that the festival might have some sacredness for Englishmen, because "to all true men the birthday of a nation must always be a sacred thing." And he went on to ask for the prayers of his vast congregation on behalf of America.

Today we who are Englishmen ask for the prayers of America, and you who are Americans ask for the prayers of England that together we may do the common work to which God has called us, and we ask these things because, in the words of Phillips Brooks, "We are all more than Englishmen and more than Americans; because we are all men, children of God, waiting for the full coming of the Father's Kingdom."

CONGREGATIONALISM AND THE PROMOTION OF CHRISTIAN UNITY

REV. JOHN G. MCKENZIE, D.D.

I have been told on credible authority that a text without the context is only a pretext. My text is "Congregationalism and the Promotion of Christian Unity," and the context is the report, which I cannot take for granted you have read. As I stand in the peculiar position of presenting the report of a commission of which I was not a member, it seems to me to be best to summarize my context so that the position I take up may be understood.

The first section is an attempt to show that Congregationalism, neither in its origin nor history, has been schismatic. Our fathers never contemplated sectarian churches, each with exclusive creed and ritual.

In the second section we are told that Congregationalism may be either a unifying or a divisive force according as it stands on the rights and demands of individual believers and the local church, or recognizes the one church in the many.

Our history has been lacking in a consciousness of the one church. The forest has been lost in the trees. Our fathers in trying to reproduce the church polity of the Apostolic Age ignored the vital unity that existed for corporate witness and work. It is only now, amid suspicion and hindrance from the older independency which can forget and learn nothing, that Congregationalism is now trying to rediscover the one church in the many.

The report next deals with the desire for cooperation that has been characteristic of Congregationalism; early in our history we even made overtures regarding union with the Presbyterian church. Congregationalists have been amongst the foremost workers of the Free Church Council; we have representatives on the Council of Federated Churches. More interesting still, we appointed representatives on the sub-committee of Faith and Order, instituted by the American Episcopal churches. On that committee our representatives found little difficulty in accepting a doctrinal basis, and they accepted the paragraph of the report wherein it is recorded that the committee believes that in any reunited church, the Episcopacy, reformed and constitutional, must be conserved. At the Mansfield Conference our representatives agreed to the following steps towards reunion: (a) Mutual Recognition; (b) Interchange of Pulpits and Inter-communion; (c) Authorization to minister freely and fully in other churches.

Finally, we are reminded that so far the question of establishment has been shirked and must soon be faced, and a closing word utters the conviction that Congregationalism is not done.

In an appendix the great work of Congregationalism as both a modifying and unifying influence in Scottish ecclesiastical life is briefly appraised.

Thus far the report. It is for me now to attempt to fill up gaps and apply the principles enunciated.

The interesting thing about the report is not what is said but what is left unsaid. The assumption underlying the whole report is that there is nothing in our positive principle, our peculiar witness fundamentally opposed to re-union. We are not told, however, how we can reconcile Congregationalism with High Angelicism, with the conception of the church embodied in the dogma of the historic Episcopate, or the Apostolic Succession. And I believe that question separates the Free Churches from the Anglican more than Establishment.

Nevertheless, with whatever defects the report comes to us, it witnesses to the steady growth of the public opinion within the churches on the question of unity. The attitude of both official and lay elements in the various churches is wholly changed. Let me quote one of the books mentioned in the report, "The Pathway to Unity": "Apart from Rome there is almost no church that claims wholly and solely to be the Church; others fall back on the plea that the various denominations stand for a certain aspect of truth, or a particular form of religious experience." Even this assumption we are told is being questioned. Compare that attitude with the assumptions, not seldom arrogant, held by the various churches even in recent times. It is a great step forward that no church either decries or derides the faith and polity of another church. The assumption from which discussion commences today is that each church has something to contribute to and to receive from the Church Catholic.

Yet though it witnesses to the unifying spirit of our times, the report fails to realize or ignores the cleavages that divide us. Union without unity can only end in an invertebrate Rector's Fraternal or a glorified Free

Church Council, not a Catholic church. So far as England is concerned, we can reunion tomorrow if we bow submission to the High Church position. But to do so is to admit the positive principle, the peculiar genius of Congregationalism, to be played out. Let us realize that we are divided on fundamental issues. It is not a question of good-will, nor love of power, nor even prejudice. It is ultimately a question of theology, as Dr. Mackintosh hinted the other day and Dr. Forsyth is continually reiterating. What makes the Christian? What creates the Church? It is our answer to these questions that gives us our positive principle. According to "The Pathway to Unity," we have no justification for separate existence unless we stand, not for some aspect of truth in danger of being forgotten, not for some peculiar evangelical experience, but a positive truth. Have we a positive principle? Granted that historical circumstances compelled our fathers to separate, is our positive principle of such a nature that were a reunited church to come to deny or neglect it, separation would again be inevitable? Has Congregationalism done its work? Does it stand merely for a form of policy inevitable in Apostolic days, or for a positive truth that abides as long as the Gospel abides?

The whole question turns on the answer to these two fundamental questions: What makes the Christian? What creates the Church? Is the Christian the man who receives the sacrament? Is baptism a sign of a work already done by God, or the creator of a work to be accomplished? Does it precede and create or does it succeed and testify to the act of God's spirit that creates the Christian? Is the church created by the presence of the Bishop? In other words, are we evangelical or canonical and sacramental? Is it the laying on of hands or the grace of God in Christ that makes us new creatures? Is it the living presence of Christ and the indwelling life of the Spirit that creates the church and sustains its unity, or is it the Bishop with his grace mediated through the Apostolic succession? If the view of the church embodied in the dogma of an historic Episcopate "from above" is true, then our sacrament of the preached work is vain, our orders are vain, our churches are vain.

Let it be clearly understood there can be no reconciliation between the Evangelical, Canonical or Sacramentarian view of the Church. The chasm is not only unbridged, but unbridgeable.

We have nothing against an Episcopal form of government, indeed our appointment of Moderators shows that at least we believe that it does not conflict with our conception of the church. But Episcopacy must grow out of the needs of the church; its authority must be derived and sustained by the church, by that body of men and women touched to redemption by Jesus Christ, and under the guidance of his Holy Spirit. The church must not be conceived of in terms of the Episcopacy. The church is big enough to hold Episcopacy, but the Episcopacy implied in an historic Episcopate "from above" and the dogma of Apostolical Succession as held by the High Anglican is not big enough to hold the church.

I can't wait to discuss the matter. But testimony in favor of the Evangelical conception of the church is given in the recent Bampton Lectures by Dr. Headlam. He sums up the position thus: "The Non-Conformists exhibit such signs of the Spirit because they are a branch of Christ's Church, and because they have the sacraments of Christ and an Apostolic ministry."

"Personally," he continues, "I cannot find the doctrine of Apostolical Succession anywhere, and the defenders of the doctrine do not make any attempt to quote such justification. What I would put to you is this: By what right can we hold a doctrine to be essential which is not so far as I know to be found in any authoritative document of any portion of the Christian Church?"

As one condition of reunion he lays down: "The fullest and freest recognition of the orders and sacraments of all those who have been or-

dained in accordance with Apostolic rule . . . and who have celebrated the sacraments according to the command of our Lord."

We need go no farther; we can leave Dr. Gore and his friends to repair the breach between their theory of the church and Episcopate and Dr. Headlam's, and then we shall move more rapidly to that consummation devoutly to be desired — the reunion of the church.

Reunion will come in only one way. It will not come by the attempt of one church to absorb or conquer the other, individuality is too deeply rooted in the world to meekly endure extinction. Nor will it come merely by conference, and efforts to get votes or this point of agreement and that; conferences have always a tendency to resurrect forgotten points of difference, and these lay their cold hand upon the warm atmosphere, freezing the springs that ought to flow in one stream. "Reunion is not a matter of deliberation but of elevation." It is a matter of growth. "Speaking the truth in love we may grow up into Him in all things." "It is not a matter of assenting to one opinion, but of ascending to one view, and that a view all round." Union will come by growth into Christ. The nearer we get to Christ, the nearer we shall get to one another. The more we are indwelt by His Spirit, the sooner shall we be able to gather at the one symbol of unity — the Lord's Table.

On the other hand, though we have come to a deadlock we cannot stop there. We are all conscious of the danger of being misunderstood, we are not always aware of the greater danger of doing nothing. My own impression is that our real contribution to the promotion of Christian Unity at the present moment will lie in the unification of the churches of our own order. We lack a church consciousness. We are a collection of churches, not a church. We have too great a tendency to live in the freezing atmosphere of isolation; the connecting channels become frozen; the collective outlet to society becomes blocked, and our corporate witness is lost.

We have heard a great deal these last few days about our liberty. But what is the liberty that grows out of an evangelical conception of the church? It is not a liberty to be free from God, but a liberty to be free before God; it is not the liberty of so-called religious rights, but a liberty that is the gift of grace; it is not the liberty of the "free-lance," but the freedom wherewith the Son makes us free. It is not a liberty from Faith and Order, but within them. We are not free, we are the bondslaves of Christ, whereby we are free to serve one another, not from one another. Congregationalism will only promote unity, when she realizes the implications of her own principle and becomes a church — a church with a corporate voice, a collective influence, and a corporate witness. Let us realize that just as the individual citizen has no rights against the state, but only within the state, so the individual Christian and the local church have only rights and liberties within the church; otherwise the local church becomes sectarian and ceases to be catholic, manifesting at one point the whole church.

It is this, I think, the older Independency has still to learn. Congregationalism in the sense I have heard older men use the term will only work when we are all perfect, and then it will not be needed.

Let nothing I have said weaken our will to unity with all churches. It is the will to unity that makes us catholic; and the true catholic wills unity. True catholicity is neither a system of faith, sacraments or order; it is that quality in the individual Christian and the local church that makes for unity. It is not mystical, but practical; it is not sacramentarian, but evangelical. A church is not Christian because it is catholic; it is catholic because it is Christian. It is a quality that comes with the redemptive touch of Christ.

Every true Christian must be catholic, for he must will a world unified, summed up in Christ. The question of unity must always be approached

in one way, and that in no sectarian spirit. We must view the question from the standpoint of the effectiveness of the Gospel, and our Corporate witness in the world. We need unity for our own sakes, for we owe more to the church than we owe to our churches. The churches tend to conserve types of piety; it is the church that transmits the gospel. The supreme question in the long run is the transmission of the gospel. It is the function of the church not to touch a soul here and there, but to master civilization for Christ; to shoot through the institutions and life of today her gospel. Is she making the gospel enter into the thought of the time? Is she making the gospel modify our national and international policies? Is she making her ethic supreme? Is she creating that wherein God is seen in:

" that face,
That, far from vanishing, rather grows
And decomposes but to recompose,
Becomes our universe and feels and knows
The face of Jesus Christ."

If not, then she is failing in the very function for what she was created by the Holy Ghost; for what she is sustained by the indwelling of Christ. And of all the causes that makes the church a scattered force, instead of a phalanx, a babel of voices instead of one authoritative voice, it is the lack of unity.

Nevertheless, till the day of visible unity arrives we must bear witness to our positive principle. Our work is not done. Our spiritual principle of democracy must not only become regulative in all churches, but must rule political democracy to which our principle gave birth. We must bring home to Democracy that her final test is just that applied to our churches, the power to produce personality, personality conscious of obligation, loyal to a supreme spiritual end. We must labor through our own church and through the church at large, to make a collective impact upon society, that will not merely be part of public opinion, but create it. Thus only will we change the moral climate; heighten the standard of values, and bring the world about the feet of Jesus Christ. It is ours too to witness to the fact that truth is never static, "Finality is the one heresy"; and our continued emphasis upon creeds as declaratory, rather than regulative, will keep the gospel from becoming petrified in this creed or that.

Glorious is our privilege. It is not ours to imitate the Pilgrim Fathers but to emulate them; to carry into the New Era the principles they carried in the New World — the principles that create a Free State in a Free Church.

THE NEW GENERATION OF PILGRIMS

REV. W. CHARTER PIGGOTT

When the program of these meetings came into my hands I observed at once that the subject of the church and its young people came in its natural and proper place at the end. In saying that, believe me I am guileless of any intention of sarcasm, suggesting that this signifies our sense of its secondary and subordinate importance. I rather take it as the recognition that when we have considered all these other topics that concern the spiritual life and the world mission of the church, the issue of their effectiveness, the hope that they may be more than pious opinions eloquently expressed, depends on whether we can train a younger generation in a larger vision and a truer interpretation of life, a more compelling sense of the imperatives of the gospel, and a more whole-hearted response to the challenge of the world's need. There is no subject we have discussed whose vitality does not reach beyond the years of those who are gathered here, which will not pass as a yet unfulfilled task into the hands of our

children when our own are folded in sleep. If the race is to be carried on, they must catch the torch from our nerveless fingers. If the spiritual pilgrimage is to be worthily continued, we must think of and for the children of today.

I have found it interesting to look through the record of the discussion of this subject in the Proceedings of the Second International Conference held in Boston twenty-one years ago. Firstly, for a personal reason, if I may just mention it in passing. On that occasion the place I hold on this platform today was held by one whose colleague and successor it was my high privilege for a time to be, one who was honored and loved on both sides of the Atlantic, and whose last fine service to the church of two continents was his glowing exposition of the prophet's calling down the centuries in his Yale Lectures on Preaching. One whom you gave back to us only in the great silence, and whose summoning home just before the war seemed strange to us in days when we so greatly needed that chivalrous and gallant spirit, the Rupert of our ranks, the youngest still in temper and gay adventure of all the youth that worshiped and followed him — Charles Sylvester Horne.

But secondly I was interested because the conditions that gave urgency to this subject then have been reproduced once more. It was immediately after your Spanish War. You had recruited an army into which your best and manliest had gone, you had had a vision of youth matched with its hour; and the cry that rang through your speeches was, "If the church could only get such a response for its greater and more glorious work!" The emphasis was on the need of a more heroic appeal, a robuster and more virile note in our presentment of the faith, a larger outlook and policy in the church. Today a war that pales all others into insignificance has underlined these thoughts afresh, and we are repeating the words of practically a generation ago.

That is not to say that our task stands where it did then. If occasion reiterates certain fundamental things, it does so with a deepened and enlarged understanding of their importance. The past twenty years have indeed been of great significance in our work among young people. Over the details of that advance, which are fairly reviewed in the presented report, I will not waste my limited time, but content myself with marking some of the values of the newer methods which have impressed themselves on workers among young people.

First there is the worth of Fellowship, beginning with the chumminess and friendship encouraged in troop and brigade work, deepened and enriched perhaps through the study circle, ripened in the closer association of senior societies and junior membership of the church, and all pointing and leading up toward that fellowship in Christ which is of the very heart of true churchmanship.

Then there is the idea of Service. The test by which all group and recreational activities are to be tried in their efficacy in calling out responsibility, in exercising the faculties of initiative and self-government, and in cultivating service in some form or other. At every stage in our work among young people the ideal and habit of service are vital. We hold them in the most critical years by a task or a responsibility better than by anything else; and we prepare them for the hour when the church can commit to them a share of its work. If I may say so with respect, that ought to be done in some measure sooner than it often is. Something may be said for concentrating the work of the church in mature and experienced hands, but there are few churches that would not gain much by enlisting more generously the adventurous spirit of youth. In these past years of war our youth has shown that it was greatly capable of both leadership and sacrifice. If they were worthy to jeopardize their lives for us, they may rightly claim a fellow share in that spiritual warfare where courage and daring count as on

the battlefield. And if, so trusted, they swept us away from that tendency to play for safety which is the bane of our ecclesiasticism and the scorn of the world which watches only to neglect us, their very mistakes might be more profitable to the Kingdom of God than much of our uninspired dulness.

That may lead me on to say that we need still to make the contact between our schools and every branch of young people's work and the church closer than it is. Particularly is it necessary to bring our children into touch with the spiritual fellowship at an earlier age. The appeal of church membership may lose its hold if it is delayed too long, and the idea of junior and associate membership, with its own measure of responsibility, and its continued training in both the faith and practice of the gospel, is one that needs developing and extending.

Largely it is true that the church itself has never yet taken a statesman-like view or worked out on large lines a policy with regard to the spiritual education of its young people. The work has been allowed to grow in a haphazard, sporadic way. Various societies, organizations, groups, are gathered on the church premises, and the church has often done little more than give them an encouraging smile provoked by the comfortable feeling that something was being done. But of co-ordination to a single end, of any attempt to see that a common drive was working through the whole, there has been almost nothing. And the need of more sagacious, far-sighted judgment and statesmanlike prevision is urgent today.

We would like to see established in every church a council for young people's work, representative at once of the church and of all existing junior work, and gathering into itself men and women of expert educational knowledge, who should act as a sort of Board of Spiritual Education. Its aim should be, not only to co-ordinate what is already being done, to find the weak places and strengthen them, to keep the claims of the work before the church and see that they are generously met — not only this, but also to bring to it spiritual vision and outlook, to keep the great ends ever in view, to ensure that they shall never be forgotten, and to point every piece of machinery, each organization and all the workers, to the goal of our service, that full religious and spiritual education of our children from the earliest age at which we can begin to influence them until, in the fulness of discipleship, we can attach them to the church of Christ and enlist them in the service of the Kingdom of God.

But before I close I want to speak of something that is far more upon my heart. Much of the report prepared for these gatherings is necessarily concerned with organization and methods of work, because these have been the chief gains of the early years of this century. So far as that goes we are greatly in advance of our predecessors, but there is little evidence that we are accomplishing much more. It may be said justifiably that there has not yet been time to prove the value of our work. But I believe there is another reason, and that, that we are not yet facing the full problem. Our young people still slip away from us; are there not in most of our churches families of which the grandfather was a very pillar in the House of God, and the father a whole-hearted supporter, but whose sons are not there at all, or, if somewhere on the border, counting for practically nothing?

These losses are in many cases not stories of the prodigal. Of course there are tragedies enough to sadden the heart, but many do not wander into far countries, and waste their substance. They still live quietly in the next street or avenue. They work as hard as your even Christian; they go up and down in the city with you, and the outsider would not know which was the Christian and which was not. They become decent married folk, good fathers and mothers to their children, and they are not worse citizens than the rest of us. Their Sundays they spend in harmless games or visiting and resting among their friends. We meet them, clean, cheerful,

typical young folk, and the question we have to face is not, why they do not come to church, but why they should. What are we offering to them either in our message or our Christian example that has any compelling claim?

The earlier Biblical teaching that we gave our children may be an excellent foundation, but it needs building upon. We have to find some way of presenting the gospel of Jesus Christ as a religion of life, whose values grip the imagination and challenge the heroic impulses. It is good to strengthen our accessory bonds and ties, to make our institutional work both attractive and useful. These things ought we to do, but not to leave undone something far more important. We must hold our young people by the big things, or we do not hold them at all. We must grip them by the faith, or we have not got them in a firm grasp. We must master them by the grace and compulsion of Christ, by the potency of the gospel, by the challenge of the Cross, by the vision and interpretation of life through Jesus, or they will break away. We must show them that life with Christ at the heart of it has a glow, a meaning, a passion, an adventure both of thought and act in it that lifts religion far above the mawkish and unmanly, and makes it the biggest and bravest thing in all the world to be a Christian.

And that is what we are not doing. I was talking shortly before I left England to one of the secretaries of the Student Christian Movement, and he was telling me of a questionnaire sent to the Christian Unions in our schools and colleges, asking why so many students had nothing to do with them. The answers were almost invariably two — ignorance of what Christianity means and dislike of what they think it means. That after all is only a repetition of what Donald Hankey told us during the war, and of what fills troubling pages of Dr. Cairn's book, "The Army and Religion." Ignorance, misunderstanding, and dislike — they lie before us like a tragic charge.

We have to find a finer statement of the faith of our religion and its claim on youth. May I say first of all that we have to commit ourselves in teaching them to an honest modern view of the Bible itself? We have sacrificed the mind of youth too long to the kinder and scrupulous fear of hurting the feelings of an older generation of honored and devoted Sunday-school workers. That may sound hard, but I do not mean it hardly. I was under some such leaders as a boy and I love and revere their memory; but it is false reverence to let our respect for them put back the clock in religious education — and it has done so.

The Bible is still being taught in many places in a way that will not enable youth to stand for five minutes against the cheap but clever undermining scepticism of the daily world. Balaam's ass, Jonah's whale, Elisha's bears, and old man Samuel's ferocities, and some of the imprecatory psalms, under an unenlightened interpretation, are still doing mischievous work. And yet these are difficulties that yield easily to a noble, fearless exposition of the Book as scholarship has given it back into our hands today.

But that at the best is only negative. What we have positively to do is to put the great, compelling spell of Jesus Christ upon our young folk. It is not a matter first of all of giving Him the correct title, of honoring Him with an adequate theological definition — that can wait. What is of primary importance is that they should see Jesus, Saviour, Master, Teacher, Revealer of the Father, Lord of Life, and realize the living implications of what they see: that He is not simply to be trusted, but obeyed, to be followed as men follow a great adventure.

It is the bigness of Jesus Christ we need to bring to them, His power to interpret life and give it meaning, to grasp the imagination and quicken thought; His challenge to our civilization with its hard, dull materialism, its sordid pursuit of mammon and its vulgar display; His high spirit calling to an enterprise so large and daring that it may well provide that moral

equivalent for war and adventure for which Professor William James asked. We have to capture the mind of youth with the interest of Jesus, with the interest of what He lived and died, and lives to do.

You may say I speak a commonplace. I know I do. But is the *word* you may call a commonplace, a commonplace of our experience. I was addressing recently a devotional meeting of students in one of our secular training colleges, and afterwards one of the lecturers who had been present, a woman of mature years and wide educational attainment, said to me, "Of course I have always believed in Christ — He is part of one's religion — but I had never thought there was anything of enthralling interest in Him before."

At first that struck me with the shock of surprise, but I have wondered since what right I had to be surprised. For how much throbbing, vital, passionate interest in Jesus Christ is there in our churches today? For how many of us is faith in Him really filling life with the victory that overcomes the world?

Perhaps I ought not to speak for more than myself, certainly I will not dare to speak for more than the men of my own generation. But I ask them, has not our faith been but a feeble twilight? We have been too easy with ourselves and with our gospel. We have thought to serve the Kingdom of God without an agony, to evangelize the world without dying daily, to fulfil our ministry without some filling up of the suffering of Christ. We have been afraid of the Cross of Christ, not the Cross on which He suffered — it is easy to glorify that in song — but the Cross which He laid upon the shoulders of discipleship.

And with my heart turned toward the youth of today, I know that what I want to give to them is something that I am only struggling to recover for myself. It is faith, vision, passion, they need. The lads who have carried the gun and stormed the trenches and been out in no man's land — the tepid, toneless, flavorless quality of many of our gospels has nothing to say to them. The only one big enough to win them is that Man who carried the Cross. And we cannot show them what we are not seeing ourselves. Sometimes in these past years when lads I have loved came home wounded, I was conscious of a certain flinching as I met them, lest with those eyes that have known the reality of war, they should pierce me through and find something weak, small, inadequate in my service for Christ, that Greater Captain.

It is a very big measure that alone is strong enough for youth today; and if we are to find it, if we are to be able to show them a Christ who can win their hearts and match them with a greater hour, it will not be out of our achievement and success — the poor, meagre, compromised achievement of the bygone years — that we shall rediscover it. We shall find it only along the road of repentance and humiliation as out of the failure and half success of our poor living we seek again to recover for ourselves the vision and the mandate of Christ. We must lose ourselves afresh in Him if we are to win and nobly teach our children.

AMERICA'S PRESENT TASK

PRESIDENT HENRY CHURCHILL KING, LL.D.

Abstract of address given at the International Congregational Council on the evening of July 4th, 1920.

I am not one of those who minimize the significance of the military victory over Germany. But at the same time there is one question which it seems to me we cannot escape: As Christian men and women are we satisfied with the results of the war? Is there nothing which Christian

SIR ROBERT FALCONER, K.C.M.G.
Toronto, Ontario

REV. A. R. HENDERSON, D.D.
Wolverhampton, England

REV. JOHN WRIGHT BUCKHAM, D.D.
Berkeley, Cal.

REV. FRANCIS E. CLARK, LL.D.
Boston, Mass



people, believing in a Christian civilization, can do more completely to assure the fulfilment of the aims with which America entered into the war? For America is in more danger of failure now, in the tasks of peace, than in the task of war. We must see America's present task, therefore, in the light of the present perils and the present values.

The present *perils* are to be found in our well-nigh inevitable inheritance from the evils of war; in widespread selfish reaction, — individual, class, partisan, and national; and in the consequent disillusionment and depression.

We are to withstand these perils in the one indispensable way: by positive courageous unselfishness and faith. No one has perhaps put this entire situation more adequately than the editor of the *New Republic* (Dec. 21, 1918), in one of the most illuminating editorials of the war:

The starvation, the anarchy and the bankruptcy which are now threatening Europe may in the end frustrate and sterilize more human lives, arouse more enduring hatreds, work results more menacing to the future of civilization than war itself. Although the fighting is over there is no peace in the world, little confidence in one another or in the future, little common understanding and good-will.

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Christians who have lifted the veil and looked into the face of Christ must believe that the imitation of Christ is precisely and entirely what the Christian peoples need to deliver them from the bondage of their bankrupt social economy, from the least tolerable of their present sufferings and from the dread of impending calamity.

But cynicism is never Christian, and there are great outstanding present values as well as perils. And every one of these values is a challenge to the American people today: the rare idealism with which America came into the war; the deepening conviction through the war of the supremacy of the intangible values; such far-reaching cooperation and companionship in a great unselfish cause as the world had never before seen; and a fresh demonstration on an unexampled scale of the capacity of men for sacrifice; and all this calling out a new faith in common men, which "proves the case for democracy."

Every one of these great values is a high racial achievement and a possible Christian asset. America's present task consists, therefore, above all, in preserving these values, and carrying them on to complete fulfilment.

URGENT ASPECTS OF THE WORLD TASK

REV. R. F. HORTON, D.D.

There is a new monument in London. It stands just opposite the National Portrait Gallery, modestly withdrawn behind the column which commemorates Trafalgar. For a hundred years and more that column of Nelson has stirred the hearts of Englishmen, and nerved them for their tasks by recalling Nelson's words: "England expects every man to do his duty." The new monument is to the memory of Edith Cavell, and though the words are not graven on the stone, no one can ever look upon that white statue without remembering her last words: "I have learnt that Patriotism is not enough." The woman supplements the man, the nurse the soldier, the twentieth century the nineteenth. As Nelson's message has rung through the last century, this new message must ring through

the future. England must not forget, the world must not forget, the noblest lesson of the war, learnt in fortitude and sacrifice: "Patriotism is not enough." No! love of country is not enough, only the love of mankind, only the love of all the world, as God loved all the world, as Christ died for all mankind, only this is enough.

In 1910 the Edinburgh Missionary Conference marked a new era in the progress of Christianity. In it we were told, especially by Dr. Mott, the Chairman, that the opportunity was unique and in the coming years it must be either seized or lost forever. The ten years have passed, and we cannot help asking anxiously — was that solemn warning right? Was the opportunity presented by the world unique. If lost, was it irrecoverable? Has the opportunity gone?

In 1912 I had the advantage of following Dr. Mott through India in the work of the Continuation Committee. I saw the principles and suggestions of the Edinburgh Conference carried in detail through the mission field by a master spirit. I saw what an effect was produced in organizing the work, and in unifying the workers. Though I could not follow them, Dr. Mott and Mr. Sherwood Eddy went on to China, applying the spirit and the ideas of Edinburgh to that, the largest of all mission fields.

At the end of 1913 I was privileged to attend the Student Conference in Kansas City; there 5,000 students were gathered from all over the world, and 1,800 of them were pledged to the mission field. Led by Dr. Mott, Dr. Speer, and Sherwood Eddy, these vast forces were being organized and trained for the world campaign. The map over the platform showed the lines going out from Kansas City into all the earth. The power of God seemed to be in the Assembly, and I came home from America with the conviction that God was making the United States the mandatory of the world's missionary enterprise. The Edinburgh Conference was, in its primal thought and impulse, American, and this new world was to redress the balance of the old by carrying Christ's gospel to all mankind.

Then came the awful calamity of the war. Those whose whole heart was in the work which the Edinburgh Conference had started were dismayed. Was the bright dream to vanish in hate and bloodshed? The thought, the energy, the money, needed for the enterprise, were squandered in the struggle. The men who should have been the emissaries of a gospel were laid cold and dead in Flanders, Salonica, Mesopotamia or lost in the "vast and wandering deep."

But God worked a miracle. Presently we found that the war was not stopping the onward movement of the Kingdom of God. The contributions to the Missionary Societies rose, and reached unprecedented heights. God's resources were unveiled; we were trained to see how in times of financial stress the means for Christ's work could be found — would be found, even in the straitness and bewilderment of depreciated coinage and adverse exchanges. We saw in a new light the great truth: "The silver and the gold are mine."

And notwithstanding the withdrawal of missionaries, and the absorption of thought in the war, the work everywhere strangely advanced. Mr. Eddy reached 80,000 Chinese students with the message of the gospel during the war. The United Church of South India drew together and carried forward a great mission during the war. The old Syrian Church, which had been for centuries dead, and useless for the evangelization of India, awoke during the war. In a great assembly numbering 30,000 the spirit of God fell upon them all; they began to speak with one another about their spiritual needs, and they passed out to evangelize and to win their non-Christian neighbors. All this mighty movement, together with mass movements in Hyderabad, the Central provinces, and the northwest, went on during the war.

One other illustration of God's ways should be remembered. The French

had undertaken the government of Madagascar: and one of the first governors, Gallieni, was animated by a bitter hostility to the work of the missionaries in the island; and by a vigorous persecution he succeeded in closing schools and churches and frightening the weak to desert the faith. But Malagasy troops were brought to France to fight for the French, and they made a remarkable impression by their piety, their worship, their hymns. The French, sceptical and largely antagonistic to Christianity, saw with amazement these swarthy warriors from the African seas, devout Christians. And Gallieni, recalled from Madagascar, died during the war, a Christian, converted by the piety of those whom he had persecuted, adopting the faith which he sought to destroy.

There is not time to go into further detail; but so far as we can see, the missionary course advanced steadily and surprisingly during the war. God carried on His work. The Edinburgh Conference was not frustrated. Like a river which runs underground for a time and comes up again into the light, it will emerge in undiminished force, to pursue its triumphant way. It seems even as if that Conference was God's method of providing against the disaster and disturbance of the war. This was the Ark which was to ride in safety the surges of the Deluge, preserving the holy seed.

And now we trust that in the great movement which has arisen among you in America, to train the churches by study circles, by intercession, by tithing, by the call for volunteers, we have the beginning of a world-wide effort, now at last to give Christ's Gospel to all mankind.

The financial difficulties are great. Men wearied with the war are not for the moment inclined to undertake the great enterprise. But we, who represent the London Missionary Society and the American Board, we, the Congregationalists of the world, who are intrinsically and essentially missionary, are called upon to exercise that Faith by which the work can be attempted and done.

Faith is the affirmation and the act
Which bids eternal truth be present Fact.

And as this International Council comes now to its close, this world-wide significance of our meetings opens to view. This was the purpose that drew the Pilgrims to this continent; it was their avowed object to carry Christ's Gospel to the new world. For this purpose Plymouth Rock was made the corner-stone of a nation, that the nation might be the corner-stone of the world. The significance of America and its planting come into view, as we grasp the intention of our Congregationalism. May I say, therefore, how thankful I am that our last meeting should be held not in Mechanics Hall, but in this historic building, which is rich with holy associations from the past, and, therefore, fruitful with suggestions for our task. Day after day I have drawn delight and inspiration from these windows, which have for us tempered and interpreted the light of heaven. Over my head is the Babe in the manger; heaven is linked to earth by the angels chanting their hymn of peace and good-will. There to my right are the prophets leading up to the coming of the World's Saviour. On my left are the parables of the Kingdom; and again on my right are the "signs and wonders" by which the Master accredited and illustrated His mission. There He says to the stormy waters: "Peace, be still." There he bids the dead damsel arise. There He calls to life the widow's son. There He bids Lazarus come forth. And finally He issues Himself from the tomb, to return to the heaven from which He came. One thing alone is missing — the Cross. But His living commission is burned in upon our conscience, as for these last moments we linger here. And by His grace we are endued with power for what remains to be done. He bids us again go out into all the world and make disciples of all the nations, but He arms

us for the enterprise with His promise: "Lo, I am with you always even unto the end of the World."

Did those hundred Pilgrims come to this continent with a missionary intent three hundred years ago? Let us, the New Pilgrims, three thousand strong, return to rouse the churches, and to ordain the messengers to evangelize the world. Let the Congregational churches, the world over, become one united force of Pilgrim Missionaries.

The Council closes like a ship that has reached her haven, but not to stay there. Tomorrow the ship will fare forth to a new venture, bent on compassing the whole world for Christ. The Council has failed if it has only brought the churches together for their own comfort and edification. Its success will be known and measured by the Apostolic forces which issue from it. Not in vain shall we have celebrated the coming of the Pilgrims to the continent, if we can send out the Pilgrims to carry Christ to the world, and to bring all men to Christ.

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS AND OUR MORAL OBLIGATION TO FEED THE STARVING

MISS JANE ADDAMS

As a preliminary to my subject may I give this audience a hasty review of my impressions concerning the starving children of Europe which I received less than a year ago, when my friend, Dr. Alice Hamilton, and myself made some investigations for the Quakers, who in cooperation with Mr. Hoover were feeding children in various war-worn nations? Not that our experiences differed from those of thousands of other Americans who were bent upon errands of succor and relief, but because our impressions were so vivid and compelling that we cannot relinquish the hope that more adequate help will come from the United States, and also because we came firmly to believe that only by governmental loans on an adequate scale with a widespread participation of willing citizens could we as a nation fulfill our moral obligation to feed the starving multitudes in central and eastern Europe and in the Far East.

Moreover, I have gradually become convinced that unless the League of Nations is captured by the friends of mankind, by those who shall insist that it direct and canalize a widespread and overwhelming impulse to feed "the hungry," that it will become one more of those abortive efforts "to end war" which fail because they have nothing tangible and human upon which to focus scattered moral energies, and no popular drive with which to make effective moral ideas upon a more extended scale than that to which the time has become accustomed.

Our first view of starved children was in the city of Lille, one of the cities in northern France which, as you remember, was occupied by the Germans throughout the entire period of the War. We went to see the school children who were being examined for tuberculosis. We had already been told that 40 per cent of the children of school age in Lille had open tuberculosis and that the remaining 60 per cent were practically all suspects. As we entered the door of a large schoolroom, we saw at the other end of the room a row of little boys, from six to ten years of age, passing slowly in front of the examining physician. The children were stripped to the waist, and our first impression was a line of moving skeletons; their little shoulder-blades stuck straight out, the vertebræ were all perfectly distinct, as were their ribs, and their arms, of which the bones alone were visible, hung limply by their sides. To add to the gruesome effect not a sound was to be heard, for the French physician had lost his voice as a result of shell-shock during the very first bombardment of Lille. He, therefore,

whispered his instructions to the children as he applied his stethoscope, and the children thinking that it was some sort of a game, all whispered back to him. It was incredibly pathetic and unreal, and we could but share the doctor's grave statement that only by a system of careful super-feeding could any of these boys grow into normal men.

Our next view of starved children was in Switzerland; throughout the war the Swiss continually fed the children of their warring neighbors. Thousands of French children "back of the German lines," who were repatriated at Evian, passed through Switzerland, where they were often retained for weeks to be nursed and fed; many undernourished Italian children were also tenderly cared for; but after the armistice, when more food became available for the Allied nations but even less for the Central Powers, the Swiss invited many Austrian and German children to be their guests in private households. We saw 600 Viennese children arriving in Zurich. As they stood upon the station platform without any of the bustle and chatter naturally associated with a large group of children, we had again that painful impression of listlessness and of moral illness: we saw the winged shoulder-blades standing out through their meagre clothing, the little thin legs, upon which they could scarcely support themselves. The committee of Swiss women were offering them cakes and chocolates, telling them of the children "at home" who were waiting for them; but there was little response, because there was no vitality with which to make it.

We were in Switzerland when General Smuts was returning from his mission to Hungary and Austria, and one story which he told illustrates most vividly the utter demoralization of children subjected for months to such abnormal conditions. A young officer on General Smuts' military staff walking one morning on the streets of Vienna, seeing some children who looked particularly starved, gave them some food which he happened to have in his pocket. Immediately the children came running from every direction, until there were about two hundred of them; they threw him down, tore his uniform into shreds and bits in the effort to extract more food from his pockets, and so badly mauled him that when he was finally rescued he had to go to a hospital for a week's repairs. Of course the young officer could have defended himself at first, but he did not want to hurt sick and starving children; and while he parried with the situation these little creatures, who had lost all the restraints and inhibitions of civilization, reduced to the sheer instinct of self-preservation, attacked him as any other starving animals would have done.

There are many such aspects of long-continued starvation. We were told by probation officers and charity workers, of starved children who stole the family furniture and clothing, books and kitchen utensils, in order to sell them for food, who pulled unripe potatoes and turnips from the fields for miles surrounding the cities, to keep themselves alive. The judges winced under the necessity of filling the under-fed juvenile prisons with any more of these hard-driven little creatures.

I recall a public playground in Leipzig in which several hundred children were having a noonday meal consisting of a pint for each of "war soup," which meant a pint of hot water into which had been stirred war meal, the latter, as always, made of a foundation of rye or wheat flour to which had been added ground vegetables or sawdust in order to increase its bulk. The children would have nothing more until supper-time, for which many of the mothers had saved the entire daily ration of bread, because, as they sometimes told us, they hoped thus to avert the hardest thing they had to bear, which was hearing the children whimper and moan for hours after they were put to bed, because they were too hungry to go to sleep.

These Leipzig children were quite as listless as all the others we had seen; when the playground director announced prizes for the best gardens and

several other matters, they were utterly indifferent, only when he said he hoped by day after tomorrow to give them milk in their soup did they break out into the most ridiculous feeble little cheer ever heard. The city physician who was with us challenged the playground director as to his ability to obtain the milk, to which the director replied that he was not sure that he could, but that there was a prospect for it, and that the children must have something to hope for, that that was the prerogative of the young. With this uncertain hope we left them to visit day nurseries, child welfare stations, schools and orphanages, where the mid-day meal was practically the same war soup.

We in America are slow to realize that the European food situation has been growing increasingly worse, and, unless some far-reaching program is supported by the United States, may reach an even more desperate pass in 1921. Mr. Hoover has recently declared that, owing to diminished food production in Europe, approximately 100,000,000 Europeans are now dependent upon imported food. Sir George Paish, the British economist, put the fact more startlingly when he said that 100,000,000 persons in Europe were facing starvation.

All this is made much worse by the rapid decline in the value of European money in America and in other food markets of the world. In Austria, the crown, valued at about twenty cents in American money before the war, has shrunk to less than one cent. Starvation is now actuality in Vienna; little children are dying for want of milk; the sick, aged, and weak are succumbing; the whole population is wasting away. There is appalling misery in the broad belt lying between the Baltic and the Black Sea, to say nothing of Russia to the east and Armenia to the south. Armenia, of course, suffers beyond belief. The presence on this platform of Dr. Barton, the chairman of the Relief Commission for the Near East, recalls a story I heard in his presence only a few months ago, when one of the returned workers was reporting upon his work in Syria. He said that all through his district they had grown accustomed to seeing the children crack open every bone they found in order to extract the marrow, but that one day when he saw a little girl pounding with a stone a peculiar looking bone, he asked her where she found it; the child instantly replied, "In the graveyard, everybody knows that is the very best place to find bones!"

And yet, according to a report made recently to the League of Red Societies, a well-informed observer wrote: "There was found everywhere never-ending vicious circles of political paradox and economic complication, with consequent paralysis of national life and industry." Does this diagnosis give a clue to the situation? Must the League of Nations abandon its political treatment of war-worn Europe and consider the starving children as its own concrete problem? Would not the Church naturally take the lead in this world-wide effort to feed the hungry? If the Church gallantly accepts the challenge, we might find the United States arising to its obligation and the world gradually returning to its normal swing.

In other countries, a few people are at least beginning to feed the children of their former enemies. We hear from England of 500 German children landed at Folkstone only two weeks ago to become the guests of hospitable people there, and that Italians are entertaining the children of their traditional enemy, the Austrians. Without this return to normal, kindly and humane relationships, it is hard to predict what lies ahead of a distracted and starving world.

As the revolutionists have learned from the war the ready use of arms in pressing their claims, is it not possible that the governments from their war experiences in the increased production and distribution of foods, may also have learned first what the great underlying demand of the oppressed actually is, and secondly to use the training of war to meet it reasonably and quickly?

In face of the widespread famine which was doubly the result of war, first of its devastation and destruction, and secondly of the withdrawal of millions of men from productive labor, the actual demand for food, the rising challenge of those political and social institutions which prevented its adequate production and distribution, became inevitable. If this demand could be recognized and acknowledged as in a great measure valid, what a much needed change in the world's affairs might take place, not as it now threatens to occur under the leadership of men driven desperate by hunger, but with the help of men who are trained in the daily processes of world-wide commerce; men working whole-heartedly to meet adequately and scientifically a world obligation but newly formulated on an international scale, although long recognized in piecemeal fashion. The great danger ahead of the League of Nations is that its first work will have to be the guaranteeing of a purely political peace involved in all the old entanglements and depending upon the old political motives. Whereas, if from the very first it could perform an act of faith which marked it at once as the instrument of a new era, if it evinced the daring to meet new demands which could be met in no other way, then, and then only, would it become the necessary instrumentality to carry on the enlarged life of the world and would be recognized as indispensable.

Not only the world itself but the minds which appraise it have been profoundly modified by the war, and an institution to survive must not only be adapted to human nature but must take into consideration the human mood of the moment.

Doubtless there would be a great sense of relief as the result of dropping the 18th century phrases in which diplomatic intercourse seems to be conducted for plain economic terms fitted to the matter in hand. Such a course might make it easier to discuss credit for reconstruction purposes, the need of an internationally guaranteed loan, the function of a recognized international Economic Council for the control of foodstuffs and raw material, the world-wide fuel shortage, the effect of malnutrition on powers of production, the irreparable results of "hunger oedema," even the 12,000,000 Germans whom it is estimated must emigrate if the rest are to survive.

Some brave spirit might even point out that it is useless to hold an International Labor Congress in order to raise the standard of life and wages throughout the world, if famine continues to steadily depress that standard throughout the great manufacturing regions of Europe.

Certainly such a situation presents material for a statesmanship which is genuine and straightforward, and absolutely essential to the feeding of Europe's hungry children.

If such an atmosphere of discussion and fiery knowledge of current conditions as revealed by war were once established, the promoters of the League might at last feel "the zeal, the tingle, the excitement of reality," or quoting James, further come to realize that "whenever a process of life communicates an eagerness to him who lives it, there the life becomes genuinely significant." Is it this significance which at present the League so sadly lacks?

It is assumed that the rights of the League are anterior to and independent of its functioning. We are all forgetting that men are instinctively wary in accepting at their face value high-sounding claims which cannot justify themselves by achievement, and that, in the long run, "authority must go with function."

Why does the League refuse to become the instrument of a new order and insist upon turning over all the difficult problems, resulting at least in their present acute form from a world war, to those who must advocate revolution in order to obtain the satisfaction of acknowledged human needs?

May the time have now come to satisfy these cravings, at least to make certain that all men shall be insured against death by starvation, to follow not only the religious command but a primitive instinct to feed the hungry upon an international scale? Why should this great human experiment be turned over solely to those who must appeal to the desperate need of the hungry to feed themselves? May not this demand in its various aspects afford a great controlling motive in the world at the present moment, as political democracy, as religious freedom has moved the world at other times?

Should the United States lead in a generous response to this overwhelming demand a much-needed result would accrue to ourselves. Our sympathy and aid given to kinsmen in the old world would serve to strengthen the bonds between us and the foreigners now living on our shores. Here at last is the chance for us to restore the word alien to a righteous use and end its service as a term of reproach. There are many Poles in this country who have had no word from their relatives in eastern Poland since its invasion by the Grand Duke Nicholas in the first year of the war. The Russians are even in a worse plight, many of them receiving the largest wages of a lifetime, yet unable to send home money to their starving parents, to their wives and children left behind in the old country until they could be sent for.

It would be simple to cooperate with the Polish relief fund, with its headquarters in Buffalo and its treasurer an American banker, and the result might well be a new sense of fellowship between them and their so-called American neighbors to whom they now feel so remote. To ignore the natural anxiety of the Russians and to fail to understand their inevitable resentment against an unauthorized blockade, to account for their "restlessness," which any of us would feel under like conditions, by all sorts of fantastic explanations, is to ignore a human situation which is full of possibilities for a fuller fellowship and understanding of our neighbors. To be concerned and sympathetic with our sorely-tried immigrant population might lay the foundations of a genuine internationalism which is sorely needed before the League of Nations can become an actuality.

Much has been said during the war about primitive emotion and instinctive action, but certainly their use need not be reserved to purpose of destruction. After all, the first friendly communication between tribe and tribe came through the need of food when one or the other was starving and too weak to fight, primitive human pity made the foot way which afterward developed into political relationships.

Why not open the gates and let these primitive emotions flood our devastated world? By all means let the beneficent tide be directed and canalized by the League of Nations, which is, after all, the outgrowth of century-old dreams. The great stumbling-block always in the way of its earlier realization and the crux of its actual survival now is the difficulty in interpreting it to the understanding of the common man, grounding it in his affections, appealing to his love for humankind.

To such men, who, after all, compose the bulk of the citizens in every nation participating in the League, the abstract politics of it make little appeal, although they would gladly contribute their utmost to feed the starving, as the two and a half million French trades unionists regularly tax themselves for the children of Austria, or as the British Labor Party insists that the British foreign policy shall rest "upon the humane basis, really caring for all mankind, including colored men, women and children"; or as the American Federation of Labor declares its readiness to "give a mighty service in a common effort for all humankind."

Millions of earth's humblest toilers, whose lives are consumed in securing the daily needs of existence for themselves and their families, go stumbling towards the light of better international relations largely because

"Man is constantly seeking a new and finer adjustment between his inner emotional demands and the practical arrangements of the world in which he lives."

The advocates of the League complain that it is difficult to exhort their cause to "the people" when it is precisely the people who are most ready for an act of faith, to whom it seems most natural to feed the hungry. It may take years to popularize the principles of the League, but citizens of the Christian nations have already received much religious instruction. "To do the will" on an international scale might result in that world-wide religious revival which the war, in spite of many predictions, has as yet failed to bring.

THE HEALING OF THE NATIONS

REV. JAMES L. BARTON, D.D.

At the close of the address of Miss Jane Addams, delivered in Mechanics Hall on Monday night of the International Council, Moderator James L. Barton was called upon from the floor to speak in the place of Dr. Cadman, who was prevented by an accident from taking his place on the program. Moderator Barton spoke as follows:

"Miss Addams has deeply moved our hearts by her thrilling story of the awful suffering of the children of middle Europe as personally witnessed by her. We were all especially touched by her vivid picture of the moans and cries for help from the starving and dying multitudes. It was my sad and yet joyous lot last year to move among great groups of children in a similar need in the Near East that lies beyond the Bosphorus, and that stretches across Asia Minor and Armenia into Mesopotamia and to the Caspian Sea.

There were times in the performance of my duties when a moan or a groan or a wild appeal for bread would have been real relief. The children in the Near East for some reason choose to suffer and die in silence. We looked upon their almost fleshless skeletons and saw their leather-colored and drawn features and scourged-covered bodies, while the gaze of their hopeful, soul-penetrating eyes followed our every movement, but always in absolute silence. A cry would have brought to us all a partial release from the depressing silence of starvation, despair and death.

The tens of thousands of these rescued remnants of Turkish atrocities and massacre exist today, stretching across the lands so supremely sacred to the Christian world, whose only source of help is the generosity of the Christians of the West, and the heroic service of the American men and women who are there tonight standing between these wards of Christendom and death.

These conditions presented here tonight, and which are not sporadic cases of distress, are symptomatic of the disturbed state of society everywhere, and especially in the East, because there is no force to organize and direct, and of the West which permits these conditions to persist. It is evident that the foundation and buttresses of ordered life are at the present time either shaken or actually shattered. All grades and classes of society are either repudiating or challenging authorities. The ideas of all races east and west are in a state of upheaval, wide in range, deep in absorbing power, revolutionary in character. The old order in society, in education, in government and in religion is challenged. These are conditions which are tacitly recognized all over the world, as witness the universal spirit of unrest in all departments of human life.

The untoward conditions of Europe and of the Near East are but one phase of these disruptions. It is for us to discover and apply the healing remedy. We rightly assume that this is to be found in the applied princi-

ples of our holy religion. In our application and conception of Christianity we have been intensely individualistic. We have seemed to forget that God dealt with nations in the Old Testament times and was regarded as a national deity. The theology of the schools, our houses of worship, religious instruction had, until very recently, as their chief if not their sole aim the reaching of the individual. It is only in comparatively recent times that the Church has begun to look upon Jesus Christ as the regenerator of a social order as well as the Saviour of men. We are now witnessing a marked advance in the social conception of Christianity. We are endeavoring to restore moral values after a period of depreciation, and to make intangible worth current in social life. Many of the addresses in this Conference have glowed with a message to the social and economic life of the day clamoring for an adequate Christian solution and expression, with a full recognition that the only solvent is Christ.

World conditions today demand a new stage in the application of Christian truth, namely, the Christianization of the State and the reorganization of national and international relations upon a Christian basis.

We seem to be agreed that the unstable equilibrium of national and international relations calls for a remedy. Wherein shall that remedy be found? Surely not in education, for education alone without a moral and religious balance aiming at the creation of moral character will, in itself, become a weapon in the hands of evil men. Witness the fact that Germany was the best educated nation on earth, but without moral safeguards.

International interdependence will not save the world from disaster. Never was there a time when international interdependence was so outstanding as in 1914, and yet it did not prevent the greatest war of history.

The balance of military or naval power is not a safeguard upon which reliance can be placed. This power can be quickly shifted and readjusted, and that which is today a safeguard for the protection of the world may be tomorrow the instrument for destruction. International diplomacy, intercommunications and other forms of commercial and social interrelations, while helpful in themselves, have not proven adequate to hold in check the forces of evil that would destroy. We are driven back to the one sweeping conclusion that the religion of Jesus Christ and the principles that He and His disciples laid down for the government of the individual and of society are the only principles that can make the national life of the world safe. If this conclusion is true, as we are forced to believe and declare, the responsibility for bringing to bear upon the nations, whether as individual entities or as parts of the great national world life, the power of the saving truths of our Christian religion must rest with the Church of Jesus Christ.

What warrant has the Church for interesting itself in these broader fields of internationalism? Without referring to the Old Testament ideas that God is the God of nations, let us glance at the New Testament teachings as related to national life. It has for three centuries been said that new light is yet to break forth out of the word of God. Are we not learning and must we not learn more and more that the teachings of the New Testament which have hitherto been interpreted as applicable only to the individual are equally true when applied to the nations? Have we not been too narrow in our interpretation of the commands and the principles as laid down by Christ and His apostles and failed to catch the wide vision and the broader conception of Christian nations and a Christian world? Take the Beatitudes and read them with the thought of applying them to the nations and see how wonderfully they fit. What shall a nation profit if its aim is to save its own life and by so doing loses its national soul? What shall it profit a nation if it win the whole world and lose its moral character? The song of the Psalmist declaring blessedness upon the man that walketh not in the counsel of the ungodly is equally applicable from

first to last to the nation. St. Paul's demonstration of the interdependence of the various members of one body, read with a broader vision of the inter-relationship of nations, reveals a mighty conception of the possibility of a Christianized world: "For the body (politic) is not one member, but many." And then the writer goes on to describe how the body itself is dependent upon each individual member, referring back to the great God as the one who has set the members each one of them in the body as it pleased Him, and he demonstrates that there must be different members with different capabilities, different offices rendering a separate and a different service, many members but one body. No part of the body can say to any member that it is not needed; but God tempered the body together that it might be one and undivided, although made up of many members. And then the apostle enunciated the great fundamental ideal! "When one member suffers, all the members suffer with it, or when one member is honored, all the members rejoice with it." I believe we not only have a right to place this interpretation upon this marvelous passage in the Epistle of Paul to the Corinthians, but that we have no right to stop in our interpretation until we have carried it to the outmost bounds of the world and applied it to the great sisterhood of nations of which every nation and kindred and tongue and people are members. The body cannot be complete so long as the feeblest member is in a state of distress or disorder.

At once we hear the objection that this is confusing the work of the Church with national politics: If the bringing to the attention of those who bear responsibility in the administration of national affairs the fact that the office they fill is a sacred trust that comes to them from the God of nations, if the endeavor to impress upon legislators that the laws of the nation must be laws that secure justice for all and are righteous in their application, then God grant that the Church may go into politics with all the force at its command and remain there until the laws of the nation shall be in harmony with the laws of God. Timid souls will feel that there may be danger in the Church or the institutions of the Church in thus taking a hand in international affairs.

"Who dares not hoist the sail till all agree
That danger's dead will never put to sea."

The Pilgrim Fathers, in the face of dangers that would have daunted weaker souls, dared and achieved, and today the world honors their manly courage and Christian fortitude. Have we, their descendants, lost that spirit which made them mighty factors for human freedom and for government by law?

The practical point calling for immediate attention of the members of the Council, as well as members of sister churches throughout the world, is the League of Nations. I am not advocating any particular League or any special form of this League, but the only League we know at this time is the most comprehensive and promises the largest results of any that has ever been devised and brought to the attention of the world. The underlying principle is that of one body of nations assembling in a mighty international brotherhood for enthroning a new moral order for world happiness and peace. It is an attempt to substitute reason, character and mutual confidence for armament and international jealousy and strife. It is immaterial whether there shall be embodied in that League a provision for physical coercion; it is immaterial whether the League shall pass any legislation even in a decade. But it is of commanding importance that the representatives of the nations of the world should assemble in an orderly gathering and, facing each other, discuss together the great questions which belong to the national life of the world upon the basis of their common brotherhood in one great, common, international body. Under such discussion in a gathering made up in part at least of Christian men, prejudice,

traditional hatreds, unholy and unworthy national ambitions would gradually give way; and, step by step, international relations would inevitably move out from the bog of mutual suspicions into the great, clear atmosphere of freedom, fellowship and brotherhood.

If the American Congress in the action it takes on these great international questions does not represent the moral and religious sentiment of the people of this country, it is because the Church and those who profess to be followers of our Lord Jesus Christ have failed in the exercise of their responsibilities. If the Parliament of Great Britain and the responsible assemblies of other nations fail to recognize moral obligations in their national practices and in their international relations, it will be because the Christian people of these countries have failed as ambassadors of Jesus Christ to deliver the message of their Master.

The Congregational body is probably the best able to exercise these national functions of almost any other Communion. Each church, each association or conference or national ecclesiastical organization is free to express itself without restraint of denominational tradition or of ecclesiastical order. This Council, representing as it does Congregationalism extending throughout the world, is in the position to assume a leadership in this direction which is denied other Communions. We, by our history and our traditions and practices, believe that the corner-stones, both of the Church and the State, are law and order on one side and liberty and brotherhood on the other. Its charter is one Master, Jesus Christ, universal human brotherhood, the autocracy of law and the democracy of freedom and fellowship. Our traditions, our profession, our ideals are all at our disposal for achieving this, the final great aim of bringing the world as a sisterhood of nations to the foot of the Cross.

An Arab proverb says, "There are four things which come not back, the sped arrow, the spoken word, the past life, and a neglected opportunity." The opportunity is here today. It demands the devotion, the effort, even the supreme sacrifice of the men of our generation who believe in universal Christianization. Millions in eastern Europe are starving; crucified Armenia, crushed and bleeding, is facing annihilation; war stalks through the Near East like a gaunt skeleton. This blood-stained, sin-cursed world is waiting for the Christian forces to mobilize and bring to bear upon national and international affairs the full strength and force of the eternal truths of the nation-saving, world-redeeming gospel of the God of peace."

THE BROAD HORIZON OF THE MISSIONARY ENTERPRISE

REV. CHARLES E. JEFFERSON, D.D.

That is the way the Committee wrote my subject, but I should like to drop out the word missionary. Words sometimes handicap us by their associations due to the specialized uses to which they have been put. Like flowing garments they fold themselves round us, impeding our movements when we want to run. They are a still greater embarrassment when we desire to fly. This morning I want to fly. I wish to soar over technicalities and mechanisms of every sort, over the tops of nations and races, denominations and societies, over all the complications and entanglements and embarrassments of work at home and abroad, over the interesting piles of statistics and the mountainous masses of tabulated facts, far above all programs and specific recommendations, even above the heads of the intrepid heroes and heroines, who by pains and prayers have, under many suns, pushed forward the frontier of the kingdom of light and love. I wish I could carry you high enough to see the world as one vast plain and one boundless reach of sky. Oh, if we could see the world-work of the church in

its length and breadth and height as those dimensions are burned on the eyes of Christ! Of course we cannot see it as he sees it, but we ought always to wish we could. And now and then we ought to make a strenuous effort to rise above the details and confusions and infelicities of the whole colossal business, in order to cleanse our eyes and purge our hearts by gazing, if only for a moment, upon the shining purpose which lies deep in the heart of God.

Let us lay aside, then, for a few moments the word missionary. It is a Latin word with a noble history, but it carries suggestions which narrow somewhat the spacious field over which I wish our minds to roam. A missionary as we all know is an Apostle, and an Apostle is one who is sent. "Missionary" is Latin — "Apostle" is Greek, "one sent" is English. A good definition of a Christian is a man who is sent. Every Christian is a missionary. Every Christian is an Apostle. Every Christian is one who is sent. By whom? By Jesus Christ, the Son of God! How? As the Son of God was sent. "As the Father hath sent me, even so send I you." So runs the thrilling and unforgettable commission. The enterprise to which we are committed is none other than that which belongs to the Son of God himself. Our work is his work. His work is to bring a lost world back to God, not a fragment of it or a chip of it or a splinter of it, but the whole of it back to God. His work is to change the heart of an entire race. The human heart is deceitful above all things and desperately wicked. Out of the heart proceed evil thoughts, murders, adulteries, fornications, thefts, false witness, railings. And out of the heart must be brought love and joy and peace, long-suffering and kindness and goodness, faithfulness and meekness and self-control. This is the mission of the men whom Christ has sent. His work is to get the mind of God into the mind of mankind, to build the will of God into the common life of all nations, to build on this earth a civilization which will be a city of God, founded upon principles which flash like gems, its streets flooded with a light none other than the light of heaven. This is the mission of the men who have been sent.

Our faith is sometimes feebler and our hope is thinner because we do not see our work steadily nor do we see it whole. It is narrow views which discourage us, it is petty tasks which wear us out. Religion would mean more to some of us if we only saw it large. John fell at the feet of Christ as one dead because he saw Christ large. Paul had boundless confidence in the future of the church because he saw it large. It is only when a man takes his stand at the center of a vast circle that he is able to carry heavy burdens, unwearied, till the sun goes down.

This enterprise of which we are thinking has a tendency to slip down and become lost in an ocean of multitudinous details. We become engrossed in our concern for the machinery, or we are shamefaced over our blunders and failures. There are so many different matters to be planned for, that the glorious vision fades from our eyes, and we become anxious and troubled about many things. It is well now and then to sit down before our work and just gaze at it, to allow the mind to rest on it, to press the heart up close against it, to let the imagination play around it, to take in the vast range of its possibilities, the immeasurable sweep of its influences, the majesty of it and the glory of it, remembering all the time that this is the work to which we have been called. For this work were we born, and to do this work we came into the world. There is no thought which is more heartening through the toilsome and testing years than the thought that we are collaborators with God.

Christianity carries the world in its eye. That is because it carries the human race in its heart. It is the heart which gives reach and range to the eye. The eye never sees further than the heart loves. It is because Christianity carries in its bosom a heart of love that its eyes reach to the end of the world.

Christianity holds all humanity in its arms. That is because Christianity is the expression of God's nature. "God so loved the world, that he gave his only begotten son," and the son so loved the world that he died upon the cross, and the men whom he has sent must also love the world, that they too will be willing to give their lives a ransom for many. Paul did not shrink from saying that he filled up by his sufferings for the sake of the church that which was lacking of the afflictions of Christ. Christ tasted death for every man, and so must the men who are sent. A religion that lays its hand on only a part of the race could never be accepted as the final and perfect religion.

The church is the servant of Christ, and whatsoever the Master says, the church must do. This is what he says: "Go ye into all the world and preach the gospel to the whole creation." "Go ye and make disciples of all the nations, baptizing them into the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I commanded you." "Ye shall be my witnesses both in Jerusalem and in all Judea and Samaria, and unto the uttermost part of the earth." That is what the church heard at the beginning. That is what it will hear to the last syllable of recorded time. He that hath ears to hear let him hear what the Spirit is saying today to the churches: "Go ye into all the world. Make disciples of all the nations."

It is not a strange thing that we Christians should have a world-wide vision or be committed to a world-embracing program. Why should it be wondered at that Christians should have an international mind? The human mind is normally an international mind. It takes in everything in sight. The Christian mind is distinguished from other minds only in that it is more intensely and richly human. The God of the universe — so our religion affirms — is human. Our God is a human God. The nature of the Deity is human nature, and human nature is the nature of the Eternal. Man is made in the image of God. Otherwise there could be no incarnation of the Son of God. It is because God and man are akin that God can be manifest in the flesh. The human mind possesses then the traits and instincts and potencies of the mind of its creator. It is energetically alive, unceasingly active. It cannot be locked up, or hedged in, or placed behind barriers. The human mind goes where it will. It breaks all the locks, bursts open all the doors, batters down all the barriers, makes the acquaintance of every portion of the globe. After centuries of effort it has traced the outlines of all the continents and of every island in every sea. It has gone to the North pole, and to the South pole, not for money or for pleasure or for power, but because the mind is so constructed that it knows no rest until every chest has been broken open and every nook has been explored.

Man is by nature a conqueror. He has conquered the land, and also the sea, and now he has entered upon the conquest of the air. All the kingdoms shall be placed under his feet. Why does the Christian church reach out for the whole world? Because of something written in a book or because of something that was said by somebody long ago? It is because the church is made of men, and being human they must carry what they consider most precious to the end of the earth. Why does commerce go everywhere, and art, and science, and literature, and recreation? It is because men are the children of God, and children love to roam over the whole house, and are curious to see what their father owns, and enjoy giving an exhibition of something of their father's skill and power. When merchants and scientists and explorers and adventurers and gold-seekers and sightseers are constantly going into all the world, it would be strange if the men sent by Jesus should hold back. They cannot hold back. They do not want to hold back. It is their joy to be his witnesses even to the uttermost part of the earth.

The circle which marks the limit of our physical vision we call the horizon, and the circle which marks the limit of our mental vision is called the horizon also. The width of a man's horizon depends upon his altitude. The higher we ascend, the farther we see. We see farther than the Apostles of the first century because we are higher in geographical knowledge than they were. What a little world it was they knew, nothing but Asia and Europe and a northern fringe of Africa, and even those only in bits and patches. "Go ye into all the world!" It was a small world. "Preach the gospel to the whole creation." The creation was not large. "Make disciples of all the nations." There were not many of them. "Be my witnesses to the uttermost parts of the earth." That was not far away. The oceans were all mysteries. The coast-line of Africa was uncharted. North America was unknown. South America was unthought of. Australia had not found a place on the map. What a curious thing a first century map is! When Jesus said, "Go ye into all the world," he might have added — "What I do ye know not now but ye shall know hereafter." This is God's way always. He never throws round us a larger horizon than the heart is able to bear. Through 1900 years the physical horizon has been steadily widening, until now the whole planet is known. The physical horizon having reached its limit, the mental horizon has now begun to expand. We are coming to see more clearly what salvation really means. Salvation was once supposed to be the rescue of men from eternal torment in another world. Men were saved when they were baptized. The gospel had been preached when somebody had spoken the name of Jesus and had said something about the resurrection and the atonement. But our horizon is widening. We are coming to see more clearly what our Lord meant by the Kingdom of God, why he exhorts us to seek it first, pray for its coming always, sacrifice for it to the utmost. We now understand that the kingdom of God is to be established in this world, that society and politics and business and diplomacy are all to be dominated by the spirit of Jesus, and built on the principles of Jesus. God's will is to be done on this earth even as it is done in heaven. To do it themselves and persuade others to do it is the work of the men who have been sent. It is a large field in which we now find ourselves.

It was once supposed that we could make men Christians and keep them Christians without interfering with the social environment. We were concerned with the temper and conduct of individuals, but were not concerned with the spirit and program of corporate life. We worked with individuals, but not with institutions. We allowed the atmosphere and the system to remain what they were. To prepare men for heaven was our passionate ambition. We were but pilgrims here and heaven was our home. This was the interpretation which we carried to unchristian lands. We told them the old, old story of Jesus and his love, and counted our task completed. It gradually dawned upon us that preaching stations are not enough to convert the kingdoms of this world into the Kingdom of Christ. Schools are as necessary as Gospel meetings. Later on we found that hospitals are as indispensable as schools. Still later we saw that workshops are as essential as hospitals. It is increasingly clear to all who had eyes to see that the religion of Christ is leaven and that it works continuously and irresistibly until the whole lump is leavened. Christian truth is seed, and if you plant it, it grows. The harvest will cover the whole earth. If you introduce new ideals in one kingdom of life, conduct in all the other kingdoms must be radically affected. Christianity gives freedom. Where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty. Liberty cannot be permanently confused within one special department of life. Give men religious liberty today and tomorrow they will insist on political emancipation. Establish democracy in the state this generation, and the next generation will demand democracy in industry. It is in this way that our

religion creates innumerable problems. The missionaries are responsible for not a little of the turmoil of our times. Preach the ideas of Jesus in Turkey, and of course you will have a Turkish problem. The new wine cannot be held in the old skins. Preach the gospel in India, and the Indian problem looms larger and larger. Preach the ideals of Christ in Korea, and the Japanese problem becomes more threatening and urgent. Men sent by Christ to proclaim his thoughts may seem to be engaged in a futile work, but in the second and third generations these missionaries will be the counsellors of statesmen, and will be recognized as fountains of national life and power. Preach the gospel of brotherhood and service in any country, and the industrial problem will certainly emerge. The majority of human beings in every country earn their bread by the toil of their hands. Let these men be ignored or unjustly treated, and though for a long time the heavens may be silent, they will at last break into thunder. You cannot preach the gospel of Jesus anywhere without starting in the minds of men a thousand questions concerning wages and hours and conditions of labor and housing and feeding, and recreation. And later there will be political questions and clashes, and crises, and still later there will be international questions from which the world cannot possibly escape. Men will begin to talk about ending war, and will begin to dream dreams of a parliament of man, a federation of the world. Men are discussing a League of Nations because of the work of the men whom Christ has sent. Paul dealt chiefly with domestic problems in the first century. He did not touch either slavery or war, because his generation was not called upon to face them. It was the problem of domestic life which Christianity brought first into the light. Luther and Calvin and Knox all grappled with ecclesiastical problems, for it was these which the Spirit of God in the 16th century brought to the front. In the 17th century it was with political problems that the leaders of the church were obliged to wrestle, for that was the form of perplexity which the Eternal Spirit in that age presented. We in the 20th century must grapple with the industrial problem and with the international problem, for these are the two cardinal problems of our generation.

It is a noisy and confused day in which we are living, because mighty ideas are knocking loudly at our door. Eternal principles are struggling fiercely for expression, and the whole world writhes like a man in delirium. Let no one be alarmed. The creation is groaning and travailing in pain in order to bring forth a higher type of the Sons of God. Many Christians are too readily panic-stricken. They do not know the ways of God. Christ at the very start told his Apostles they must not expect to do their work in tranquillity. "Do not look," he said, "for smiling faces and a sky full of calm. The immediate effect of your preaching will be opposition and dissension, controversy, strife. The opposition will be so venomous men will try to kill you, and the dissension will be so violent that even families will be torn to pieces. You must not expect peace. You must count on a sword." So he said, and says, and will continue to say until the human heart has ceased to be rebellious and men's minds are thrown open to the truth. Let us never forget that we are in the church militant, and that we are enlisted in a long and desperate campaign. We wrestle not with flesh and blood, but with principalities and powers. Like Paul we must turn the world upside down, and like him we must be content to hear the tempest always roaring in our ears.

The Great War has taught us many things, one of which is this: Humanity is one. We had often said it, but we knew not what we said. We now know assuredly that God has made of one all the nations of the earth. Nations may quarrel now and then, but they suffer grievously when they quarrel, for they belong together, they are members one of another.

The world is one, more solidly one than we had ever dreamed. Belgium

REV. OWEN R. LOVEJOY
New York City

REV. CHARLES E. JEFFERSON, D.D.
New York City

REV. J. G. MCKENZIE, M.A.
Wolverhampton, England

REV. K. L. PARRY, B.Sc.
Colchester, England



needed France, and France needed Britain, and Britain needed Italy, and all of them needed us. We bore one another's burdens through a long and lurid day. We now see that isolation is impossible. No nation lives to itself and no nation dies to itself. Every nation belongs to God. It must live its life for God. If it fails to do this all its neighbors are doomed to suffer. We must all go up together or we shall all go down together. All nations work now side by side. Let one of them be unbrotherly and all the others suffer loss. No one nation for instance can stand in shining armor on the land, or claim sovereignty of the sea, without compelling every virile nation on the earth to arm. There is no peace for any of us until all the nations lay down their arms. How can the nations be brought into a better mind? Only through the self-sacrificing labors of the men who have been sent. The most critical and momentous of all the forms of service to which the men and women of our day are called is the work which is done by those who are dedicated to the Son of God.

Life from top to bottom is one. We cannot be Christians in our homes and pagans in our politics; or Christians in our schools and heathen in our diplomacy. All the crowns must be placed on the head of Jesus. He must be made king of all the world. All the trophies must be cast at his feet. The golden rule is for all nations. The great commandment is binding on all peoples. The new Commandment is for everybody. The beatitudes are true for all. The Lord's Prayer is framed for every tongue. There is no land in which the parable of the prodigal son is not beautiful, no country in which the parable of the Good Samaritan is not needed. We must have one arithmetic the wide world over. We cannot get on unless the whole world believes that God is love.

Paul had a burning ambition to go to Rome. He felt himself a debtor to the whole world, and he longed to proclaim the goodness of God from the world's center. But after he had preached in Rome, he hungered to go to Spain. Spain was in Paul's day the end of the world. Beyond the pillars of Hercules there was nothing but vastness and might. Spain was day and night in his dreams. His heart yearned for the privilege of speaking the name of Jesus on the outermost rim of the world. He aspired to stand on the perilous edge, and tell men of the one who had loved him and given himself for him. Paul loved to call himself an Apostle — a man whom Christ had sent. He was amazed that Christ had sent him, and grateful and joyful. After he had met Christ he made no distinctness in races or nations. All men were to him one man in Christ. His work was to admonish every man and to teach every man that he might present every man perfect in Christ. He was convinced that humanity is one. God has made of one all the nations of the earth. All men are under the same law. All men must stand before the same Judge. The Judge of the world is Jesus. Every individual and every nation alike must be made manifest before the judgment seat of Christ, that each one may receive the things done in the body according to what he hath done, whether it be good or bad. Paul lived and died in the conviction which has lived on in the hearts of an ever-increasing multitude, and which burns in the hearts of the members of this Council, that in the name of Jesus every knee shall bow, and every tongue confess that Jesus Christ is Lord, to the glory of God the Father. A lost world is being brought back slowly to God. Men whom Christ has sent are doing it. Our enterprise is as wide as the earth. It is as broad as life. In it throbs the heart-beat of God.

MEMORIAL TO BRITISH AND AMERICAN SOLDIERS

REV. S. M. BERRY, M.A.

In the spirit of solemn and grateful remembrance our hearts are as one heart today. We know no divisions among ourselves. We cross all the barriers. The wide Atlantic is not broad enough to sunder us. "Blood is thicker than water," and the saying is even more true of blood which has been shed in common sacrifice than of blood which flows in the veins of the living. There are leagues of water to separate us, and even memories that cluster about the heroes of our countries' antagonisms to gild those separating waters, but a new fact has emerged now.

It was always true that we sprang from a common stock and possessed a common tradition of government and the ordering of life. One tongue is ours, and between the empires of our two literatures there are no frontiers. We may eagerly dispute as to which of our two systems of government the better expresses that ideal of liberty we hold in common, but that is no more than the friendly rivalry between those who recognize the same rules of the game.

The new fact which has emerged in these days is that our common tradition and spirit led us, by the challenge of circumstance, into a united warfare. There were many things, even so, to separate us still. There were, as there are now, divisive factors at work. But remembrance carries us into a wider field of outlook. The blood of both our peoples was shed in one cause. Our dead stretch out unseen hands to unite us. As we remember, the converging paths join and we are together on one road. As we are faithful to the remembrance we shall continue together on the one road.

In letting memory recall the past today we are carried into different parts of that great battlefield which stretched across France and Flanders. Your thoughts turn naturally to places like Soissons and Chateau Thierry; ours to Ypres and Arras and the Somme. It is not for us here to dwell on these little distinctions, nor to indulge for a single moment that habit of comparison which some men pursue even over the graves of the dead. There are those who would fan the flames of distrust and suspicion by means of the casualty lists and use the statistics of sacrifice to destroy its fruits. We turn our backs on these little rival claims. We hold no commerce with men who, confronted with such a situation, can find no better way of exercising their minds and judgments than by claiming for one or the other the larger share in the glory and the praise. To do that is to lose sight of the cause and to imperil our whole-hearted cooperation in the still unfinished task. For it is the great and sacred memory of blood shed in a cause shared which is the finest inspiration for trust and understanding in the work which remains to be done.

About the men whose remembrance we are keeping today no words are adequate to speak. It is not even desirable to try to find such words. The finest are too poor a currency for such a debt. In our country, when the death of a loved one is announced in the papers, you will often find a request appended which reads simply, "no flowers." The spirit of the men who fought in our two armies seems to me to echo that request, "no flowers," not even flowers of speech; but if there are to be flowers at all, let them be simple ones, perhaps two only, Ophelia's flowers, — "rosemary, that's for remembrance," and "pansies, that's for thoughts." Remembrance and thoughts.

Each one of us has our own special sanctuary of remembrance in which we hold sacred the memories of those whom we loved, who gave themselves in sacrifice. Beyond that shining circle we think of the unknown men who are yet related to us because they paid part of the price in our stead. We do not sorrow for them. They have run their race. The opening years of promise closed suddenly for them. We think sometimes of that promise

as wasted and thrown away. In one sense perhaps all sacrifice is waste. The splendid gift is offered so recklessly. But it is from such extravagance of giving that the world has always reaped its richest fruits. We do not sorrow for the men themselves, but we do not forget the hearts and hopes which fell with their falling, nor do we forget to pray that comfort may be given.

But remembrance to be at all adequate must lead on to thoughts. And thought fastens itself on the heart of the cause which these men of our two nations have forever blended with their names. Our obligations cannot be measured in words. Our gratitude will not be judged by the periods of our speech. History brings a finer and a more searching test to the spirit of the age. There is stern work yet to be done unless indeed we are to speak of wasted sacrifice and reconcile our minds to unrelieved tragedy. For while life laid down is not waste, there are instances of wasted heroisms in history due to the blundering and infidelity of those who reaped its fruits. It is in the last resort for us to say whether these men gave their lives in vain. We guard more than their tombs.

It is not inappropriate then for us to think for a moment of the cause for which they gave up their lives. That cause has many different aspects, which do not admit of easy analysis. There was love of home and country, the resolve to stand up to a threat, all the primitive emotions which war brings to a head.

But beyond these was there not something else, the hope that perhaps this should be the last time that the wholesale crime of war would devastate the earth, the resolve to make it so, if such a great end could be attained? How eagerly we all used to talk in that strain! It was part of the propaganda of war time, which some of those who used it seem quickly to have forgotten. It is the task of the churches in our two lands to make the propaganda of war time into the permanent program of the coming days, to save our lips from lying and our tongues from speaking guile. It is ours to keep the public memory awake and alert, lest the old mischief should come upon us again in new forms.

I do not speak lightly here. I know something of our own men out in France and Flanders, of their moods of depression and their dreams of hope, and on two separate occasions I had the privilege of visiting and speaking to the men of the American forces. As I speak here now I can see pictures — pictures of men gathered in the huts in the evening, of tired eyes and mud-stained clothes, and of the one dream which seemed to pour strength into men who were sick to death of the interminable monotony of war, the dream that the same nightmare should never torture mankind again. The merely national side of the cause was not of much avail out there. Platform patriotism sounded empty. Brave words often brought a laugh to the lips of brave men. But of this other thing, this dream that war might be no more, no laughs greeted it; sometimes perhaps there was the silence of incredulity, but there was the sense of a thing for which it was worth while even to die. That cause is in our hands now. The cloud of witnesses who surround us have done their part, and as they look down upon us is it not to watch what kind of a world we build upon the ground made sacred by sacrifice?

We are untrue to their great memory unless we strive with a resolution and courage equal to theirs to carry that dream to fulfilment.

It is harder to say these things than it was a few years ago. The atmosphere has altered. The spirit of mocking disillusionment has settled down upon the world. It is harder to cherish dreams. It is easier to sink into the spirit of acceptance of things as they are.

Remembrance and thought, — but our remembrance is only a solemn mockery unless we allow thought to carry us on these longer journeys.

I remember a scene in France a few days after the armistice was signed.

I was coming down from Lille to the coast on the homeward track. We had passed through Bailleul, which was nothing more than heaps of brick and stone and rubble. A mile or so beyond the town we came to a little ruined cottage, of which only the bare whitewashed walls were standing. There was no roof, no windows or window-frames, and there were other holes in the wall too. But the sun was shining and war had ended, and the peasant family who called that ruined shack home had returned to it before the builder and carpenter could be got to work. The father and mother stood at the entrance waving us a welcome, and children were laughing and playing in the little garden. We spoke to the older people and then turned to the children, and at the foot of the garden we saw three wooden crosses under which three of our men lay buried. It was a picture which might have been seen in other parts of the devastated area on that strange day, when the sun was shining and the roads were crowded and peace was returning to the world. But was it not more even than that? Was it not a picture of the world after the war?

There is the ruined house which has to be rebuilt, the house which bore the proud name of civilization. Our task is to rebuild it, and to build after a better plan, to make it a safer place for men to live in, sheltered from the wind and weather of circumstance. And the inspiration for the builders must lie in the two contrasted sights which met our eyes, the children whose laughter filled that little garden and the graves at the garden's foot. A contrast? Yes. But there is a link between the two as well. It is only as we build a world in which the children's laughter shall not be turned again into agonies and tears that we are true to the memories of the men who lie in their distant graves. And in that task must not our two nations join hearts and hands and policies, resolved to forget the past which divides us in the power of a memory which unites, that together we may one day celebrate an even nobler day of independence, when wars and rumors of wars shall be no more.

There's but one gift that all our dead desire,
One gift that men can give, and that's a dream,
Unless we, too, can burn with that same fire
Of sacrifice: die to the things that seem:

Die to the little hatreds; die to greed;
Die to the old ignoble selves we knew;
Die to the base contempts of sect and creed,
And rise again, like them, with souls as true.

Nay (since these died before their task was finished)
Attempt new heights, bring even their dreams to birth,
Build us that better world, O not diminished,—
By one true splendor that they planned on earth.

And that's not done by sword, or tongue, or pen,
There's but one way — God make us better men.

GREETINGS FROM THE FEDERAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES

REV. WILLIAM I. HAVEN, D.D.

I have been delegated to bring to this International Council the greetings of the thirty different communions and their millions of communicants associated together in the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, in which American Congregationalism has born and bears so conspicuous a part.

The Federal Council was organized in December, 1908, and will be twelve years of age at its next birthday, which is to be celebrated in Bos-

ton in December of this year. It is the child of many cooperative movements, the Evangelical Alliance, the Open and Institutional Church League, the National Federation of Churches, etc. It was started by the Inter-church Conference held in Carnegie Hall, in New York, in 1905. It is the first of all these institutions to have a common purse. I am happy to say that, though it is almost as empty as "the widow's barrel of meal," there is still a little something in it. Congregationalists have been associated with its founding and its development. William Hayes Ward, a name known everywhere, helped to write its Constitution. The Rev. Elias B. Sanford, the beloved Emeritus Secretary, was its Secretary. Dr. Hubert C. Herring, Master of Councils, solicitously watched over its earliest years. Fred Smith and Dr. Roy B. Guild have "lengthened its cords and strengthened its stakes" in the great cities in this land. Dr. Gulick I wish to refer to later. And what shall I say of Dr. Macfarland, the General Secretary, to whose initiative and tact and persistence so much credit is due for its present far-reaching activities? I can best describe him in the terms of a gentleman who called at my office a few years ago and laid upon my table his card, which bore upon it after his name the designation "Co-operative Organizer of the Universe."

As a student of the Movements of the Christian Church in this country in recent years, I have noticed two significant trends in present-day affairs. One, an intensifying of denominationalism. I have never known a keener interest in all that makes for the strengthening of denominational institutions, denominational Boards, and denominational activities, than there is at present. Just as across the sea old nationalities have been quickened into a new and intenser nationalism; so, everywhere in church circles in this country one feels the pressure of keen, alert denominationalism even in groups that have been more or less quiescent. Along with this there has come about a sense of the need of cooperation to meet the world situation, which is equally noticeable as a trend of the times, and it is not infrequently the case that churches that are most intense in their denominationalism are the first to take hold with enthusiasm of these larger related movements of which perhaps the Federal Council is the most representative expression.

The Council was created according to its Constitution "to manifest the essential oneness of the Christian Churches of America in Jesus Christ their Divine Lord and Saviour, and to promote the spirit of fellowship, service and cooperation among them." It exists according to the same symbol "to express the fellowship and catholic unity of the Christian Church." This is consistent with Congregationalism.

I have listened with deepest interest to frequent emphasis upon independence in the great addresses delivered before this body, but as one of your own prophets has said, "There can be no human fellowship without freedom, and that freedom which does not embody itself in a living fellowship will soon cease to be freedom, and for us in this day the old single battle-cry of Freedom will need to be expanded into the double watchword of freedom and fellowship, if our fellowship is to be living and freedom sure."

The Federal Council does its work largely through Commissions, though it has an Executive Committee, meeting annually, or semi-annually if necessary, and an Administrative Committee, meeting monthly.

The Commission on Evangelism is fundamental, and its present program of gathering together the pastors in the different communities and preparing for a pastoral evangelism is proving astonishingly acceptable everywhere all over the country. The need of the hour seems to be the establishing of this pastoral form of evangelistic effort rather than the calling in of specialists, valuable as their work and activities have been.

Perhaps the best known of all the Commissions of the Federal Council is

its Commission on Church and Social Service. It was from the Secretaryship of this Commission that Dr. Macfarland came to the General Secretaryship of the Council. It would be difficult for me to overstate the service which this Commission has rendered in quickening the social conscience of the churches of America. It has sent its carefully chosen and sympathetic investigators to seek out the causes in the centers of social disorder. I have just finished reading the advance sheets of its review of the conditions in Lawrence, in this state, and they are well worthy the study of all thoughtful men. The acceptance of the "social creed," so-called, by the churches, which was also adopted by the Young Men's Christian Association at their last great National Convention, is due in no small measure to the activities of this Commission. It is worthy of emphasis that in the severe strike in Pittsburg, among the steel workers, the striking workmen felt that in this organization of the church there was a friend to whom they could come as a last court of appeal in order that their situation might be understood and properly interpreted. I am not out of touch with Congregationalism in pressing this upon your attention, for I have read that the Pilgrims were "men and women with a constructive social vision."

The Federal Council has a Commission on Education which has already rendered good service, but which has before it what I believe to be the greatest opportunity for service to this nation. We have flattered ourselves for generations with the idea that we were a literate people, enthusiastic for the public education of the masses of the nation. Some of us who have lived in this New England have carried with us the idea that the nation was studded with "little red schoolhouses." We had a great awakening with the calling of the young men of this land to the colors. We discovered an appalling amount of illiteracy, and we should awake to the necessity, as a Christian Church, of supporting all efforts, state and national, for the movement to secure to every child born in this land the opportunity for a good education. When one comes back from the Far East the most notable impression which he brings with him is the omnipresent "tramp! tramp! tramp!" of the boys and girls of Japan to the daily school. Ninety-six per cent of the boys and ninety-five per cent of the girls of school age of that empire are in school training for citizenship. That should be the universal rule here in America. We must, however, beware of a false teaching of ecclesiasticism that would prevent, if possible, the use of the public funds of this nation for the education of all the people of this nation. Under the cloak of this insistence on the religious element in teaching, a sword is thrust at the heart of the general education of the people.

Our coming generations should be prepared for a democracy in a training that is by all and for all. Democracy! I say. No word of "empire" should come into our teachings. I know there are those here, even among the British delegates, who would agree with this. Our English forefathers brought over to this land the good old name of "commonwealth," for which the churches of Massachusetts loved to offer prayer and thanksgiving obedient to the proclamations of their governors. Commonwealth! that is the word the hour needs for the nation and for the nations of the world.

The service of the church is to inspire, not to direct, this nation, but to so inspire that the people will rise to a sense of their duty to create a liberally educated nation, and never was this note more needed than at this hour.

I cannot take time to dwell on the work of the Commission on Temperance which helped to bring about the result that rejoices us all, or the Commission on Church and Country Life, in which a Congregational minister, Dr. Gill, has rendered such important service in the preparation of two

volumes revealing the needs of our country churches; the Commission on Negro Churches, etc.

I must, however, refer particularly to the fact that the Federal Council seemed almost providentially created to meet the needs of the churches of this land in the world war. There are many of us here who will not soon forget the special meeting of the Council called in Washington, the capital of the nation, in May, 1917, immediately following upon the Act of Congress declaring this nation to be in a state of war with Germany. A sense of great seriousness and exaltation was upon the company. Out of this impressive meeting of the Council plans were developed leading to the creation of the War-Time Commission of the Churches. Every other week almost through the heated summer season, through the crowded autumn and winter, this Commission met. Through it plans were made for the appointment of chaplains adequate to the needs of the army and navy, for their proper status, for their training, and for the relating of the home churches to them, so that they should feel that they were ministers of the churches in dealing with the soldiers and sailors of the Republic. The conditions in the great cantonments, the planning for their spiritual life, the organizing of camp-pastors, and the co-ordinating of these many relationships with the work of the Young Men's Christian Association, and the other camp activities, all received the constant consideration of this Commission. The awakening of the churches and the bringing together of the different denominational "War Commissions," so that all should act with a common impact, were stimulated by this Commission. It has gone further, and through its Committee on the War and Religious Outlook it has planned and is publishing a survey of the religious effects of the war at home and abroad which is of inestimable value. Let me say once more, if the Federal Council had simply been created for this one service, its existence would have been justified.

The Foreign Service of the Council should also be mentioned. For a number of years it has had a Commission on Relations with Japan which grew into its Commission on Oriental Relations, and I here have the privilege of referring to the Rev. Sidney L. Gulick, D.D., a Congregational missionary to whom this nation is indebted for what I believe to be the only sane suggestion of an immigration policy for a country, situated as America, facing both the Atlantic and the Pacific, which has been brought to its attention. Few people realize the significant service which this eminent man has rendered. In addition to this he has, through the Commission, assisted in interpreting to the American people the situation in Japan and Korea with a kindliness and balance of judgment which must promote friendship between America and the Far East.

Turning to Europe, it is not extravagant to say that, through the effort of the Council and its General Secretary, the American churches have become conscious of the existence of the national churches of Europe. The interchange of chaplains and preachers and friendly visitors has made the Protestantism of France, of Belgium, and of other European countries a real factor in the thinking of the Protestantism of America, and it has also helped to carry over to Europe the sympathy and affection and generosity of the American churches to the rehabilitating of ruined manses, and ruined colleges, and ruined churches in the war-stricken areas.

Let me say, in conclusion, that if ever the idea of an "Association of Nations" is to be of any real effectiveness in the world, I believe that one of the religious leaders of America has spoken wisely when he says, that such a league of nations can only be of value if it has behind it and is supported by an association of the churches of the world, synods, and conferences, and councils, and conventions, meeting together, praying together and working out, not the old unity of an ecclesiasticism supporting and directing an

international program, but an international program fired and enthused, by a spiritual fellowship and unity.

Perhaps this ideal of unity which lies at the foundation of the Federal Council and throbs through this International Council has been nowhere more beautifully expressed than by Richard Jeffries, the English naturalist and prose poet, when he says:

"It was very sunny and warm, and the birds sang with all their might, for there had been a shower at dawn, which always sets their hearts atune. At least eight or nine of them were singing at once, thrush and bluebird, cuckoo (afar off), dove and greenfinch, nightingale, robin and loud wren, and larks in the sky. But, unlike all other music, though each had a different voice and the notes crossed and interfered with each other, yet they did not jangle, but produced the sweetest sounds. The more of them that sang together, the sweeter the music. It is true they all had but one thought of love at heart, and that, perhaps, brought about the concord."

GREETINGS FROM THE AMERICAN UNITARIAN ASSOCIATION

REV. SAMUEL A. ELIOT, D.D.

I bring to you the affectionate salutations of your own pioneers, heirs of the same tradition, inheritors of the same impulses, motives and ideals. I bring the greetings of the sons of your own household who, in allegiance to the guidance of the Pilgrim spirit, have launched their own *Mayflower* and entered upon new adventures of spiritual liberty. The church of Scrooby, Leyden and the Mayflower, together with most of the old Puritan churches of eastern Massachusetts, have now for many years acknowledged a Unitarian fellowship. All these churches were established by their wise and far-sighted founders, not upon a creed but upon a covenant, and were therefore unbound and in a position to lead on new movements for Christian freedom and fellowship. The ancient covenants are still in force in the old First Churches of Boston, Salem, Dorchester and many another Parish of this inheritance.

Never was there a covenant for a Christian congregation more adapted to all time and all free people than the Pilgrim Covenant. Never was there a nobler exposition of the principles of a Christian commonwealth, or one more significant for our own day, than is contained in John Winthrop's discourse, written upon the voyage which took him into permanent exile in the wilderness. "The only way to avoid shipwreck," he said, "and to provide for our prosperity is to follow the counsel of the prophet, to do justly, to love mercy, and to walk humbly with our God. For this work we must uphold a familiar commerce together in all gentleness, patience and liberality. So shall we find that God is among us, so that men shall say of succeeding plantations, 'The Lord make it like unto that of New England.'"

I venture to believe that you will agree with me that the schism which rent the New England churches a century ago would not be possible today. I venture to hope that you will find joy and satisfaction in your own spiritual children and accept their salutations with all the good-will with which they are offered.

It seems to me that the most hopeless condition of religion would be the

condition of self-satisfied agreement. Men cannot think at all without dissent, but surely we ought to be able to think seriously and to differ widely without prejudice and without mutual distrust. A unity which means, on the one hand, simply a unity of indifference or aimless good nature, or, on the other hand, which means identity of belief or practice, seems to me equally undesirable. All society is made up of cooperating diversities. Limit us to men of the same thought and we become simply self-perpetuating sectarians, but give us access to men of other minds and we become partakers of the inexhaustible riches of the divine nature. Uniformity means the barrenness of sameness. Unity means the wealth of conspiring indifferences.

Nobody wants churches shorn of individuality. Wise men do not enter into war against diversities, but rather try to enter into sympathetic understanding of the special truths which each household of faith has inherited or achieved. I venture to hope that more and more all the heirs of the Congregational inheritance may come into ever-enlarging sympathy, each cultivating his own garden but rejoicing in his neighbor's flowers and fruits, not always harping on the weeds; loyal to our own convictions and reverent of the convictions which our neighbors cherish.

Many people cannot comprehend what spiritual liberty is. They imagine that they must either be radical, cutting themselves loose from all the traditions and inspirations of the past, or they must be conservative, clinging to the supports and the arguments and the impulses that are more and more becoming outgrown and outworn. There are always two wings in any body or any movement: a right wing that seems to think that all wisdom perished with the ancients, and a left wing that is disposed to disbelieve in any wisdom except what the immediate generation may have discovered. Now let us not forget that the real function of wings is to fly. We need both wings. We want in our Christianity a due admixture of progressivism and conservatism. The way out of theological controversies is not, in my judgment, through them or round them: it is over them. If you and I can develop the power of Christian flight then we shall have solved the problems of conflicting denominationalism or theological dispute.

One of my colleagues the other day used a figure of speech which sets forth these matters most adequately. He likened the different parties in the Christian Church to separate companies of people who, perhaps without knowing it and unconscious of each other's plans and hopes, are really climbing the same mountain. Down on the lower slopes they are widely separated from each other; they are struggling up through the woods and the thick underbrush; but as they climb they necessarily get nearer and nearer together. Finally they come out of the underbrush and onto the open ledges where they can see each other and signal and encourage each other, and when they reach the top then they must all stand in the same place and there is only one view, but that is the view all round. Unity, that is, is not a matter of intellectual consent but a matter of spiritual ascent.

Let it be understood that when I plead for the unity of the spirit, I am no mush of concession. My own denominational backbone is peculiarly straight and rigid. I am ready at all times for a good intellectual contest, but I affirm the wisdom of Phillips Brooks when he said, "Tolerance is the result of a conviction, and not of the absence of conviction." It is not shallowness, it is depth of belief that makes the hospitable and charitable mind. The advice to give a bigot that you want to convince of the value of Christian unity is not "Hold your special form of faith more lightly and make less of it," but "Hold your special form of faith and make more of it." If we can learn to hold our different forms of faith largely enough and vitally enough, then we shall find that they are not walls to separate

us one from another but rather avenues through which we can approach one another in sympathy and neighborliness.

A vigorous, constructive denominational life which takes pride in its own history and which loyally supports its own institutions does not necessarily mean schism or contempt for other divisions of the Christian Army. Is it not really the straight way into a larger fellowship? I submit that it is the man who best loves his own family and his own neighborhood who is the most helpful citizen of the nation. It is the most patriotic and loyal citizen of the nation who best understands what is meant by the federation of the world. The man who has no home loyalty is likely to be a poor and indifferent citizen of the State, and the man who has no feeling for his own flag and his own country is likely to be but a feeble advocate of international friendship. Believe me, the more earnest our devotion to our own particular work the friendlier ought to become our relations one with another and the larger our fellowship in the church universal.

I submit that what we need is nothing less than the reaffirmation and the practice of the original Pilgrim principles, which may be defined as democracy in church and State, liberty under law, simplicity of faith and form, and the spirit of daring that does not shrink from the untried. We are true descendants of Pilgrim forebears only when we, in our endeavors, illustrate something of their courage, fidelity, perseverance and forecast of faith.

Our free churches, with their elasticity and power of adaptation, should prove capable of discharging their new tasks. But to do so with success, they need a faith as strong, and a devotion as overmastering, as our fathers brought with them to these shores, when, in the fear of God and in humble reliance upon His almighty aid, they laid the foundations of a Christian state and established churches dedicated to freedom and fraternity. The task of a church in the modern world is to keep the music of the pilgrim song ringing in men's ears, summoning them to the ventures of faith, the crusades of righteousness and the pilgrimages of love. Let not that supreme challenge lose its potency with us and let us not think to hold the allegiance of the brave and true upon less or lower terms.

We talk sometimes about meeting people on their own ground, of speaking the language of the street, of keeping abreast of the times. And then we recognize that keeping up with the times is not so important for a church as keeping in touch with the infinite. It is not the language of the street we need to master so much as the language of the Kingdom where One reigns whose voice has the music and the throb of many waters. The men to whom people turn in their confusion and bewilderment are the prophets of a confident faith, the men who cannot be "seduced by show of present good, by other than unsetting lights to steer, new trimmed in heaven."

Are we not all of us weary of shallow partisanship? Do we not all appreciate how much good there is in schools of thought that are alien to our own? Men do not contend about the Beatitudes or about the Golden Rule. They do not found any sectarianism on the Lord's Prayer. These are the things which so far from dividing us make us ashamed of our divisions. Shall we not agree to live more in the deep, central, vital matters, and emphasize the truths that all good men hold in common?

The dogmatic or sacerdotal ideas of Christianity have so long held sway that they will die hard, and you and I are not going to see their fall. But already here and there on the citadels of dogmatism are flying the white flags of truce. Already it is true that the man who shuts himself up in the close communism of a single sect is the real schismatic, and his is the real isolation. However large or strong his special sect, he has cut himself off from the great marching host of Christ, — the host of those who are bound

together, not by intellectual agreements and not by outward organization, but by spiritual kinship and by the attraction of common ideals.

" The clashing of creeds
And the strife of the many beliefs
That in vain
Perplex man's heart and brain
Are naught but the rustle of leaves
When the breath of God upheaves
The boughs of the tree of life
And they subside again.
And I remember still
The words and from whom they came,
' Not he that repeateth the name
But he that doeth the will.'
From all vain pomps and shows,
From the pride that overflows
And the false conceits of men;
From all the narrow rules
And subtleties of schools
And the craft of tongue or pen,
Bewildered in its search,
Bewildered with the cry,
Lo here, lo there, the church;
Poor sad humanity
Through all the dust and heat
Turns back with bleeding feet
By the weary road that it came,
Unto the simple thought
By the great Master taught,
And that remaineth still,
' Not he that repeateth the name
But he that doeth the will.' "

THE PATH AHEAD IN THE LIGHT OF OUR PAST HISTORY AND PRESENT OUTLOOK

REV. CHARLES R. BROWN, D.D.

When the invitation to address this closing session of the Council was extended to me it was accompanied by a very delicately worded suggestion. The suggestion was to the effect that at this session, coming as it would at the very end of an eight-day program, and on a July afternoon, it might be desirable for the speakers to exhibit that highly-praised but oft-neglected grace of public speech known as brevity.

In view of this gentle hint I count myself happy, King Agrippa, to bear witness to my own faith that at this stage of the proceedings and at this particular season of the year men are not heard for their much speaking. Seeing therefore we are compassed about with a diminishing cloud of witnesses, let us lay aside every weight and the sin of attenuation which doth so easily beset us, and let us run with swiftness rather than with patience the race that is set before us.

The two main outstanding facts about the Pilgrim were these: first, his sense of God, and second, his belief in the final significance of the regenerate men. Let me speak of these two attitudes and of their value for the grave times on which we have fallen.

First of all the Pilgrim had a sense of God. In the very foreground of his intellectual and spiritual landscape there was a Presence, Supreme, August, Holy. He was forever there enjoining upon men the performance of their duty, hallowing their worship, sanctifying their conduct, guiding their thoughts and desires in the way that goeth upward.

It was this sense of God which made the Pilgrim strong to do, to bear, to resist. He became robust from his habit of conferring with the massive fundamentals of his faith. When the wind, the earthquake, the fire and all the other noise had passed, he went forth and stood upon the Mount before the Lord. It put iron in his blood, oxygen in the lungs of his moral

nature, and it gave reach and grasp to his high resolve to be a man made in the likeness and image of the Most High.

Whenever the Pilgrims met the order of the day, the question before the house had to do with the recognition of the will of God and a sturdy, loyal effort to have that will prevail. They sought for this first in the depths of their own souls, then in their homes, in industry, in politics, in education and in all the varied fields of human interest and action. They would have said what a great preacher once said at Harvard, "Here is our final concern! Be sure of God! By simple, loving worship, by continual obedience, by purifying ourselves even as He is pure, let us keep close to Him and in the end nothing can defeat us."

Now for those great, hard years which lie ahead, is there any more crying need than that same immediate sense of God! The huge disaster of the war has taught the world a few lessons which it will not soon forget. We have seen the utter impotence of certain forces in which many near-sighted people were inclined to put their entire trust. Evolution with a capital E, not as the designation of a method of operation which all intelligent people recognize, but as a kind of independent, home-made deity setting up on its own account! The Zeitgeist, the spirit of the age which in certain quarters is regarded as a most Benign Thing! The Stream of Progress, the idea that there are certain forces resident in the physical order itself which make inevitably for human redemption quite apart from any thought of God! The Cosmic Urge, whatever that pretentious phrase may mean on the lips of those who use it in showy fashion! All these little toy gods of the Amorites have shown themselves no more able to safeguard human well-being than so many stone images.

And the forces of self-interest from which so much was expected, if only they could be made intelligent and organized, they covered a whole continent with grief and pain and spread disaster around the entire globe. They did it because they were not hallowed nor directed by any finer forms of spiritual energy. How long will it take the poor, sad world to learn the truth of that ancient Scripture: "The wicked shall be turned into hell and all the nations that forget God."

We are told from time to time in headlines and red ink that steam and electricity have made the whole world a neighborhood. So they have — but they have not made it a brotherhood, and they never will. It requires higher and finer forms of energy than steam and electricity, than treaties and trade, to make men brothers. We shall never attain to that more promising relationship until we are brought to the point where we can look up from our common tasks and say, "One is our Master, even Christ, and all we are brothers."

"Except the Lord built the house, they labor in vain that build it." The new social order for which we yearn, if it is to be anything more than a will-o'-the-wisp or a nine days' wonder, must come down out of heaven from God like the Holy City John saw. It must indeed come down out of the realm of vision and hope into the realm of accomplished fact here on this common earth. It must be made to operate and function in the busy lives and tangled interests of earthly men. But the movement must be from above — there must be the sense of a divine initiative. The only love for Him and for one another upon which we can rely when the hard tests come must be that love, which is begotten of the fact that He first loved us. And for all that we need the Pilgrim's sense of God.

In the year that a greedy and Godless form of human control all but wrecked the civilization of the race I saw the Lord, high and lifted up, sitting upon His throne. The Pilgrim of the twentieth century after Christ, like the prophet of the eighth century before Christ, would have us "see those eyes of glory looking into every Senate Chamber and every gathering of diplomats," scanning the state papers to which men are about

to set their hands. He would have us see those eyes of glory looking into every counting-room where wage scales and price lists are being shaped up for the help or for the hurt of great masses of people. He would have us see those eyes of glory looking into every human soul, making clear the fact that only those who have clean hands and pure hearts can rise and build with him the better world that is to be. And if the Pilgrim were here among us now he would insist upon making the refrain of every song uttered by the lips or by the lives of men those same great words — "Holy, Holy, Holy is the Lord of Hosts; let the whole earth be filled with His glory." In facing these problems today, vast, grave, intricate, confessedly too hard for us all, we need beyond all else the vivid, immediate sense of the presence and guidance of Almighty God.

In the second place the Pilgrim believed in the final significance of the regenerated man. He feared God, and by the force of that one fact he feared nothing else. He was not afraid to stand alone. He was not afraid to do the unpopular thing and to do it first if he believed it to be right in the Great Task-master's eye. He was not swept off of his feet by mob psychology nor by the love of the Big Thing.

In these days of world drives and of monster aggregation movements it would be for our health if the Pilgrim could stand once more among us recalling a frightened and addled multitude to its right mind. In these days, when so many misguided people are saying, "Lo here" and "Lo there," believing that the millennium can be ushered in right off and wholesale by some clever political or economic or ecclesiastical device, which will save us from the trouble — some necessity of personal repentance and of faith toward God, it would be well to have the Pilgrim bring again to our minds that which is fundamental to all the rest, the need of sound judgment and of renewed character.

I am not undertaking to speak for other countries, — they have their own honored spokesmen here at this Council who are abundantly able to represent their point of view, — I am only speaking for this land which I know best and love most. Here at least we have sore need of getting away from the tyranny of the big thing back to the ultimate significance of the regenerate man wisely striving in his particular station to do the will of his Maker. The Interchurch World Movement, for example, was a noble dream which ought to have come true. It did not, as we all know now, — it became to a large extent a nightmare. This was due mainly to the lack of wise heads to accompany the warm hearts, furnishing more judicious plans and sounder financial methods. We cannot get far on the basis of a cold and worldly prudence, nor can we go far if we allow hollow enthusiasm to usurp the place or atone for the lack of sound judgment.

If our recent unhappy experience stood alone, it might not deserve remark. But it is a symptom of a tendency which in my judgment has brought hurt and loss to our American Protestantism. The Men and Religion movement, the Laymen's Missionary movement, the Interchurch World movement, and all the rest have resulted in disappointment. They all accomplished a certain measure of good. It would have been impossible to invest the amount of time and money and prayerful effort which went into each one of them without accomplishing something. But they have all left a dark-brown taste in the mouth of Protestant Christianity in this country. They have all made more difficult rather than less the work of the regular pastors and discriminating laymen in carrying forward those agencies upon which Protestant Christianity must continue to rely for its very life.

How many more times will the patient, generous people of our churches have to be taken in before they realize that they cannot always safely follow the leadership of small groups of religious promoters whose good intentions no one doubts but whose judgment everybody questions?

These earnest individuals live and move and have their being chiefly in the furtherance of monster aggregation schemes, each one copiously advertised in advance as the greatest thing in the Christian world since Pentecost. I have heard these claims made so many times, Mr. Chairman, that the thrills they send up and down my own particular back have become altogether negligible.

It is just possible that the One who founded our religion and gave it His name, the One who furnished the spiritual dynamic necessary for a world-wide redemptive career, knew something about the best methods to be employed in the furtherance of His plans. He told us frankly that the outcome of the drag-net method in the kingdom of heaven would be disappointing. It would "take" in a sense not intended in the authorized translation of the term He used — it would take of every kind and on a big scale. But when the drag-net was drawn to the shore and the inevitable sorting out had taken place, when the necessary discounts had been made and the charging off to profit and loss had been entered up, the net result would be disheartening.

The hook and line method, on the other hand, where Andrew finds Peter and brings him to Christ, and Philip finds Nathanael, where there is less mechanism and a great deal more of consecrated personality would be, in the long run, not only more in line with His own method, it would achieve results which would add up better in the Day of Judgment. Mechanical remedies for all our political, industrial and ecclesiastical ills may seem to promise victories swift, showy, apparently overwhelming, but in their outcome they are usually disappointing and the work has to be done over again. The victories of the Spirit achieved by methods at once more reasonable and more vital may be slow, silent, intermittent, but in their outcome they satisfy and the results abide.

Once and only once do we read that our Master when He was here on earth exulted. "In that hour Jesus exulted in spirit and said, I thank thee, O Father, Lord of heaven and earth!" It was not in the hour when He stood on the Mount of Transfiguration, His face shining like the sun; it was not in the hour when He spoke to the ears of a multitude that Sermon on the Mount which would go echoing its way down the ages as a message of help; it was not in the hour when He saw a thoughtless throng, filling the street from curb to curb, shouting, "Hosanna to the Son of David!" It was in the hour when the other seventy, a quiet company of men and women who had caught His spirit and were doing His work, returned to make report as to their achievements. He saw the mighty significance of that quiet, steady form of moral effort put forth by unnamed, unheralded, unordained people, and in a burst of optimism He cried out, "I see Satan falling like lightning from his place of power." In these days when the psychology of the mob and the glamour of the big thing have dimmed our vision of the more significant factors in the coming of God's kingdom on earth, let the Pilgrim stand forth and recall us to the final significance and determining influence of sound judgment and renewed personal character.

In that vision of the seer which stands in the last book of the Bible, he saw a great multitude which no man could number. It was made up of all nations and peoples and kindreds and tongues. They were clothed with white robes and with palms in their hands indicative of the purity of the purposes they cherished and of the victory they were set to achieve.

There they were, acres upon acres, square miles upon square miles of regenerate men and women massed together in a mighty throng! And the secret of their power lay in the fact that "they stood before the Lamb." With bared heads and feet unshod they stood before that principle of life which comes not to be ministered unto but to minister and to give itself for the recovery of many. These great, hard questions of political and economic justice, of public and of private morality, will never be settled and settled

right until men and women are brought to stand right before Him. In that high faith as Pilgrims of the Twentieth Century let us go forth and win.

ADDRESS AT PLYMOUTH ROCK

REV. C. H. BEALE, D.D.

One hundred years ago Daniel Webster, standing on this spot, said: "Let us rejoice that we behold this day. Let us be thankful that we have lived to see the bright and happy breaking of the auspicious morn, which commences the third century of the history of New England."

Surely we have added reasons for gratitude and congratulation that in this closing year of that third century we, the representatives of the race from which the Pilgrims sprang, coming from many lands, are permitted to gather here to pay our tribute of respect and admiration to the memory and the achievements of the heroic and consecrated band who, 300 years ago, landed on this spot.

There is no material object on this globe that possesses more of interest and significance than Plymouth Rock. It is the visible symbol of one of the most spiritual and idealistic movements in our history. As the refreshing water gushed forth from the rock smitten by the rod of Moses, so rich streams of religious and patriotic sentiments have issued from this Rock as it has been smitten time after time by the great masters of our English speech. We hear again the words of our incomparable orator, "Forever remembered the day which saw them weary and distressed, broken in everything but spirit, poor in all but faith and courage, at last secure from the dangers of wintry seas, and impressing these shores with the first footsteps of civilized man."

The haunted air is still vibrant with the eloquence of Edward Everett as he spoke of "The Mayflower of a forlorn hope" and inquired of warrior, statesman and historian what catastrophe engulfed the rash and adventurous company who defied the ocean, the elements, and the forests, and expressed the astonishment of the centuries that not all of these combined were able to defeat the high purpose of this dauntless band.

The old Hebrew legend told how the rock smitten by Moses followed the Israelites through all their wanderings. In like manner has this Rock followed the descendants of the Pilgrims, natural and spiritual, in all their movements and migrations from this humble gateway across the continent to that golden portal 3,000 miles away.

Many things are to be said here and many more must be left unsaid; but I wish to call your attention to the two great principles that undergird our social structure and that found notable illustration in the lives and achievements of those who here laid the foundations of a commonwealth — religion and democracy. They are like the two opposing yet complementary principles found in the physical universe, such as the centripetal and centrifugal forces, whose balance keeps the planets in their orbits; or the positive and negative elements in electricity whose combinations make this subtle fluid one of the most powerful agents in the equipment of our modern world.

Religion in its very nature is autocratic. It recognizes a Supreme Being who in the exercise of an omnipotent will has impressed his thought and purpose upon the universe in the form of laws which we did not enact and which we cannot repeal. No lesson is more necessary today than this. In our efforts to carry the democratic principle everywhere we sometimes forget that it has limitations. There are some things we cannot vote up or down. They are not subject to the will of majorities. Here our part is not to create, but to discover, understand and obey.

Every radical movement of our time seeks to overthrow, or refuses to recognize, this principle. In the pride of new-found power they think they

can make over the world to suit their fancy. Our Pilgrim Fathers believed in the sovereignty of God and in his unchanging purpose. They believed that they were in some way the chosen instruments for carrying forward this purpose; and by faithful study of the Book and by earnest prayer they sought to know the mind of God, and then in humble obedience they endeavored in every department of their lives to perform the divine will.

In this they walked in the faith and the great tradition of the ages. Thus Abraham, by faith, obeyed the command to go into another country. So Moses led his people from Egypt to Canaan and endured as seeing Him who is invisible. Thus Paul was not disobedient to the heavenly vision, but planted the gospel seed in uncultivated soil. So Luther could do no other than to leave the spiritual house of his fathers that he might deliver souls from bondage. Thus Wesley, led of the Spirit, proclaimed the gospel after a new fashion to the hungry poor. These all made it their chief aim, their unflagging purpose, to obey the divine command.

But within certain boundaries man is free and responsible. Made in the image of God he has certain creative powers. Knowing what are the great natural laws and how they operate, he may use them for his purpose and thus make God obedient to his will. He also is constituted a god, and may work out the details of his own character and career and develop his social order in such ways as to secure the largest measure of life, the highest liberty, the greatest degree of happiness.

Now, in the working out of the great providential plan, not only certain men but certain nations have been endowed and called to perform, each its own special service to humanity.

As the Hebrews specialized in religion, the Greeks in philosophy, poetry and art, and the Romans in organization, so the Anglo-Saxon race has shown special genius and capacity for democracy and local self-government. Laboratory experiments have been made here and there, but the gulf-stream of the democratic movement flows through the lands where the English tongue is spoken and the English traditions are held. One of the great classics of this movement is the Compact drawn up in the cabin of the *Mayflower*, the noble contribution of the Pilgrims to the progress of democracy.

Brethren from other lands: We in America have only imperfectly realized the ideals of our common ancestors, but we have earnestly endeavored to be true to these two great principles and have measurably established them in our civic and religious life. What the Pilgrims here found and left unstained, their children have preserved inviolate — freedom to worship God and the will to obey him. And what they brought hither and built up in their simple and sincere way, the generations have steadfastly maintained — a church without a bishop and a state without a king.

SIR R. MURRAY HYSLOP, J.P.
Kent, England

REV. W. CHARTER PIGGOTT
Streatham, England

REV. HOWARD H. RUSSELL
Westerville, Ohio

REV. E. D. SILCOX
Toronto, Canada



REPORTS OF AMERICAN COMMISSIONS

CONGREGATIONALISM AND SPIRITUAL IDEALS

Modern Congregationalism received its first impulse in the Reformation doctrine of the priesthood of the believer, — the believer's right and competency to have immediate access to God, and, with the aid of the Spirit, to interpret the Scriptures accepted as the supreme guide to faith and conduct. In defiance of dogma, tradition, custom, and the self-arrogated authority of a church grown corrupt and tyrannical, the doctrine was unequivocally proclaimed and stoutly defended by the Reformers; and in the momentum of the long struggle with the Church of Rome, as Protestantism advanced and the Continental Reformation reinforced the efforts for spiritual freedom in England, the doctrine came to most definite expression in the type of thought and life known as Puritanism and, signally and very logically, in that most unique development of Puritanism now designated as Congregationalism.

Congregationalists gratefully and reverently trace their spiritual origins to all of the valiant liberators who, in earlier or later stages of the Reformation, on the Continent or in the British Isles, espoused wholly or in part this insurrectionary teaching, but they acknowledge a special kinship debt to three outstanding champions,—Wyclif, Luther and Calvin. He who was the "morning star of the Reformation" shed forth light which was a real foregleaming of the radiant dawn that was to follow. His contentions, as recited by the historian, that the Scriptures are meant to be freely opened and searched by all believers; that character is the basis of ecclesiastical office; that, intrinsically, there are no gradations of rank and order in the priesthood; that every man has an equal place in the mind of God, and that clergy and laity are brought to a level before Him; that the righteous man has spiritual liberty and "holds his fief direct from God," the Divine Over-Lord; that earthly potentates in both church and state rule only in feudal tenure accountable to Him and dependent upon His favor; and that a sense of immediate, personal relationship with God is the very core of the religious life, — these were ideas fundamentally one with those which two centuries later made more successful revolt against Romanism and ultimately crystallized in the Puritan-Pilgrim faith.

The elemental truths heralded by Wyclif were reiterated and supplemented by Luther, but with such trenchant force and spirit that Christendom, which had failed to appropriate or to comprehend the full significance of Wyclif's teaching and work and of that of such spiritual kinsmen as John Huss, Peter Waldo and Savonarola, was startled as by a slogan entirely new. With sensational emphasis, as he exalted the authority of the Scriptures, Luther declared the right and capacity of the believer to read and interpret them and to enter into immediate intercourse with God. It is a well warranted statement, that Luther's doctrine of justification by faith and Wyclif's teaching of dominion founded on grace both led, though by different ways, to the same result; both broke down the medieval barriers between the individual and God.

Calvin, who in his basic position was in essential harmony with Luther, made more imposing than did any other of the Reformers the doctrine of the priesthood of the believer. He acclaimed the Divine Sovereignty. If the barriers which the Church had interposed between the individual

and God could but fall before Wyclif's idea of dominion founded on grace and Luther's idea of justification by faith, they assuredly could not be raised in the path of any one who accepted Calvin's idea of unconditional election and reprobation. The fate of the soul might hinge on the decree of an arbitrary and inscrutable will, but that only accentuated the fact that God's demand upon the soul and the soul's obligation to God constituted an interest of supreme moment. Before Infinite Holiness and Might Calvin declared that he himself had stood alone, as he held every man must do, and that in that august presence he had been suddenly converted and subdued to God's will. With no assistance from priest or ritual, divine grace and power had wrought in him a spiritual transformation. The central truth in the creed of this great thinker, thus certified by his own realistic experience and reinforced by the conviction and personal testing of both Wyclif and Luther, was transmitted, together with various less valuable and more perishable accessories, through Puritan assimilations to Congregationalism as a permanent heritage. Much of Calvin's theology is outworn. Indeed, as a formal system, Calvinism is buried beyond possibility of resurrection, but the better soul of it goes marching on. Its cardinal tenet, or, perhaps, more exactly, the principal corollary of that tenet, — the immediate and accountable relation of the individual to God, — continues to live and exert a powerful influence. With its implications as Puritanism interpreted and accepted them, that truth was one of the chiefest of the forces which brought Congregationalism into being and it has propelled and sustained it in the three hundred years of its history in America. Keeping in mind the impression which that truth has made, we are the better able to understand the progress of Congregationalism and the ideals that have lured it on.

What then are some of the outstanding spiritual results effected in and through Congregationalism as thus originated? In asking the question, no monopoly of credit is assumed. Other Protestant churches share in the precious legacies from the Reformation; but the church which bears the Pilgrim name has from the beginning given peculiar exaltation to the truth we have named, has refused to be diverted from its primary importance, and, under the motive power of it, has maintained a distinct character, done a unique work, and been especially influential as a liberalizing contagion throughout the entire field of contemporary Protestantism.

I. *Freedom from Sacerdotalism.* True to its birthright, Congregationalism abjures all priestly assumptions and control. It tolerates no human mediator between the individual and God. All essential distinctions between laity and clergy are swept away by its conception that every man by virtue of his faith and obedience is a king and priest unto his Maker. In its view no special sanctity attaches to a minister which does not equally invest any godly layman. There is no process of setting a minister apart for his work which of itself makes him an exceptional channel of divine grace. Whatever the form of ordination, it does not of itself transmit to the recipient, or create in him, any spiritual powers. God's spiritual gifts to men are in no wise conditioned upon functions assigned to clergymen. The mode of the minister's induction into his high calling and the professional name by which he is distinguished among his fellowmen are at most but symbols of authorities and abilities which become his by reason of the divine summons which he has heard and obeyed.

II. *Freedom from Sacramentarianism.* The Puritan's God consciousness led him to resent the confusion of the outer sign with the thing signified, and he stood in opposition to all of the sacramentarian tendencies of his time. The English Church had retained substantially the Roman view of the sacraments, and the High Church movement then, as it ever since has been, was a protest against equivocation and duality in respect to the sacraments and an assertion in this particular that the Protestant Episcopal

Church should remain faithful to the Catholic dogma. Congregationalism, in its interpretation and use of ordinances and ceremonies, rejects all sacramentarian notions. It refuses to assent to the substitution of magic for spirit. It reveres the Lord's Supper and Baptism as precious rites, the Master's special bequests to His disciples, signifying and eloquently expressive of profound and vital truth, and effective as agencies of spiritual renewal by appeal through the senses to the soul; but no efficacy is attributed to the rites in and of themselves. If the inner grace be lacking in the recipient, the outer sign confers no blessing.

In the severer days of its beginnings Congregationalism was uncompromising in hostility to vestments, holy feast days, and various ceremonies and trappings that imitated what were thought the vain customs of Rome, fostering superstition and idolatry, and obstacles to the soul's free and direct approach to God. That noble rebellion against a conformity, which, if it had been allowed, would have meant partnership with impiety and corruption, was a stand for genuineness in faith and conduct that has not been sufficiently appraised. It points a warning, which, in the swinging of the pendulum, we are wise not to ignore. No doubt the Puritans inclined to be drastic and extreme in the crusade against the visible insignia of faith; but they had seen the terrible evils resulting from the subjection of the inner to the outer in the religious life. We are profiting by a healthy reaction from the abnormal self-restraint of the fathers. We feel free to gratify natural or cultivated cravings in churchly architecture and liturgical forms that are suited to aid the soul in its aspirations Godward, but history admonishes us that the thing which at first assists may become a hindrance, that the sensuous and symbolic ever incline to become a veil hiding the divine countenance. Spiritual achievement in worship never has been finer than when the early New Englanders gathered in austere plain buildings in which there was little in surroundings or atmosphere to stimulate pious meditation. Few Christians since the days of the primitive disciples have realized as did they the significance of the most sufficient name ever given to the house of worship, — Meeting House, place where the soul and God come face to face and enjoy communion with each other.

III. *The Liberated Mind in Quest of Religious Education.* Puritanism laid a premium upon brain activity. Unhampered opportunity to read the most stimulating literature and to learn of God under the immediate instructions of His Spirit, aroused the mental faculties. As men searched the Scriptures their minds were constrained to ponder the fundamental spiritual and ethical realities, — God, Christ, Duty, Sin, Sacrifice, Suffering, Spirit, Life, Immortality. As they became deeply conscious of their responsible relation to the Almighty, they wrestled with stupendous questions concerning His being, His character, and His ways with men. This exercise was rare intellectual discipline. It increased brain power. It made learning a necessity and bred a passion for it. In the nature of things, men thus awakened lost interest in such trivialities as candles, incense, garments, and postures. Matters of vast ethical and spiritual importance engrossed their attention and impelled the thinkers to simplicity in worship and in daily manner of life. In this inquiring, studious temper Congregationalism in America laid the foundations of popular education and brought into existence the common school and a host of academies and colleges. By the same impulse it has produced an educated ministry, in the rolls of which appear the names of many scholarly prophets of signal power, and has initiated many forward movements in theological thought. Through all of the three hundred year period it has been steadily progressive in its intellectual attitude, ever eager to find and to honor the truth.

The early Puritan was the forerunner of the higher critic. He would

not have the Bible read without exposition. No "dumb reading" would suffice for him. Reason was invoked at every step in discovering and estimating the treasures of the sacred pages. Proneness to investigate and interpret was mingled with a reverence for the Bible as the sole form of belief and conduct which led temporarily to an undue stress upon the Old Testament and upon certain portions of the New. This over-emphasis has been corrected by the processes of evolution and by the employment of the historical method. Congregationalism still believes that more light will break forth from the Word of God, and it expects further revelations from the spirit of man as he thinks and lives under the inspiration of God.

It must be added, that, while Congregationalism has pursued new truth with zest in spiritual freedom, and has sent off one swarm farther afield than the main body could go, as a whole, both in England and in America, it has shown an essentially conservative spirit, has revered the history of the Church Universal, recognized the essential truth of the ecumenical creeds, preserved the continuity of the faith, and held fast to the mystical core of it, — that God's spirit dwells in the spirit of man, that it dwelt in Christ uniquely, and dwells in Christlike souls with unique power. Thus Congregationalism excludes a rationalism which would submit faith to the test of formal scientific proof. Congregationalism is reasonable, but not rationalistic.

IV. *Recognition of the Freedom and Worth of the Individual as the Basis of Democracy.* Knowing himself as free to go straight to God and to interpret for himself the message in the Book, which he found to be a witness to the soul's value and liberty, the believer had a new birth of self-respect. At length some of the possessors of that freedom broke from their wonted ecclesiastical associations and formed churches which assumed independence of all external ecclesiastical authority. In the earlier stages of their development these churches evinced a tendency to the presbyterial mode of self-government, but this form gradually yielded to the one which is generally in vogue today. The locally autonomous groups were animated by feelings of sympathy toward one another, and, influenced both by natural affinities and by the knowledge that in union there is strength, as the Congregational churches in New England multiplied, the ties of fellowship and coöperation became stronger and more intimate.

New occasions make new necessities, and the conditions in the world today manifestly require that the denomination be more closely knit together, that through associations, conferences and councils it have a more centralized type of representative organization, to the end that its churches may be more helpful to one another and that together they may render a greater service to humanity. To compact the whole body and the while to preserve the free spirit and freedom of action in the several parts, is not an easy balance to achieve; but, surely, we need not fear the trammels of a more complex machinery demanded by considerations of self-preservation and efficiency, if, as a denomination and as individual churches, we endeavor to answer to the spiritual description given of believers by Peter, when he said: "Ye are an elect race, a royal priesthood."

Freedom of the church from superior ecclesiastical control has had a logical result in the deliverance of it from the authority of the state. Three hundred years have confirmed the wisdom of the doctrine, which Congregationalists have wrought out for themselves through some inconsistencies, self-contradictions and delays, that state and church, while mutually dependent and complementary, have separate and distinct functions and must not trench upon one another's spheres. Laws which the state frames for the common welfare the church is called upon to obey, but in spiritual affairs the latter can recognize no civil control; nor, on the other hand, is it proper or right that the church should hold the reins of political government, or in any wise assume temporal authority. Things that are Cæsar's

are to be rendered unto Cæsar and things that are God's are to be rendered unto God. None the less, it is the duty of the Church to labor to inspire the state to become a constituent part of the Kingdom of God, and Congregationalism has had a creditable record in the performance of this task. It is conservative to say that no other branch of the Christian church in America, in proportion to its numbers, has produced so many men and women who have been conspicuously useful in public life; that no other has exerted an influence so positive and direct in creating and molding political methods and aims. It is just reason for denominational pride that the ideas of Thomas Hooker embodied in the constitution of the state of Connecticut became a factor in determining the most distinctive form and quality of the Constitution of the United States; and we are the more gratified because his service is symptomatic of a Congregational habit. All over the land today, in many cities and in countless towns and villages, the members of Congregational churches are foremost in the endeavor to make the purposes and spirit of the church dominant in the temporal concerns and activities of the community, believing that the sacred business of the Father to which they are appointed has to do with every human interest. What ideal can be more fascinating to our ambition than the one projected so clearly into vision from out our denominational history, — the picture of the affairs of this world carried on by those who are daily conscious of the responsible and joyful privilege of being sons and daughters of God? Its realization would be the true and only possible success of the theocracy which failed at the hands of Jews and of Puritans, but which in its deepest spiritual principle was thoroughly sound, — a society in which, from center to circumference, the religious motive is in control.

Religious freedom makes political freedom inevitable. Men who are enfranchised in their spiritual relations cannot be content to remain under bondage in other relations. Calvin's theology implied the immeasurable worth of the individual soul, and those who accepted the appraisal could not long abide either bishops or kings. So it has come about that Congregationalism has been the champion of all kinds of liberty, and especially of it as the right of the most unprivileged peoples in the world; and not only of liberty, but of democracy, — democracy compounded of liberty, equality and fraternity. It is a suggestive and characteristic fact of our history that the denomination could gain almost no foothold in the South until after slavery was abolished. Congregationalists were represented among the redoubtable abolitionists; they bore a valorous part in the Civil War; and since slavery was dispossessed and destroyed they have done a resplendent work in the upbuilding of the manhood of the freedmen. The conception of the worth and dignity of the souls of those who are privileged to stand immediately in God's presence and to interpret His Word, leaves no room for pride of wealth, lineage, station, talent, race or color. The validity of this statement is not contradicted by the fact that New England in its earlier days was not wholly untainted by slavery. We are told, for instance, that Thomas Thacher, the first minister of the Old South Church in Boston, left in his estate at his death two colored bond-servants. But the spirit of Puritanism, albeit the Puritans themselves were slow to exhibit in their conduct the full logic of their principles, was inherently against all infringements upon personal liberty. That spirit was roused to hot resentment of the custom of making property of human beings in the souls of such men as John Eliot and Samuel Hopkins; and the time was sure to come when Congregationalism would be found earnestly and consistently exerting its influence for the destruction of autocracy and slavery of every sort. It was inevitable that it should see that the worth of one soul implies the equal worth of every other soul in God's sight, and that, in consequence, fair play, as well as the divine wish, demands that

the rights one enjoys oneself one must be ready to accord to others. As a result of its creed and practice, the Congregational fellowship often presents a marvelous social amalgam. In frontier districts, in mining camps, in congested wards of great cities, where the babel confusion of speech is heard, the triple stranded democracy, in churches and in settlement houses, attests the part that Congregationalism is playing in making America a land where people of every tribe and speech may dwell together in peace and brotherhood.

In the natural issue of its basal claim, Congregationalism has also been foremost in the democratic enterprise of missions. The sense of the value of the individual by reason of his actual or potential priesthood, reinforcing the command of Christ to evangelize the nearest man and the furthestmost and uttermost man, lent warmth to the zeal of such men as Eliot and Edwards and Brainerd; it gave added fire to the ambition of the young men at the Haystack; it glowed fervently in the soul of Dr. Edward Dorr Griffin, one of the earlier presidents of Williams, when he said: "I solemnly aver that if there were but one heathen in the whole world, and he in the remotest country of Asia, if there were no higher reason to confine us at home, it would be worth the pains for all the people in America to embark to carry the Gospel to him"; and that sense has only deepened and intensified as it has urged on the work of the American Board and the Home Missionary societies.

In the natural sequence of its human valuations and sympathies Congregationalism has been a proponent of international friendship. When, during the Civil War, Henry Ward Beecher visited England to plead the cause of the North, he did much to dissuade the Britons not only from according belligerent rights to the South, but also from giving recognition to the Confederacy. But for his influence in a grave crisis, England might have yielded to an unwise and selfish impulse, France might have followed her lead, and victory for freedom might have been long delayed or compromised. Again, when, at the close of the Civil War, the same great preacher-statesman, whose patriotism was suffused with yearning for universal peace and with love for all humanity, on the platform of the first National Council, in Boston, stated pointedly our grievances against the mother country, and, turning to an eminent representative of the English churches, vigorously clasped his hand and in fervent, eloquent words, amid enthusiastic applause, voiced a desire for full and complete reconciliation, he contributed not a little to the restoration of better feeling between the two nations. The orator, it is true, did not speak in these instances as a Congregationalist; but it was the principles and spirit of Congregationalism, which he had inherited and cultivated, that impelled him to utter words of sanity, breadth and healing power. His pleas are symptomatic of an Americanism native to the genius of Congregationalism, which, as it faces today the obligations of the world resting upon America, prompts us to reiterate Garrison's words: "Our country is the world; our countrymen are mankind." The action of the last National Council with respect to the Peace Treaty and the Covenant of the League of Nations indicates that the Beecher spirit is now prevalent among the Congregational churches, that they are in right attitude towards the most vital international problem, and that they feel it to be the solemn duty and privilege of America to do sacrificial work in securing and maintaining peace, and in aiding weak and suffering humanity.

V. Church Unity through Spiritual Freedom and Spiritual Fellowship. Congregationalism endeavors to sense and appropriate the good wherever it lies. It distinguishes kernel from husk, finds the ethical and spiritual meaning of word, or rite, and always regards as of most importance the spirit which the form expresses or conceals. Thus it has been led to simplify and shorten its creed as time has passed, until today a few lines compass

all that a recent National Council felt warranted in stating to be the probable consensus of Congregational faith. Moreover, while they are in substantial agreement with this statement, there is a great number of Congregational churches that do not definitely express themselves in any creedal assertions whatever, but content themselves with a brief covenant. This reserve is not due to lack of conviction, but to a natural and inherited disposition to put the ictus upon spiritual verities, which cannot be defined in theological phrases, but which, intangible though they be, are the mightiest dynamic forces in the Christian consciousness.

With open mind and sincere sympathy the true Congregationalist seeks for the essentials of truth that underlie the different doctrines and for the spiritual values represented in the diverse methods and customs. His own isms are few and never obtrusive. He is not easily offended by the customs or convictions of other denominations. He can worship soulfully in any Christian church, and feel reasonably at ease, if not quite at home. He can sit with the Friends in reverent silence, or zestfully vocalize his emotions with the Methodists. He is partial to sprinkling, but he does not object to immersion. He prefers simple dignities, with allowance for spontaneities, and a worthy sermon as a leading feature, but he is not averse to elaborate and stately liturgy that overtops a discourse of very ordinary quality. He can devoutly witness the pomp and circumstance of the Catholic ceremonial and constrain the sensuous spectacle to be wings to his spirit. For at least a good distance he can keep genial company with the Unitarian and with the Lutheran, while quietly, for his own spiritual requirements, he fills out the theological scantiness of the one or reduces the theological excess of the other. His choice of polity framework is the Congregational pattern, but he can becomingly keep his likings in abeyance, if circumstances demand, and submit to the authority of presbyteries, or even of bishops, if he may make certain mental reservations as to the powers of the episcopal office.

Congregationalism is the uncompromising enemy of sectarianism. It welcomes and abets all serious and sensible efforts towards a closer inter-denominational affiliation and coöperation. It would not hesitate to sacrifice its own name and identity, everything, indeed, but its sacred principles, to bring into existence an all-inclusive organized Catholic church, if that end could be shown to be important enough to warrant such self-renunciation. It believes with all its heart in get-together conferences, commissions on unity, alliances, federations, and inter-church movements that make for better mutual understanding, rebuke and subdue foolish rivalries, magnify essentials, promote economy of money and force, sweeten and enrich fellowship, increase the total efficiency, and present the variously named body of Christ to the world as being practically of one mind and heart in doing the work committed to it. But Congregationalism does not look upon uniformity, or general organic oneness, as a thing to be expected or coveted. It cherishes and anticipates a unity of things that are different; a unity that consists with superficial variations of ritual, polity and creed; a unity as of musical harmonies rising from dissimilar orchestral instruments; a unity of the spirit, of those who feel and rejoice in their brotherhood because they realize God as the Lord and Father of each and all. And is it not probable that, as this spiritual unity deepens and widens, the differences and divisions will be lessened, that the outer form will soften its angularities, and that there will come into being, not a huge mechanically related organization of Christianity, with all the jarrings and cloggings and breakings to which machinery is liable, but, rather an all-comprehensive organism, with those separate and distinct, but mutually dependent, elements that are characteristic of life?

For the hastening of that consummation Congregationalism is assigned a large and attractive task. The Congregational Church is eclectic, elastic,

roomy, hospitable. Its members readily adapt themselves to the peculiarities of other denominations, and the Congregational fellowship soon relieves those who are transferred to it from other communions of all feelings of strangeness. John Eliot said that Hebrew was fit to become the universal language and that probably it would be found to be the means of communication in heaven. We may not subscribe to his enthusiastic tribute, but we may venture to make a like estimate of the qualifications of the Congregational Church. Were a discerning Providence to select one out of the many varieties of churches to have universal dominion, could any of them present better credentials for His acceptance? And has any church greater capabilities for promoting fraternal intercourse in this world at least? Democracy is in the air. More and more its teaching and spirit will dominate the spheres of politics, commerce, industry, education and social life. The church of Christ also must and will yield to its invasion. In the truer soul of that church democracy was born, and the spirit of the child, which is the spirit of the Master Himself, is destined to return to suffuse the soul of the mother.

The opportunity of Congregationalism today is the world's need of Congregationalism. It holds saving truth in purest form. It keeps the *via media* between magic and rationalism. It does not repudiate theology in the name of ethics. It does not substitute ethics for theology. It is not misled by the false practicalism of a social gospel cut from its roots in the mystical gospel of "the Cross that is eternal in the heart of God." It may be limited by its quality, for it does not appeal to what Dean Stanley called "the eternal papacy of the human heart": or to the eternal paganism of the human heart, which confuses matter with spirit; or to the eternal dilletantism of the human heart, which confuses religion with æsthetic sensibility. It is quick, however, to perceive and appreciate the truth and good betokened in these propensities and cravings, and even though its own visible growth as told in the year-book shall be slow, more and more will it temper and purify them by its spirit.

Unquestionably the prevailing mood of the times is favorable to the advance of Congregationalism. The convulsion of war, whose tremors are still continuing, has everywhere awakened both democratic and religious aspirations, and there is a widespread, though inarticulate, yearning for a faith that is simple and real. Is not such a time a most strategic one for the enlarged influence and power of a church which, holding that all believers stand in immediate and responsible relation to God and are capable of interpreting the teachings of his Spirit and Word, permits no ranks or orders or hierarchies or autocracies of any kind; which values the spiritual content more than the form; which exalts the individual and urges upon him his worth as a reason for his being just and helpful and brotherly and bearing witness for Christ; which is zealous for knowledge and so is unfettered, unprejudiced and liberal, always expectant of new disclosures of truth while keeping firm grasp upon all that has been revealed; and which, by its breadth, flexibility, and power of appreciation and assimilation, is a fair common denominator of the diversities in the visible body of Christ.

Verily, the field for the operation of such a church is nothing less than the world, for while we may not expect or desire all men to become Congregationalists, it is important that they shall become Congregationalized in all the relationships of their lives. Therefore, believing that Congregationalism has a divine call to vastly greater service, let us plan largely, labor unweariedly, trust unlimitedly, hope expectantly, and abound more and more.

Rev. Harry P. Dewey, *Chairman*, Minneapolis, Minn.
Rev. B. W. Lockhart, Manchester, N. H.
Rev. Charles Haven Myers, Missionary Hill, Tenn.
Rev. Lewis T. Reed, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Rev. Alexander C. Garner, Washington, D. C.
Rev. W. W. Scudder, New York, N. Y.
Rev. F. Q. Blanchard, Cleveland, Ohio.
Rev. Reuben A. Beard, Fargo, N. D.
Rev. Hobart K. Painter, Minneapolis, Minn.
Prof. John Bates Clark, New York City.
Pres. Mary E. Woolley, So. Hadley, Mass.
Mrs. B. W. Firman, Chicago, Ill.
Pres. J. M. Thomas, Middlebury, Vt.
Rev. J. B. Silcox, Toronto, Ont.

COMMISSION ON CONGREGATIONAL POLITY

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

The general topic of this report is the History of Congregational Polity in the United States, with an appraisal of its present features and a forecast of its probable developments. The subject matter of its principal divisions has been prepared by different members of the Commission upon the basis of an outline prepared by the chairman and agreed upon by the entire Commission. The report has been edited and put into its final form by the chairman.

I. THE HISTORY OF CONGREGATIONAL POLITY IN THE UNITED STATES

Congregational Polity and Congregational Theology have developed side by side in America, and each has reacted upon the other; but from the beginning the two have shown notably different characteristics. The protest of early English Congregationalism against the Established Church was not mainly upon doctrinal grounds; and the Pilgrim Fathers and their successors were able to assure interested and inquisitive investigators that Americans of the Pilgrim faith accepted the substance of the doctrinal teaching of the Church of England. When Congregationalism had come to be recognized as having a consciousness and a character of its own, it began of necessity to develop its own polity while as yet it had little concern for a theology of its own manufacture. Its adherents were rather anxious to emphasize the essential unity of their faith with that of the other Protestant communions; but divergences in form of worship and of church government were immediate and pronounced.

After Congregationalism had established itself in this country it continued to profess allegiance to the theological standards of those bodies most closely akin to it in Great Britain and on the Continent. The tree of Congregationalism's theological life grew upon this side of the ocean and upon that, and bore similar fruit in the publicly avowed confessions; but the church polity of the denomination divided into several streams like the river in the Garden of Eden. In England and on the Continent Congregational polity was affected by its contact with the Established Church, with Presbyterianism, with Anabaptism, with Independency, and with the various influences at work in Holland and other continental countries; but New England Congregationalism largely created its own environment. The Cambridge Synod of 1648 prepared and adopted an elaborate platform on polity, but instead of preparing any new creed the fathers there assembled approved the doctrinal part of the Westminster Confession, which certain of its members had recently obtained, making full use of their elastic and qualifying phrase, "for the substance thereof"; and then sang a closing hymn with devout thanks that in this convenient manner the Synod had found itself able to avoid discussion of a needless and troublesome matter, although it was one of the two main items for whose consideration the Synod had been convened.

In like manner, the Boston Synod of 1679-1680 gave itself full liberty in the discussion of matters relating to the internal life of the churches, but cut the knot of its doctrinal discussions by a quick and easy and sufficiently definite approval of the Savoy Declaration. For something like a century New England Congregationalism was able to point to these

two doctrinal high-water marks as registering the theoretical level of its theological faith, while practically paying very little attention to either of them. But in the field of polity it was quite otherwise. The Cambridge Platform was followed by that of Saybrook in 1708, and the evolution of church government continued.

1. From the Pilgrim Fathers to the Plan of Union, 1620-1801

New England Congregationalism, in the seventeenth century, however autonomous in theory, had in practice a central authority in the colonial legislatures. By these bodies "synods" were called, to them controversies were referred, laws for ministerial maintenance were passed by them and heresies repressed. By the close of the seventeenth century, however, legislative supervision was decreasing. This was notably the case in Massachusetts, where the new charter of 1691 largely abridged governmental powers in religious concerns. No such abrupt change occurred in Connecticut, where the old charter continued in force, with the result that the older conditions survived longer in Connecticut than in Massachusetts; but even in Connecticut the eighteenth century had not reached its middle years before a marked diminution in legislative supervision is apparent. It may be said in general, however, that while the founders of New England sketched out the abiding principles of Congregationalism, the full application and development of those principles was impossible while legislative supervision continued.

As the Congregational churches grew in numbers, and legislative supervision decreased, two tendencies developed in the two older New England colonies, those of Massachusetts and Connecticut, which then included most of the Congregational churches. Each of these emphasized one of the two cardinal principles of Congregationalism, — those of autonomy and fellowship. The one developed the self-government and independence of the local church, the other the mutual responsibilities of the churches. Both parties were represented in Massachusetts and Connecticut; but the supporters of autonomy on the whole triumphed in Massachusetts, while those of fellowship won the upper hand in Connecticut, with the result that New England Congregationalism took on two somewhat unlike types in the two New England colonies in the eighteenth century.

The first stirrings toward a more effective expression of fellowship were manifested in Massachusetts, probably because legislative supervision was weakened there earlier than in Connecticut. In October, 1690, a ministerial association, for consideration of ecclesiastical and doctrinal questions, was formed in Cambridge, including the ministers of Boston and vicinity. The system spread. By 1705 there were five such ministerial associations in Massachusetts. It was somewhat widely felt, however, that a further development of fellowship was desirable which should include the churches as well as the ministers. As a result a proposal was formulated by a convention representative of the five ministerial associations existing in Massachusetts in 1705, recommending the formation of similar ministerial associations throughout the province. This suggestion seems to have been generally acceptable, as was also the plan that such associations should examine and commend candidates for the ministry, — thus inaugurating what till recent years has been the exclusive system of ministerial licensure. A second proposal was much more radical. It was that the churches whose ministers were connected with these associations should be "consociated" into standing councils, the results of which should be "final and decisive," regarding questions considered by them. This second proposal, however, encountered such opposition in Massachusetts, that in the absence of all legislative reenforcement, it failed. Its failure emphasized the tendency toward autonomy, and this inclina-

tion was powerfully augmented in Massachusetts by the two vigorous tracts, published in 1710 and 1717, by Rev. John Wise of what is now Essex, in which he argued that "it is as plain as daylight there is no species of government like a democracy to attain" the well-being of the churches. No further attempts were made to bring the churches of Massachusetts into unions having discipline for their aim.

A similar movement in Connecticut had a very unlike fate. Many in that colony sympathized with the Massachusetts proposals of 1705, and their influence was greatly strengthened by the election, in 1707, of an active Congregational minister, Rev. Gordon Saltonstall, as governor of the Commonwealth. Through his leadership the Saybrook Synod met, at legislative call in 1708, and a "Platform" was framed which went into effect in 1709. The ministers of each county were grouped in one or more associations, with an annual General Association for the whole colony; while the churches were correspondingly assigned to local "consociations" with powers similar to those proposed in Massachusetts. As in Massachusetts there was opposition, but in Connecticut the new system had the authority of the legislature to sanction it. The result was that what failed in the one Commonwealth was established in the other, and Massachusetts and Connecticut trod somewhat divergent paths in polity throughout the eighteenth century.

The consociational system of Connecticut was not Presbyterianism. All ecclesiastical questions in a Connecticut church were decided by the vote of the membership. There was no lay eldership and no session. Questions of inter-church interest were referred, however, to permanent and definite councils of churches, and not, as in Massachusetts, to occasional councils of undefined membership. This feature of Connecticut religious life, and a considerable doctrinal sympathy, led to much feeling of community between Connecticut Congregationalism and Presbyterianism. As the eighteenth century drew to a close the Connecticut Congregational churches were popularly, and sometimes semi-officially, often called Presbyterian. From 1766 to 1775 an annual joint convention of representatives of the Connecticut Associations and of the Synod of New York and Philadelphia met to take measures against the introduction of an American episcopate. Both Congregationalists and Presbyterians were engaged, as the nineteenth century opened, in missionary work in what were then the "new settlements" of New York, Ohio and the region yet further westward. Sympathy between Connecticut Congregationalism and Presbyterianism in this work led to the formation of the "Plan of Union" in 1801, — an arrangement intended to be of the utmost fairness to both parties, and to preserve the rights of each; but which ultimately satisfied neither. To the Old School Presbyterians, who withdrew in 1837, it seemed to have opened the door to doctrinal unsoundness. To the Congregational churches represented in the Albany Convention of 1852, it appeared the cause of the loss to Congregationalism of hundreds of churches which might have been permanently Congregational.

Yet in spite of these Connecticut tendencies the general movement of the eighteenth century with its emphasis politically on democracy was in the direction of autonomy. The direction taken by Massachusetts was that of Congregationalism as a whole. Though "consociations" were introduced into Vermont, the consociational system never really took root there or elsewhere in New England, while the doctrinal controversies of the nineteenth century were largely to disintegrate it in its Connecticut home. The earlier desire for greater fellowship between the Congregational churches had been primarily for good order, the preservation of doctrinal purity and effectiveness of discipline. There was little need of such combination for outreaching Christian endeavor in missionary work at home or abroad, for opportunities for such work scarcely yet existed. Any system

of combination having discipline as its chief end is sure eventually to encounter the opposition of the Congregational principle of the autonomy of the local church. As long as the imposition of such discipline was likely, any form of combination to secure it was certain to meet with Congregational opposition, — an opposition which may be said to have been a dominating influence in the Congregational churches as a whole throughout the greater part of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Till this local freedom was wholly won the churches were jealous of anything that might threaten it.

Yet a combination, an expression of fellowship, based on efficiency in Christian work, not on discipline, is not merely possible, but is eminently helpful, and such a tendency has become that of modern Congregationalism. Its development has been made possible only by the slow growth of a missionary work, at home and abroad, demanding united effort for its accomplishment, and enlisting the support of many churches to make it possible.

The initiation of these missionary enterprises (leaving out of view early efforts for the Indians countenanced by the Massachusetts legislature in the seventeenth century) came from Connecticut in 1774, since the ministers there were organized in a General Association and could therefore act jointly. The Association then voted to send missionaries to the new settlements in Vermont and New York. Interrupted by the Revolution the work was resumed in 1780, and in 1798 the General Association of Connecticut was formally organized as a Missionary Society. The example was contagious. In 1799 the Massachusetts Missionary Society was founded, and in 1801 that of New Hampshire. In these states associations for missionary endeavor preceded union for the discussion of local ecclesiastical interests; but the one stimulated the others. In Massachusetts a General Association came into being in 1803, and in New Hampshire in 1809. In Vermont, largely settled from and influenced by Connecticut, the order was reversed. There the General Convention was created in 1796, and organized as a Missionary Society in 1807. All these state associations and conventions were composed of ministers only. They were for discussion only, but they furnished a beginning of organs for the consideration of questions affecting important groups of churches. The separation of Maine from Massachusetts and its erection into a state was followed, in 1825, by the creation of a state association on a model that thenceforth became formative, that of a body composed not only of ministers but of the representatives of the churches. That was thenceforth the rule, and in 1834 the Association of New York thus came into being, to be followed, in 1836, by that of the Western Reserve of Ohio, by that of Iowa in 1840, of Michigan in 1842, of Illinois in 1844, and of Oregon in 1848, to be imitated by other states of the West in rapid succession. These state Associations, thus constituted, proved so useful, that with the growing denominational consciousness of the middle of the nineteenth century, the pressure of dissatisfaction over the working of the Plan of Union, and the desire for removal of misunderstandings between East and West, it seemed a natural step that a gathering on a national scale should be attempted. The result was the Albany Convention of 1852. Its results not merely in promoting an understanding throughout the Congregational churches, but its service in providing for their physical needs by the creation of what has become the Congregational Church Building Society, were so marked as to commend this method of consultation as to the common interests of the whole Congregational fellowship. So it came about that when new questions of even larger moment faced the Congregational churches at the close of the Civil War, a representative National Council met in Boston in 1865; and so useful did it prove that the regularly recurrent National Council came into being in Oberlin in 1871.

2. The Plan of Union, 1801-1852

The Plan of Union grew out of new conditions which confronted the churches of New England and the other American colonies that had lately become states, at the beginning of the nineteenth century. The opening up of the great West presented problems of home missionary endeavor such as had never been known to the churches previously. The settlement of new communities within New England had largely been effected by the migration of homogeneous groups who went out from older communities and took their characteristic institutions with them. But the Northwest Territory, which included the five present states of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan and Wisconsin, had pouring into it streams of population from New England, New York, Pennsylvania, Virginia, Kentucky and other states. The lines of immigration from New England Congregationalism were paralleled by those from New York and Pennsylvania Presbyterianism. Missionary societies were formed in Massachusetts, Connecticut and other New England states. That of Connecticut was prominent in plans for frontier evangelism, because to Connecticut had been ceded a body of land in the Northeast corner of Ohio, known as the Western Reserve, and largely settled by Connecticut people.

Between the Connecticut Missionary Society and the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church a Plan of Union was drawn and agreed upon for home missionary work in this and other new territory.

That Plan was most generous in its provisions, and was entered upon by both the contracting parties with noble motives and with many good results. Its workings, however, were unsatisfactory to both parties. The slavery question had its important relation to the peace of those churches. Doctrinal questions arose, and it was believed by Presbyterians of what was known as the Old School, that Congregationalists generally favored the New School, which was counted liberal or even heretical, so that in process of time the General Assembly cut off from its own body two synods in Western New York and that of the Western Reserve in Ohio. To Congregationalists the results were even less satisfactory, and lost to their fellowship many churches which by their antecedents and membership were Congregational. It was, therefore, a relief to both parties when that well-meant but unfortunately planned movement in the interests of Christian unity came to its end. This was accomplished for Congregationalists in the Albany Convention of 1852.

3. From the Albany Convention to the Kansas City Council, 1852-1913

The period between the Albany Convention in 1852 and the Kansas City Council in 1913 is that within which American Congregationalism has found itself. Congregational churches are now in a real compact. They have not covenanted and combined themselves into a civil body politic for their better ordering and preservation and furtherance of the ends of civil government nor yet to enact, constitute and frame such just and equal laws, ordinances, acts, constitutions and offices from time to time as shall be thought most meet and convenient for the general good of the civil community into which they have promised all due submission and obedience, but they have established state and national organizations that enable them to make their polity a living force throughout the known world.

The Albany Convention was not called to determine questions of polity but to give established polity an opportunity to fulfil its function. Up to that time the churches had accepted the Cambridge platform as an expression of their views of both polity and doctrine. The churches may have been satisfied with their individual standards and identity, but they were not satisfied with the progress Congregationalism was making under the "Plan of Union" under which since 1801 they had faithfully

tried to live and work. Nor was it merely a sectarian ambition that prompted the holding of the Convention. They saw that feeble churches in the western part of the United States needed more aid and they felt that it was both patriotic and Christian to provide such assistance. The churches were awake not only as to the church needs of the West but also as to the way in which Congregationalism was being crowded out and losing its hold. The churches felt that they could do something and that they must do something and do it forthwith, not as separate organizations but in a cooperative way.

The Albany Convention consisted of four hundred and sixty-three elders and messengers from the churches in seventeen states. The attendance does not suffer so greatly in comparison with that at Kansas City in 1913, when there were delegates, officers, and honorary members present to the number of 728 from 43 states, the District of Columbia and Hawaii. The Congregational Church Building Society had its birth at Albany and was christened "Church Union," and the first of our National Societies to take the name Congregational. It was the first of our leading benevolent societies to be organized by action of a National representative Congregational body. And as evidence that the Council did not intend to play at accomplishing the main purpose for which it was called, it abrogated the "Plan of Union" and pledged \$62,000 good Congregational money on the spot and apportioned its use to advance the cause of Congregationalism. The organization of a New York corporation to carry on this new church building enterprise in the United States was true to form and based on experience growing out of the operation of the national societies already established as independent units but in affiliation through their offices with the Congregational churches.

The Albany Convention was virtually our first National Council. It was the first body of representatives of all the churches held outside of New England. It had its preparation in 1846 in the Michigan City Convention, a body composed of representatives of Western Congregational churches, which expressed the self-consciousness of the Western churches and did much to convince the brethren in New England that Congregationalists East and West were bone of one bone and flesh of one flesh.

The Council of 1865 was due to a widespread feeling among the Congregational churches that there should be an opportunity for consultation upon their duties and opportunities. The suggestion that there be a general representative gathering passed from one to another until the Convention of the Congregational churches of the Northwest at its Triennial Meeting in Chicago in April, 1864, adopted a call for a National Council, to meet in 1865 to consider the new problems that had risen by reason of the Civil War, and the events which followed it.

This Council convened in Boston, in the Old South Meeting House, June 14, 1865. It provided for the Boston Platform, approved the Burial Hill Declaration; and, while organically distinct from all national gatherings antecedent or subsequent, laid the foundation for the National Council as it now exists.

The birth of the National Council of the Congregational churches of the United States was on this wise. There was held in New York, December 21, 1870, a convention of committees appointed by the several general associations and conferences in the United States on the subject of a National Council. Eleven states were represented, some by one representative, others by five or six, the total number present being 35. The following resolution was adopted unanimously:

"Resolved, that it is expedient and appears clearly to be the will of the churches that a National Council of the Congregational churches of the United States be organized."

A committee of five was appointed to report in proper draft what is

necessary to the organization of a National Council. Dr. Alonzo H. Quint was chairman of this Committee. The report of this committee was favorable, and was unanimously adopted.

A committee of seven was chosen by ballot to prepare a draft of a proposed Constitution as ordered in the third resolve. Dr. Quint was elected Chairman of this Committee. An invitation had come from the churches of Oberlin, Ohio, to have the Council held there. The call went out and on Wednesday, November 15, 1871, at 10.30 o'clock, Dr. Quint called the body to order. Twenty-five states were represented and the names of 276 members were enrolled. Seven National Benevolent Societies and three Theological Societies were represented by one delegate each. Dr. William Ives Budington of Brooklyn was elected Moderator. Committees were appointed and an order of business adopted. The first real business was the adoption of the Constitution, a draft of which Dr. Quint's Committee had ready. With a few minor changes the Constitution was unanimously adopted. Separate action on the name was later taken by ballot.

From 1871 until 1913 the National Council met every three years. Without materially enlarging its own constitutional functions it came by the year 1910 to a recognition in our own denomination and in correspondence with national bodies in other denominations as being a body truly representative of our Congregational churches throughout the nation. The Council itself during this period did not so largely increase its own powers as the churches during the same period increased the functions of district associations and state conferences. The former were recognized by the National Council in Cleveland in 1907 as having conciliar powers, and the latter had come quite generally to be identical in membership with the state home missionary societies. No corresponding organic change had come in the life of the National Council; but from its very inception it had been recognized that in at least one important particular the denomination had need of a body representative of all the churches and capable of exercising administrative as well as advisory functions.

The National Congregational Missionary Societies were at first voluntary organizations, chartered as corporations under the laws of certain of the eastern states, and in theory and in some of them in practice interdenominational. The withdrawal of other denominations left these organizations Congregational in their essential constituency and field of operation. From the first session of the National Council the question was mooted how these organizations were to be brought into organic relationship with the denomination. Some of the Societies changed their names and others their plan of representation to meet as nearly as might be the changed conditions.

Discussion continued until 1910, when the National Council in session at Boston appointed a Commission of Nineteen, which was charged with the duty of drafting a plan for the reorganization of the National Council and of the Missionary Societies. After three years of thoroughgoing work the Commission presented its report, which was adopted at Kansas City with only a single dissenting vote. The missionary societies without exception co-operated heartily in this movement and the National Council entered upon a new epoch.

In connection with their work of preparing a new constitution for the National Council, the Commission of Nineteen presented a brief confession of faith, which has won increased favor and been adopted by many churches.

The Societies are now effectually governed by the Council. It is not too much to use the word "governed," for, although their corporate integrity is preserved and their respective officers are answerable to their ruling bodies, the boards themselves are in complete and harmonious relations with the Council and subject to its supervisory will. The bringing of these agencies into this relation to the Council is not deemed to

REV. SIDNEY M. BERRY, M.A.
Birmingham, England

REV. R. F. HORTON, D.D.
London, England

REV. HENRY H. PROCTOR, D.D.
Brooklyn, N. Y.

REV. CHARLES H. BEALE, D.D.
Milwaukee, Wis.



operate adversely on the fundamental principles of Congregationalism. The churches may co-operate *ad libitum* or they may stand alone and work by themselves. But they will not stand alone; they have not failed to co-operate. The support of the Societies in the home and foreign missionary effort for more than a century by the churches shows that co-operation is just as natural for churches as a neighborhood feeling is to the families of a community. And as a neighborhood where there is the most neighborliness is the most desirable place in which to live and maintain a home so the churches which have most of a spirit of co-operation are the most useful to the communities where they are located and afford the most help and comfort to their members. The life and power of the individual Congregational churches have not been hindered but mightily helped by local, district and state organizations of churches and highest desires for the advance of the Kingdom exhilarated and enlarged by the effective development of administrative efficiency through the National Council.

II. THE PRESENT FEATURES AND PROBABLE DEVELOPMENT OF CONGREGATIONAL POLITY IN THE UNITED STATES

This rapid survey of the outstanding features of the evolution of Congregational polity prepares us for an estimate of its present features and of its probable development. We cannot assume that we have reached finality. Growth is a law of life, and Congregationalism in the United States is a living and developing organism.

1. *Local Autonomy and Unified Denominational Consciousness*

The autonomy of the local church, which finds a place in our polity, has been a means to an end. It is not an end in itself. It was developed as a protection against ecclesiastical tyranny. A state church, only partially reformed from Roman Catholicism, attempted to coerce our fathers into conformity. Their most precious possessions were in danger: liberty of conscience, the right of private judgment, the competence of the inspired Christian to interpret an inspired Bible, the direct responsibility of the soul to God. To protect its members from the encroachments of outside human authority, Congregationalism intrenched itself in the truth that a company of Christian people, with Christ in the midst, may form a complete church of Christ, needing no sanction from other ecclesiastical bodies, and free from external control. The autonomy of the local church was a protecting shell for the kernel of personal freedom and responsibility. The fundamental thing in our polity always has been the autonomy of the individual Christian.

If we place less emphasis today on the autonomy of the local church, it is because such protection is no longer needed. Our battle for freedom and responsibility has been fought and won. We rejoice in the triumph of democracy. The truth established in the church and state of Plymouth, 300 years ago, is recognized by the modern world as its guiding principle. No government and no Protestant denomination will again attempt to impose on the individual, without his consent, a creed or standard of conduct or form of ritual observance. Ecclesiastical, like political, tyranny is a thing of the past. Our fathers rejoiced to see this day.

Freed from the task of guaranteeing freedom, our body of churches has turned to the development of other elements in its polity more needed at the present hour. The magnitude of the task before us calls for emphasis on fellowship. The individual Christian must be trained in social co-operation and given a larger horizon. Our present effort is directed toward the solidarity and efficiency of the wider church, which is visible wherever Christ is enthroned in the conscience and the will of men.

We note the following specific movements within our order: (a) The more compact organization already described (I.3) for administering the common tasks of district associations, state conferences and the National Council. (b) Officers of state and national bodies, who serve as *de facto* bishops, but with only a moral authority. (c) The apportionment plan, which assigns to each church its share in the financial duty of the denomination. (d) Unified denominational programs, designed to reach every member and constitute, along the lines of missionary instruction, the cultivation of the sense of stewardship, evangelism, the training of the young, the enlistment of recruits for Christian work, and the Christianizing of the social order. (e) Experiments in the collegiate form of organization, by which strong and weak churches are yoked, or several congregations are served by a common ministerial staff. (f) The federation of weak churches of one or more denominations, and the formation of community churches, which choose their own connection. (g) A united church, as in South India, made up of various denominational groups, and combining features of their several polities.

In none of these movements do we note any tendency on the part of officers or organized groups of churches to usurp authority over the individual mind or conscience. We have lost nothing which our order has sought to preserve. We have gained much which was impossible in the days when it was necessary to emphasize local autonomy. Our members are coming to look beyond their own church and the objects to which its funds are given. They begin to see the great Cause, wide as the world and deep as human society, to which the Christian Church is committed, and of which each denomination and every member must assume a definite share. With this vision, there is dawning a new denominational consciousness, which promises well for the future of the Pilgrim faith. Our order is beginning to do for the solidarity and efficiency of the church what in the past we have done for its freedom.

2. *Community Betterment*

One can with certainty forecast the relationship which the church will sustain, in the coming years, to community betterment.

Formerly the chief emphasis was placed on the problem of the salvation of the individual soul. It was not generally believed that the Church had a direct duty with reference to social problems. Such themes were not of those counted to be within the scope of the gospel which it was expected would be preached from the pulpit.

We are not yet very far away from that position. Such is still the attitude of mind, it must be confessed, of most of us. But the direction in which our churches are moving is clear.

Certain of our preachers began years ago putting emphasis upon themes related to Christianity and a social gospel. The National Brotherhood of our churches, which had its life from 1908 to 1913, continued that emphasis, and magnified the opportunity of the men of the Church to serve as church men in the solution of social problems. Where the several denominations united in the Men and Religion Forward Movement, they used the same statements with regard to the purpose of the churches towards social betterment problems as had been used by our Brotherhood.

Then, at Boston, in 1910, our National Council adopted resolutions stating its attitude towards the concerns of the great industrial world which involved the expression of certain attitudes and purposes of the churches with reference to community welfare. The department of Social Service, with its secretary devoting his time to its program, has been continued from the Brotherhood over into the National Council. A great literature of this social gospel has arisen among us. We find we have our attention held by the books of Gladden, Taylor, Rauschenbusch, Vedder,

Mathews, Cunningham, King, Peabody, Womer and many others, and by articles unnumbered in our periodical literature on this theme.

There is a growing consciousness, already widespread among church men, that the churches must add to the old-time emphasis concerning the things to be accomplished for the individual, an equal emphasis on the problem of the salvation of the community. It is inevitable that this will come.

We recognize that we must master the art of living together on a Christian basis. We shall not lose our sense of individuality, nor our sense of our own personal needs, rights and dignities, but there will be a new stressing of certain Christian virtues, as for instance the consciousness of stewardship. For what we possess of property or ability is needed in the producing of the common good. And for further instance: the willingness to subordinate one's own desires to the public good. For how else can the community welfare be attained?

There will be a purpose to save the individual not alone for his own sake, but also because he is part of the community which is made up of individuals, and he may be a leader in its affairs.

Our churches have been making their surveys of the field about them, gathering up the facts that concern the community life. The Inter-church World Movement, in its surveys, which cover the whole field, is adding much material which otherwise could not have been secured.

With this larger information in their hands, the churches are seeing the community needs, and, as well, their own great opportunity.

We cannot doubt but that from our pulpits and through our religious literature, by means of discussions in smaller groups and in great gatherings, our churches will from this time on gather up the great outstanding facts concerning social conditions and social needs, and prepare a program under which great practical movements shall be inaugurated. Under the newer forces now at work the churches will find a way to provide a church for every community, and will cease to over-church any. They will at the same time develop larger sympathy with living problems and communal needs. It must come to pass that the church will be the foremost administering, developing, constructive force in communal life.

3. *Church and State*

There is coming a new relationship of Church and State. The time was when the Church sought to control the State for selfish ends. Then came a break between the two. Church and State were separated. We will not go back to the conditions at the beginning, but Church and State will not remain apart as they are now.

The Church will not ask authority over the State, or control of state affairs. However, what goes on in the State is not without interest to it. The things of government lie close to the vital life of society. The influence of government is constant. It cannot be corrupt, its ideals low, its administration of public affairs selfish, without corrupting the whole social life.

It is not to be a question with the Church of taking a position for or against individual men, nor yet entirely of taking positions which are for or against particular measures. But as concerns the fundamental necessity of true patriotism, and fidelity to the highest state and national ideals and obedience to law; all these things the church is directly interested in. It must and will be a teacher and a leader along right paths in these matters. Its own welfare, and the welfare of the home and of the community, depend upon it.

In our great cities, there has grown up a lack of respect for the ballot. The desire to win in political campaigns, and the desire for the spoils which come with political victory, have dulled men's consciences until they have

become willing to be violaters of statutory and moral laws. So far has this gone, that there is no longer a recognition of the inherent wrong in the matter, and crime finds its protection under those public officials who are elected through the votes and misconduct and election wrong-doing of criminals.

All this is not a matter of indifference to the Church. It will cry out against such things, and plead for righteousness in political affairs. This is a legitimate field for its activity.

Such evils must be eradicated before the community good can in any wise be attained. The Church is not interfering in affairs of state, nor seeking itself to take control thereof when it preaches patriotism and integrity and justice in political affairs. It will not be content in the future, as it has been to so large an extent in the past, to exist within the community and not be awake to all the community needs. It will come to be the chief, the strongest and ablest teacher and leader in community life.

4. Congregationalism Tolerant and Catholic

Congregationalism is the expression of a church order and of a spiritual ideal. These together express its democracy and catholicity. It is not enough to define Congregationalism as a model church order. Neither is it sufficient to define it as the highest expression of religious freedom. In degree of significance and importance the latter transcends the former. Congregational polity has undergone important changes in the modification of the practical working of its fundamental principles of autonomy and fellowship; and in the readjustment of the relation of the religious forces it will make further modifications to satisfy the catholic movement of Christendom towards Protestant solidarity. But the maintenance of religious freedom, of liberty of conscience, of catholicity of faith, is an abiding function and the highest expression of the Congregational ideal. It is in this latter aspect that Congregationalism is to be interpreted historically as a pioneer in all lines of religious progress, and prophetically as expressive of developed spiritual freedom.

The distinctive spirit of Congregationalism is made evident by a process of differentiation. Its two fundamental principles of church order are not wholly or distinctively its own. These two principles — autonomy of the local church and the obligation of fellowship with other autonomous churches — are shared by other religious communions, as the Baptist, the Disciples of Christ, the Lutherans in a modified form, and by the liberal or non-evangelical communions. They clearly differentiate these Congregational bodies from the Papal, Episcopal and Presbyterial orders, and *en masse* represent forty per cent of the Protestant forces of America. But the differentiation which defines the fellowship of Congregationalists marks the divergence from the Episcopalians and Lutherans, not so much in forms of worship as in the interpretation of the ministerial order and function and of the sacraments; from the Methodists in type of religious life and temperament as well as character of church order; and from the Presbyterians in the drift of religious thought and the variant emphasis upon the Sovereignty and Fatherhood of God.

The divergence, however, from those of like Congregational polity is even more significant. Congregational churches are differentiated from the Baptists and the Disciples of Christ in the interpretation and observance of the rite of baptism and the definition of its subjects and of the participants of the Lord's Supper; and from the so-called Liberal communions in the interpretation of the person and work of Christ. They occupy a unique and distinctive place in contrast with others of kindred polity in their exceptional breadth and inclusiveness.

The outstanding features which distinguish American Congregationalism are the large and disproportionate influence its democratic life and spirit

express in personal leadership and initiative; the open door provided by its democratic order and catholic spirit for those of divergent religious thought and training, — community churches being essentially Congregational churches and unable to adjust themselves naturally or readily to any other order; the co-operative and representative unity of all administrative interests in local, state, and national direction with more compact and directive organization than characterizes English Congregationalism; freedom in forms of worship and observance of rites and ordinances; simplicity of methods of discipline and absence of courts of appeal; supremely, freedom of faith with emphasis upon learning and education and with a generous attitude to all truth wherever found; and a consequent unity in doctrinal development and the cultivation of the open mind and the forward look.

American Congregationalism is tolerant and catholic. It is inclusive, and not exclusive. It is truly represented by those, who, in the spirit of Christ, recognize those of diverging views as disciples of the common Master; it is misrepresented by controversialists who fail to reveal the same catholic spirit of tolerance and brotherly love. Because of its readiness to follow the leading of the Spirit with open mind it has been a pioneer in all lines of Christian activity. Under the guidance of the great Head of the Church it stands for the democratization of the state, for the maintenance of civil liberty, for the promotion of social order and justice, for the equal privileges and rights of all men irrespective of race or color, for all movements of moral reform, for the advancement of higher education, for the dissemination of the Gospel of Jesus Christ at home and abroad, for the broadening of religious thought and for the deepening of the religious life. It avoids emphasis upon things small and divisive; exalts spiritual values; and pledges itself to the realization of the unity of the Christian Church, confident that whatever change may come to its own organic life it will have made a large and abiding contribution in its liberty-loving spirit and its high idealism. Its immediate privilege and task is the promotion of this spirit and ideal within the range of activities which God has assigned it in the development of the Kingdom of Christ on earth.

Rev. William E. Barton, D.D., LL.D., Oak Park, Ill., *Chairman*.

Rev. John P. Sanderson, D.D., Chicago, Ill.

Prof. Williston Walker, D.D., New Haven, Conn.

Hon. John M. Whitehead, Janesville, Wis.

Rev. Edward S. Rothrock, D.D., Cleveland, Ohio.

Hon. Henry M. Beardsley, Kansas City, Mo.

Rev. Edgar L. Heermance, International Falls, Minn.

Rev. Albert E. Dunning, D.D., Brookline, Mass.

Rev. Rockwell H. Potter, D.D., Hartford, Conn.

Rev. Jason Noble Pierce, Dorchester, Mass.

Pres. Charles S. Nash, D.D., Berkeley, Cal.

¹ Rev. William W. Ranney, D.D., Hanover, N. H.

¹ Deceased. February 3, 1920.

CONGREGATIONALISM AND LIBERTY

THE SERVICE RENDERED BY CONGREGATIONALISM TO PERSONAL LIBERTY IN THE INTELLECTUAL, POLITICAL, AND RELIGIOUS HISTORY OF THE LAST THREE HUNDRED YEARS

The history of Congregationalism for the past three hundred years is coincident with the enduring advances in human liberty in most of its phases.

In the striving for freedom many purely human instincts and impulses have played their part, but there can be no general dissent from the proposition that for its larger achievements the cause of human freedom waited for the inspirations and sanction of an emancipated Christian faith.

When the Reformation started with its revolt against ecclesiastical tyranny, and its assertion of the divine right of every man to a direct access to God, as taught by the Scriptures, the way was opened for that whole movement toward liberty which has resulted in our modern free institutions and democratic societies.

Naturally, so revolutionary were the principles, and so deeply ingrained had the habits of subserviency to external authority become through the centuries, the first steps toward liberty were halting and partial. The early reformers had not the courage or the vision to be true to their own startling convictions. John Robinson, the clear thinking pastor of the Church from which the Pilgrims came on their adventure to America, lamented "the state of the Reformed Churches, who were come to a period in religion, and would go no further than the instruments of their reformation. As, for example, the Lutherans, they could not be drawn to go beyond what Luther saw — the Calvinists, they stick where he (Calvin) left them; a misery much to be lamented; for though they were precious shining lights in their times, yet God had not revealed His whole will to them, and were they now living, said he, they would be as ready and willing to embrace further light as that they had received." It is doubtful if John Robinson's characteristic confidence in the open mindedness of the early reformers was warranted; for they, one and all, having advanced a little way, speedily set up arbitrary interpretations and restraints around the position which they had reached.

But they had set a mighty principle at work, which more and more, through successive leaders, wrought irresistibly for genuine personal freedom.

It is altogether commendable that the first impulses toward reformation carried no further than a desire to reform within established practices and institutions. We may feel surer about the whole progress of liberty because there was first so conscientious, earnest, and patient an endeavor to find the truth within existing forms of government and church. We cannot be impatient with the Puritan Movement, and the unsuccessful "Separatist" ventures, because their very futility made all the more inevitable the whole distinct Congregational movement.

Congregationalism must trace its origin to those Separatist movements in London and Norwich in the latter part of the sixteenth century, and the names of Robert Browne, Henry Barrowe, John Greenwood and others are names of significance in Congregational history.

But the Puritan movement serves only as a background to make more original and impressive the achievement of the humble congregation in which the Pilgrims gained their vision, formed their convictions and arrived at the purpose whose fulfillment is the occasion of this Tercentenary celebration. The more one is familiar with the earlier experiments in

liberty; and for many years, the contemporary religious and political action, the more remarkable must seem the faith and action of those in whom the spirit of liberty became so strong that they sought a new home for their church across the sea. "The Pilgrims exhibited through their whole career a deep seated, comprehensive, and inextinguishable love of freedom." So writes Charles W. Eliot, and he adds, "The Pilgrims wanted all sorts of freedom — of thought, of the press, of labor, of trade, of education, and of worship."

It has been pointed out by recent historians that the congregation that first gathered at Brewster's house, in Scrooby, and later migrated to Holland was not driven out of England. The initiative lay with them, in the working of the spirit of liberty. Nor was the later migration to America forced. It was a free adventure in the interest of a larger measure of liberty: the courageous outward expression of a significant spiritual impulse. In fact, as the purpose formed to find a new home in America, the Pilgrims had some vision of the possible large consequences of their course for posterity.

In the estimate of the contribution of Congregationalism to the whole cause of liberty the achievement of the Pilgrims cannot be too strongly emphasized; for they gave a great forward impulse to the whole movement toward freedom by their conspicuous heroism, and the success of their enterprise. Their adventure not only had a great influence in encouraging similar undertakings in their own day, but remains a constant inspiration to all lovers of liberty. The Plymouth colony did not survive as an independent settlement many years, but it stands out with distinction amid all the movements of the period, and is one of the imperishable traditions of the cause of freedom.

The central conviction of these early Congregationalists was that the Bible is God's direct revelation of His will to men; and that each man had the right to find the truth for himself. It is true that they restricted that right in enforcing definite interpretations of doctrine and polity; but that appeal to the individual, that charge to personal responsibility was there at the center of their belief, and was ever at work encouraging independence in every direction. This one conviction has always been a bigger thing than they or their successors fully dared to trust. But it has never been denied; the very genius of Congregationalism has ever proclaimed it and it has continued to produce sturdy independents and pioneers in freedom through all the years.

Nothing is more significant in this early period of Congregational history than the fact that the religious training of the Pilgrims fitted them to meet, in ways consistent with the ideals of freedom, all the political and social emergencies of the community established in America. The forming and signing of the Compact in the cabin of the *Mayflower* was a sudden and unpremeditated act. As is known they sailed with an English charter which authorized them to establish their colony in the Virginia territory, whose northernmost boundary was the Hudson river. The uncertainties of the voyage brought them to the southeastern coast of Massachusetts, and there the captain of the vessel refused to continue in search of the land where they might legally settle. It was a startling situation of which they could have had no anticipation. They must act immediately in a way no body of men had acted before. But though faced by this serious situation, their "whole experience in their church in England and Holland, and the essence of the doctrines taught by their pastor and elders naturally led up to it." The *Mayflower* compact was a natural product of their religious training. And it has a unique place in the history of democratic institutions. Henry Cabot Lodge has written, "I hesitate to say that the Compact of the *Mayflower* was the first of written constitutions — yet I think it may be safely asserted that this compact of the *Mayflower*, expanded later into what was known as the 'Fundamentals' is the first in the

long line of written constitutions with which modern times have become so familiar."

On the monument erected in Provincetown in 1910 there is this sentence among others of the notable inscription: "With long-suffering devotion and sober resolution they illustrated for the first time in history the principles of civil and religious liberty and the practices of a genuine democracy." "For the first time in history." There is a mighty meaning in these words. And this first demonstration, out of the faith and practices of these pioneer Congregationalists, is a contribution to the whole cause of liberty which is unique in its significance.

Though this report is to summarize the achievements of Congregationalism in the three hundred years of its history, it would be proper to treat almost exclusively with these heroic beginnings in the history of the Plymouth Colony. The whole ideal is there, of which all later achievements have been but more or less successful expressions. For much of the time, the clear vision, courage and tolerance of the Pilgrims have been far ahead of subsequent Congregational achievement. The best efforts of later years have reached no higher than an endeavor to realize first ideals, and give expression in a changing social order to those first convictions.

It is worth while to enumerate the principles that made for free institutions which found expression in the structure and life of the Plymouth colony. In the "Compact," which created their "civil body politic," were these two essential complementary principles. Government was by the consent of the governed. The Constitution was a "Compact." In 1636 in the Declaration made by the Commission appointed to draw up a system of laws for the colony, this principle found vigorous expression; "According to the — due privilege of the subject aforesaid, no imposition, law, or ordinance be made or imposed upon by ourselves or others, at present or to come, but such as shall be made or imposed by consent, according to the free liberties of the state — and not otherwise." Other colonists had ventured over seas and had settled in new lands but always with charters or patents handed down to them from constituted authorities; or granted by kings. Here was formed a government that derived its sanction from the governed. "It was an agreement or covenant, or cooperative act, from which was to spring, not only a state government for the little colony, but a great series of constitutions for free states."

The second great principle in this Compact, that has meant as much for freedom as the first, was that this agreement became the organic law to be changed only in the face of great need, and after submission to the whole body politic. To create an instrument for free government, and then to impose restrictions about the freedom already achieved, disclosed a wisdom that guaranteed the success of their adventure in democracy. No democracy can ever endure save by the observance of these two identical principles.

In this new colony the first act of the citizens was to choose by manhood suffrage a governor for a short term, and officers of the colony were similarly chosen through all the years of the colony's existence. It was a further democratic principle with them that every man capable of bearing arms, was responsible for the military defense of the settlement; a principle in accordance with which America today has not the courage to act. The Church of Plymouth was a "Covenanted" Church. It was democracy as applied to religious organizations. It was not until much later in the history of Congregationalism that statements of doctrine were made tests for membership in the Church. At first, the Covenant was the essential principle in forming a church. It was the Compact as applied to religious organization; or, since the truth is that they created their state after the pattern of their church, the Compact was the Covenant as applied to the "civil body politic." The Covenant created a pure democracy in the Church. Ministers were to be elected and ordained by vote

of this democratic body. Other offices were created and filled always in the same way. And the significant thing in connection with this religious democracy, which must not be lost sight of in our own time, is that the fundamental assumption of their religious life was that of progressive revelation of the divine will. The autocratic principle had gone with the conception of a completed revelation, of which the selected few were the custodians. But with the idea of a progressive revelation the conception of a pure democracy developed, to whom the revelation of "more light" should come and by whose thought and experience it should be tested. The democracy is the real instrument God uses in the disclosure of His will, and the declaration of His judgments. Here is a principle of unlimited significance. It means ultimately the faith and experience of the whole human family as necessary for an adequate apprehension of the power and purpose of God.

How thoroughly consistent these early Congregationalists were with their principle of democracy is well attested by their religious toleration, which means more for personal liberty than anything else. "Religious toleration is the greatest achievement of civilized mankind since the Protestant Reformation," writes Dr. Eliot. "It has been wrought out through infinite human suffering in many countries, and by many different agencies; but no single community ever made so great a contribution to its ultimate triumph as the Pilgrim state, set up with the Pilgrim church in 1620. — From the Separatists, transferred to a new world, sprang a government founded on civil and religious liberty; and within two hundred years one of the chief beneficiaries of that liberal government was the Catholic Church itself. That Church has enjoyed perfect liberty in the United States, and for that enjoyment its thanks are due to the English Separatists who made Cape Cod Harbor in 1620. So thoroughly have the lay members of the Catholic Church accepted the national doctrine of religious tolerance, that intolerance is not now apprehended in any American community, although the majority of its voters be Catholic."

If tolerance is considered merely as a way to avoid controversy and friction, it can have no very high place among principles that justify freedom. But if toleration means a faith in God, that He will guard His own truth, and that He will use all mankind to work out its more perfect form, then tolerance becomes a positive force among the most significant that justify democracy.

No discussion of the principles that make for freedom illustrated in the life of the Pilgrims, devoted in and through their Congregationalism, would be complete, without the reference to two emphases, without which the finest institutions and boldest adventures in freedom would fail. In their theory of the church the Congregationalists rejected the conception of the general inclusion of all indiscriminately baptized persons in the body of the church. Even in an autocratic form of church life such a practice resulted in the presence of many unworthy persons in positions of power. A democratic church could not have survived at all on such a basis. As a corollary to the principle that each individual has direct access through the Scriptures to God's revelation of His will, it was held that only those who had sought and found that revelation for themselves, and lived accordingly, could belong to the membership of the church. The church was to consist of those regenerate members of the community who could give an adequate statement of their faith, and who should live in loyalty to its precepts. As the community grew, this view necessarily put some limitation on the democratic theory, and yet a necessary one. It was not a negative principle to keep men out, but a positive one to make men worthy to be in. And its effect was to produce strong Christian character in those professing the Christian faith. These early Congregationalists were men and women of exceptional strength of character, or their experiment in freedom could not have succeeded. Not the least remarkable thing in the history of this

first Congregational church is the high average of individual ability, and devotion to the ideals of the colony. Though they had the machinery for discipline it was rarely employed, and when called into use it was for the most part in connection with outsiders.

But the emphasis on personal responsibility, as the basis of liberty, went further than the question of character. To read, and rightly interpret the Bible, according to the convictions of these founders, called also for the trained mind. They felt as keen a protest against ignorance among the leaders as against moral unworthiness. And, from the beginning, Congregationalism has stood for a thoroughly educated ministry. Not only that but inasmuch as the entire membership had equal right with the pastor and teacher to interpret the Word of God, education must be general. The whole educational movement in New England had its first start from this conviction; that men must be trained intellectually so that they might ably understand and interpret the revelation God has given of Himself in His Word.

This makes for stable and successful democracy. It is perhaps simple and easy to cut away from authority and declare for freedom, but the only guarantee of the success of free institutions is the high quality and personal devotion of the individual members of the society.

Nor did their love of personal freedom lead them into an over emphasized individualism. Their Christian convictions supplied them with the saving social grace. One of the five reasons for their leaving Holland, and seeking a new home in America, was thus stated, "We are knit together in a body in a most strict and sacred bond and covenant of the Lord, of the violation whereof we make great conscience, and by virtue whereof we do hold ourselves straightly tied to all care of each other's good, and of the whole by every one, and so mutually." The community which they formed had no trace of the feudal system. No hereditary privileges or titles were tolerated. Every one accepted and performed his share of common labor, and in spite of incredible difficulties they grew into a successful and strong colony.

Summarized; the Congregationalism of the Pilgrims exalted these ideals, and successfully demonstrated them in the life of the colony during the years of its independent existence. First there was the church, formed as they believed the Bible directed, no other authority being allowed, a body of believers bound by covenant, choosing their own religious leaders. In the matter of membership; a valid personal experience was insisted upon, and a high degree of personal responsibility and devotion encouraged. Outside of the church, toleration toward people of other ways of thinking. Then there was the state, a cooperative society bound by voluntary compact, which became the constitution of the colony; officers chosen by general manhood suffrage, for short terms; a principle of universal military service, and a society with a social consciousness exalting the principles of justice, industry, and mutual helpfulness. These were the principles of which they gave a remarkable practical demonstration according to the times and conditions in which they lived. Everything came from their religious convictions, and it cannot be far wrong to claim that Congregationalism has never had any further contribution to make to any kind of liberty than to make a practical demonstration of these same principles in other times, and under the changing conditions of our civilization.

The Plymouth Colony was quickly out-numbered by the great tide of Puritan immigration to other settlements in Massachusetts. These later comers were not Congregationalists nor even Separatists. They came with proper charters from the King. But from the first they were greatly influenced by the Plymouth colony. It was the news of the success of that colony that encouraged these other adventurers to come at all, and while history is very obscure on this point, in some way the leaven of Plymouth worked with surprising quickness, for the first church organized in any

Puritan settlement, at Salem, was distinctly Congregational, and from then on Congregationalism grew rapidly as new settlements sprung up.

But if Congregationalism determined in the main the church life of colonial New England, other more characteristically Puritan traits modified the Plymouth spirit. And of course other inevitable events, such as the larger control of the growing colonies by England, through the sending of royal governors to administer affairs, modified very much the political and religious ideals and practices in the new and rapidly growing country. There came to be much intolerance, much restriction of civil liberties, and subordination of state to church; there came periods of low spiritual vitality, but many of these things were owing to the exigencies of the times, to the conditions of small settlements, to irritating interferences from without, and may be regarded as the accidents in a long fruitful history.

The Spirit of Congregationalism has been the spirit of liberty, and it never lost its vital power, always alive and always working, breaking out in new vigor after periods of repression, and building up through the years more durable institutions to express and preserve the rights and privileges of a free people.

It is not easy to point out specific instances, through the three hundred years, of contributions to anything so great, and in a measure so much a spiritual thing as liberty; personal, civic, and religious. Congregationalism has on the whole been very true to its first principles, thereby keeping itself a light for freedom in the national life. The independence of individual churches was jealously guarded, and while in the early days the practice grew up of calling conferences or synods as they were named, by civil magistrates, it was abandoned before long, and the method of Association or Conference groups came slowly and cautiously into existence. Congregationalism made for independence, and independence made for pioneering, and not the least helpful influence in the whole development of Congregationalism was the migration of the colonies to Hartford and New Haven, in order to preserve certain principles cherished by these groups. In these new settlements special features of church life or religious conviction were developed, which in turn influenced the whole body of churches as they grew more numerous and their fellowship more significant.

On the whole, through all the years, Congregationalism has been very cautious in the use of creeds, and even when employing them, has nourished a spirit that would not be restricted by them, but must continue in great sincerity and earnestness in the search for better symbols of belief.

There is good historical basis for claiming the prevailing form of town government, that made so much for sturdy independence in New England, as a direct contribution of Congregational church life; and as State and National Constitutions developed, he is more than prejudiced who does not see the direct influence of the ideas born and nurtured and highly sanctioned in centers of Congregational church life.

Perhaps nothing is working more significantly for liberty the world over than the gathering in America of representatives of all nations, here in a mixture of races and nationalities to work out new solutions for the problems of the world's life. The holding of the door of America open, has often been argued against with convincing earnestness and sincerity. Still it has never been closed, and that conception of this country, as an asylum, dates from the experiences of those who first sought refuge here from political tyranny and ecclesiastical restraint. They, forever, established in America the principle of every man's right to freedom in worship and economic endeavor; a right regarded so sacred that it will ever be held untrue to the spirit of our institutions to deny entrance here to those attracted by the freedom we enjoy.

Popular education is the bulwark of liberty and the conviction which first expressed itself, in provision for common school education, in the establishment of Harvard and Yale Colleges, has remained a creative force

in the years which have witnessed the growth of the nation. As successive waves of migration pushed westward, Congregationalism moved in the van, and the record of institutions of learning, colleges, academies, and common schools, established through Congregational initiative, supported by Congregational gifts is a record of splendid activity in preparing men and women for their responsibilities in a democratic society. It was so among the freed-men of the South. No sooner was the way opened, even before it was open, pioneers in educational work among the negroes were at their task. Northern Congregationalists had their share in demanding liberty for the negro, and in gaining it for him in the Civil War. But once that liberty had been won, the Congregational principle of education to make the individual capable of playing his part in a democratic society, sent hundreds of men and women in to the South and followed them with generous gifts. The list of schools, vocational, and those of higher education, established and maintained by the Congregational body is a partial measure of a great contribution to the negro's effort to secure his freedom.

The principles of Congregationalism have had a far wider influence than within the distinct communion that bears the name. "Other polities not distinctly Congregational have in many instances been modified in the United States from their European originals by the introduction of some Congregational elements." Dr. Carroll has pointed out that the Unitarians, The Plymouth Brethren, the Disciples of Christ, and the Baptists as well as a number of small religious bodies are essentially Congregational in government. At the time he gathered his statistics he classified no less than 62,373 religious organizations as of this polity. This would be about 38 per cent of all congregations in the United States. Here then is the wider working of the principle outside of the historical tradition which attests its vitality, and makes for freedom in ever enlarging circles.

In fact Congregationalism has been a mediator between denominations, and with its generous tolerance has been willing to concede so much to bodies of other polities that it has undoubtedly made for liberty and toleration in more ways than can be enumerated. There have been those loyal Congregationalists who from time to time have lamented the generosity with which their fellow churchmen have laid foundations and allowed others to build thereon. Schools have been founded and supported as Congregational and as situations have made it seem wise they have been permitted to pass outside of denominational control. Churches have been established, and relinquished when elements of other polity in them gained the ascendancy. It is the despair of some that denominational loyalty is not a great passion, and does not serve to control the gifts and services of Congregationalists for distinctly sectarian ends. But this has been a glory rather than a reproach, and is more and more being felt as a true testimony to the characteristic faith in liberty of religious belief and practice, as sure to serve the best ends of individual men and women, and to work out the far-reaching purposes of God. If the next great religious movement is to be toward unity, then Congregationalism by its consistent stand for individual freedom, has gained a reputation for fairness and non-partisanship which should enable it to play a highly useful part.

It remains to be asked what principles of permanent value have been wrought out through Congregationalism. These are days of federation, cooperation, and unity. Men are thinking of the concessions that may be made for a more effective alignment of all Christian forces. There are few Congregationalists who would claim today that the system is of exclusive divine authority. There have been those in the past who held a "pure divine" conception of its polity. But that in itself was inconsistent with its great principle of an enlarging revelation of God's will. Many things in forms of worship and organization may be modified, but its stand for personal liberty in worship, responsibility for character, direct access of the individual to God, has so stimulated the growth of free states and

free institutions; has been so great a force in the general liberation of mankind, and man's progress toward finer justice, equal opportunity, and the fuller development of his own personality, that it has received a new sanction out of life itself.

In the best modern thought and feeling democracy spells human hope. No one imagines that the tide of freedom is to recede. We sing "Crowns and thrones may perish," with a new feeling that these days, even of chaotic liberty, hold great promise for the world. Out of disordered freedom will come not autocratic restraint, but ordered freedom. Democracy, men will have. The ideal is of God. But it must be made safe. And here the well balanced principles of Congregationalism have new contributions to make. Ecclesiastical crowns and thrones must some day become, if they are not now, anachronistic. Religious autocracies or aristocracies cannot properly fit men for their more responsible parts in civil and social democracies. Not even in the interest of solidarity and efficiency can they be justified. The heart of Congregationalism has not been a creed or a doctrine, that may hold an honorable place among outgrown symbols and traditions, nor a form of organization, nor a ceremony of worship fashioned, in its time, by passing forms of government or social custom. The heart of Congregationalism has been a vital principle, by its very nature progressive and self expanding. It has helped to create a new world, and in that world, whether keeping the honored name or not, it must remain with its religious ministry, to make secure and successful the wide liberties it has inspired.

Rev. Ashley D. Leavitt, Brookline, Mass., *Chairman.*

Rev. Charles L. Noyes, Somerville, Mass.

Rev. Charles F. Carter, Hartford, Conn.

Rev. Nehemiah Boynton, Brooklyn, N. Y.

Rev. J. Percival Huget, Brooklyn, N. Y.

Rev. Charles H. Beale, Milwaukee, Wis.

Rev. S. H. Woodrow, St. Louis, Mo.

Rev. A. E. Krom, Providence, R. I.

Rev. Francis E. Clark, Boston, Mass.

Rev. Chauncey C. Adams, Burlington, Vt.

Mr. W. W. Mills, Marietta, Ohio.

Prof. H. W. Farnham, New Haven, Conn.

Pres. John E. Merrill, Aintab, Turkey.

Rev. G. Ellery Read, Sherbrooke, Que.

AMERICAN CONGREGATIONAL THEOLOGY¹

One of the most sympathetic and discerning interpreters of New England life and thought has written: "We boldly assert that the spectacle of the early ministry of New England was one to which the world gives no parallel. Living an intense, earnest, practical life, mostly tilling the earth with their own hands, they yet carried on the most startling and original religious investigations with a simplicity that might have been deemed audacious, were it not so reverential. . . . The task they proposed to themselves was that of reconciling the most tremendous facts of sin and evil, present and eternal, with those conceptions of Infinite Power and Benevolence which their own strong and generous natures enabled them so vividly to realize. . . . New England was one vast sea, surging from depths to heights with thought and discussion on the most insoluble of mysteries. And it is to be added, that no man or woman accepted any theory or speculation simply as theory or speculation; all was profoundly real and vital, — a foundation on which actual life was based with intensest earnestness."²

Looking back from our sophisticated time upon that intensely theological age, it seems to the unsympathetic mind as if the New England Puritans were theologically obsessed. It may be so; and yet it is just possible that in the larger perspective of the future we of this age may appear obsessed, — with something other than theology. At all events the obligation is laid upon us, let us rather say the high privilege is conferred upon us, as spiritual children of the Pilgrims,³ by the advent of this thrice sacred centenary, to look back into the thoughts and convictions about divine things which they cherished, to consider the development which their ideas and doctrines have undergone, and in this light to try to read our duty and direction for the future.

The events of history occur and its personages appear but once.

"The Moving Finger writes; and having writ,
Moves on; nor all your Piety nor Wit
Shall lure it back to cancel half a Line,
Nor all your tears wash out a Word of it."

Yet all our piety and wit are needed to decipher the meaning of what has been written and to put it to usury for the future. To this task we may address ourselves with reverent expectancy.

I. American Congregational Theology began as an intelligent loyalty to the Calvinistic system, which served well as a foundation for a restricted theocracy but soon manifested its inadequacy for an expansive church and a progressive commonwealth.⁴

The founders of New England were progressive men and women, pro-

¹ This report was drawn after correspondence with the members of the Commission on Congregationalism and Theology upon the basis of an outline submitted to each. Amendments and modifications of the original outline and in some instances contributive paragraphs or sentences from the members are embodied in the report now presented. It thus represents more completely, perhaps, than is customary where the number is so large, the joint finding of the entire Commission. Owing to the nature of the subject the General Committee has granted to the Commission an unusually generous allotment of space.

² Harriet Beecher Stowe: "The Minister's Wooing," chapter XXIII.

³ The term "Pilgrims" is used throughout as embracing all the founders of New England; for they were all Pilgrims, as well as Puritans, crossing the sea to the same wilderness, in search of the same heavenly city.

⁴ The principal history of the New England theology is Professor Frank Hugh Foster's *A Genetic History of the New England Theology* (1907). The reader may consult also Dr. Williston Walker's *Creeds and Platforms of Congregationalism* (1893) and Dr. George A. Gordon's, *Humanism in New England Theology* (1920). A full bibliography of the Puritan Divines of America (1620-1720) may be found in *The Cambridge History of American Literature*, Vol. I (1917). *The Religious History of New England*, King's Chapel Lectures (1917), contains valuable accounts of all the leading Protestant denominations. Other volumes are referred to in the text and notes.

gressive in idea as well as in action. The Pilgrim church gained from John Robinson a thoughtful and forward-looking attitude of mind. While Robinson was an earnest defender of the Canons of Dort, he was also, as Bradford said of him, "ever desirous of any light," a tolerant and devoted servant of Christ. The Farewell Address, with its well-known allusion to "more light to break forth from God's word," has become the most cherished word which the Pilgrim church has left to us.⁵

The Covenant idea upon which the Pilgrim church was organized, and which molded the *Mayflower* cabin compact, was in itself a charter of liberty and a promise of progress, both in its principle of the corporate equality of the members and in its declared purpose to walk in all God's ways "made known or to be made known" unto them. (Contrast Chap. I, Article VI, of the Westminster Confession.) The adoption of the principle of the covenant by the Salem church, with the same forward look, "according as he is pleased to reveal himself unto us in his Blessed Word of truth," and later by the churches generally, evidences the spirit of openness and expectancy which characterized all of these daring and devoted spiritual pioneers, desirous as they were of establishing a new and better religious and social order in a new world.

When, in common with their brethren in England, Scotland, Holland and Switzerland, the founders of the New England churches made Calvinism their chosen vessel of divine truth, they did so whole-heartedly. They formally and unitedly adopted it "for substance of doctrine," in the form of the Westminster standards, in the Cambridge Synod of 1648, and the Reforming Synod of 1680, preached it in their pulpits and endeavored to build their individual and community religious life upon it. Their loyalty to the Westminster theology was earnest and long-sustained. By such contrasted undertakings as Samuel Willard's great tome — the largest that had then been printed in this country — "A Complete Body of Divinity" (1726), "Containing two hundred and fifty expository lectures on the Assembly's Shorter Catechism," and the New England Primer (before 1690), they sought to make its doctrines acceptable to young and old. Their confidence in its universal applicability is indicated by the fact that they translated the Savoy Confession into the Indian language, that those dark children of Satan, as they regarded them, might be enlightened by its supernal wisdom.

The inadequacy of Calvinism as a final statement of Christian truth came to full consciousness only after sore struggles to make faith fit into its rigid mold. *The key to the understanding of the earlier history of Congregational theology in America lies in the devoted effort of the fathers to be true to a system too restricted for their larger aims and deeper convictions and yet one which they identified with the gospel of Christ himself.* The recognition of this disparity involves no disparagement of the great Calvinistic divines who framed that in many ways noble and exalted document, the Westminster Confession of Faith. They, too, were caught in the tragic misconception of Paul's teaching, introduced by Augustine and perpetuated by Calvin.

II. In spite of this loyalty, a spirit of restiveness under the Calvinistic theology and of outreach toward something freer and larger began early to manifest itself. It showed itself in the following forms:

(1) Protests against intolerance. The boldest and most outspoken of these was that of Roger Williams, troubler of Israel, intolerant apostle of tolerance, yet "a mighty and benignant form, always pleading for some magnanimous idea, some tender charity, the rectification of some wrong, the exercise of some sort of forbearance to men's bodies or souls."⁶ Both

⁵ Dr. H. M. Dexter's contention that the Farewell Address was confined to anticipated advances in polity only has been convincingly met by President O. S. Davis in his John Robinson, the Pilgrim Pastor.

⁶ Moses Colt Tyler: *History of American Literature*, Vol. I, p. 243 (Agawam Edition).

Baptists and Quakers registered in their crude, sometimes violent and self-defeating ways, their sense of the injustice of Puritan exclusiveness, doctrinal and political.

(2) Antinomianism. While the ill-balance and factiousness of Mrs. Hutchinson and her party are undeniable, the controversy clearly grew out of an effort to break through the rigidity and formalism of the Calvinistic regime into freer expression of the mystical and emotional content of religion.

(3) Efforts to relieve the heinousness of the accepted doctrine of atonement. Of these the earliest was William Pyncheon's "The Meritorious Price of Our Redemption" (1650), in which the value of Christ's death was declared to lie in its voluntary nature, in that he did the will of God rather than bore His wrath.⁷

(4) Outspoken declarations in favor of reason as "equally" with revelation "an emanation of Divine Wisdom," as John Wise put it in his "Vindication of New England Churches." (1717.)

(5) Objections to a tritheistic form of Trinitarianism. Such was the "Arianism" of Jonathan Mayhew, Thomas Barnard, William Bentley, John Prince and others.⁸

(6) Remonstrances against the harshness of the doctrine of eternal punishment and in behalf of the universality of redemption. Among these the most conspicuous was Charles Chauncy's "Salvation of all Men" (1784). Universalism as an independent movement was introduced into America in 1770 by John Murray, a disciple of James Rely of London; at first Calvinistic, based on the doctrine of universal atonement, it became liberal and Unitarian.

(7) Arminianism. The overweight of emphasis put upon the supernatural world and the depreciation of the natural—including even the use of "the means of grace"—produced a growing reaction toward freedom and the claims of the natural life. The movement was termed, not altogether justly, Arminianism. It was in part normal, although it shaded off into a spirit of license and revolt subversive of the religious life, and aroused alarm for the cause of religion and the church.

III. The rise of the New England theology was due to the endeavor to meet this restiveness and revolt constructively.

In order to defeat Arminianism and restore religious earnestness, Jonathan Edwards (1703–1758), the founder of New England theology, reconstructed in ardent and intensive form the Calvinistic doctrines of Divine Sovereignty, Foreordination, Original Sin as entailed by the fall of Adam, Eternal punishment as the divine condemnation of racial and individual guilt, and Redemption of the elect as an act of supernatural grace. It was a theology adapted to rebuke and subdue human nature. The Great Awakening was, to a large degree, the fruitage of this theology, aroused by its seriousness and colored by its concepts.⁹

⁷ See E. H. Byington: *The Puritan in England and New England*, Chap. IV.

⁸ His biographer writes of Jonathan Mayhew: "He was the first clergyman in New England who expressly and openly opposed the scholastic doctrine of the Trinity." Quoted by George W. Cooke, *Unitarianism in America*, p. 65.

⁹ In his *History of New England Theology*, Professor Foster points to a significant fact concerning the doctrine of sovereignty: "The doctrine of the sovereignty of God is one which affects the church differently at different times. The first Puritans, sure in their own hearts that they were the elect of God, found the doctrine necessary to sustain them in the tremendous struggles through which they passed. . . . But when such mighty stimulus was removed . . . it produced sluggishness, apathy, self-distrust, despair" (p. 29). It is significant, too, that while in his theology Edwards laid so great emphasis upon the doctrines of sovereignty and determinism, in his sermons,—such as that "On the Manner in which Salvation is to be Sought" and "The Unreasonableness of Indetermination in Religion"—he ignores these doctrines completely and appeals, with the utmost earnestness, for immediate decision and action.

In accomplishing this task Edwards became the foremost theologian of America, as he had already evinced himself her most original philosopher. In marked contrast with Edwards the theologian was Edwards the philosopher and mystic, proponent of a profound philosophical idealism and possessor of an intense mystical experience. It is the latter Edwards who is now coming to eclipse Edwards the theologian. It is difficult to reconcile Edwards' theology and his philosophy. "Had he brought his theology into line with his philosophy, the history of New England thought would have been vastly different." — *McGiffert*.¹⁰ While some of the names that once stood high in honor have suffered partial eclipse through the lapse of the years and the changes of thought, that of Jonathan Edwards is more refulgent today than ever before, *Rerum sacrorum philosophus qui saeculorum admirationem movet, Dei cultor mystice amantissimus*. Mystic of mystics, yet clearest of reasoners; forceful controversialist, yet "the greatest speculative genius of the eighteenth century";¹¹ metaphysician and seer, psychologist and saint, he takes his place, with none to challenge it, among the anointed of the Most High. He was the consummate flower of New England piety and intellectual and spiritual discipline. "We shall not go back to him," as one has said, "nor forward without him. In American theology he is the one peerless thinker."¹²

IV. The "New Divinity" which arose with Edwards was in some respects ameliorated and in others advanced by the eminent theologians who succeeded him, notably Joseph Bellamy and Samuel Hopkins, both of whom were his pupils. Joseph Bellamy (1719-1790), for fifty years pastor of the church in Bethlehem, Conn., author of "True Religion Delineated" (1750), and of that Leibnitzian theodicy, "The Wisdom of God in the Permission of Sin" (1758), was possessed of great intellectual and personal power and, like several of the New England divines, acted in the capacity of a theological seminary to many candidates for the ministry.

Next to Edwards the greatest of the New England theologians was Samuel Hopkins (1721-1803), a man of simple and unaffected nobility of heart and mind, millennial dreamer, author of that singularly daring essay, "Sin through the Divine Interposition an Advantage to the Universe" (1759), and of a "System of Doctrines" (1793), which is one of the chief productions of the New England theology.¹³ Hopkins' favorite doctrine of "Disinterested Benevolence" made him friend and defender of the negro and enemy of the slave-trade in one of its chief centers, — willing, too, "to be damned for the glory of God," — one of the heroes of the New England faith.

The school which developed under these two theologians and others, including the younger Edwards, came to be known as Hopkinsianism. The distinctive Hopkinsian doctrines may be stated as follows:

(1) The Nature of God, even though He acts in and through the Divine Decrees, Infinite Benevolence, or Love; (2) Human Nature, in spite of its depravity, capable of receiving the Divine Grace; (3) The Will, although pre-determined, nevertheless free; (4) Virtue, consisting of "disinterested benevolence"; (5) Revelation, although complete in the Bible, susceptible of ever enlarging understanding through reason and "divine illumination"¹⁴; (6) Atonement governmental, a means "whereby God's infinite hatred of sin and unchangeable resolution to punish it might be as effec-

¹⁰ Compare also McGiffert, *Protestant Thought Before Kant*, p. 178ff.

¹¹ A. M. Fairbairn. See A. V. G. Allen: *Jonathan Edwards*; also Chapter VI in Williston Walker's *Ten New England Leaders*.

¹² E. C. Smyth, "The Idealism of Jonathan Edwards," *American Journal of Theology*, Vol. I, No. 4.

¹³ Dr. Williston Walker terms it "as strenuous and as able a critique of current beliefs as New England has ever seen." — "Ten New England Leaders," p. 353.

¹⁴ See Hopkins' *System*, Part II, Section V.

tually manifested as if he had damned the whole world " ¹⁵; (7) This world the best possible world, in spite of evil, which is necessary to the highest good.

The object of the New Divinity was to "improve" Calvinism by idealizing, exalting and in effect transcending it. It proved a heroic but hopeless enterprise. The old wine-skins would not hold the new wine with which this new vineyard of the Lord's planting overflowed. But the resourceful theologians of the New World were not to be thwarted by their failure in one direction. Having failed with High Calvinism they resorted to Low Calvinism.

V. The descent of the New England theology from High Calvinism to Moderate Calvinism resulted from an attempt to make it more consonant with the increasing rationalistic and individualistic Deism of the eighteenth century and the humanism of the nineteenth century. Hopkinsonism was not abandoned but its high points were reduced. The ethical, empirical and rational notes grew more and more insistent in such theologians as Nathaniel Emmons, Timothy Dwight, N. W. Taylor, Charles G. Finney and E. A. Park.

Nathaniel Emmons (1745-1840) was the prince of clear definers but also of self-contradictors, teaching in one sermon that sinners "have always been able to love God with all their heart, to repent of sin and to believe in Christ" ¹⁶ and in the next that their inability to love God is their sin "and the more unable they are to love God for his holiness the more inexcusable and sinful they are." ¹⁷ God, he asserted, creates our volitions and yet creates them *free*. Emmons was the empiricist of his day, impatient of obscurities and compromises, a brilliant and lucid sermonizer. He resolved the soul into a series of "exercises" and declared that "all sin consists in sinning." Yet he did not hesitate to assert that God is the Efficient Cause of all these exercises, even of sin itself. This makes Emmons "the pantheist among the New England theologians; exercises are souls; exercises are God's will; exercises, good and bad, are God's self-expression." — *Gordon*. ¹⁸

President Timothy Dwight (1752-1817) relieved the strain of the older Calvinism at many points in his widely-read "Theology Explained and Defended" (1818), consisting of sermons preached to Yale students. To his discussion of doctrines he added a system of duties exhibiting the ethical nature of Christianity.

Nathaniel W. Taylor (1786-1858) was the freest and most daring of the Calvinist theologians. He declared in his famous "Concio ad Clerum" (1828), that "guilt pertains exclusively to voluntary action." Under the aspect of "The Moral Government of God" he presented the Christian doctrines in so masterly a way as to make "Taylorism" the dread and dismay of the conservatism of his time.

The contest over the freedom of the will was the central issue in the New England Theology. Edwards' distinction between natural ability and moral ability — continued by Smalley, Hopkins and others — was an attempt to rescue freedom, which had been thrown out as *moral inability*, by bringing it back in the form of *natural ability*. It was a purely theological device and led to that hard-headed parody, "You can and you can't; you will and you won't; you'll be damned if you do, and you'll be damned

¹⁵ Bellamy, Works, Vol. I, p. 267. See F. H. Foster's History of New England Theology, p. 116.

¹⁶ Works of Emmons, Vol. III, p. 60.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 73.

¹⁸ "It seems plain to me that this doctrine of exercises tends to pantheism." — Augustus H. Strong, Philosophy and Religion, p. 169.

if you don't." Taylor boldly broke through the tissue of fabrications by declaring that "the natural ability of man to obey God, as defined by Edwards and others, has no existence and can have none. It is an essential nothing."¹⁹

Charles G. Finney (1792-1875), founder of the Oberlin School, carried freedom of choice into practical action in revivalism. The Oberlin School also so far contravened Calvinism as to endeavor to introduce into Congregationalism a mild form of the doctrine of perfectionism.

Edwards A. Park (1808-1900) is generally accounted the last of the great New England theologians. While he summarized the New England doctrines in a logical system in his renowned Andover lectures, he also flashed upon the Massachusetts convention the brilliant foregleam of a new day in his striking sermon, "The Theology of the Intellect and the Theology of the Feelings."

Even with these able defenders sustaining it, the New England theology gradually lost its hold and finally, in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, was gathered to the fathers, leaving its gains, if not its good-will, to a theology in closer touch with the life and thought of the age.

VI. With all its intellectual vigor and its moral and spiritual earnestness the New England theology had a fatal defect which had much to do with its decadence. It allowed itself to drift into scholasticism. Its refinements and "improvements" improved it farther and farther away from human life and from enlarging knowledge. This is the inevitable result when truth is made subservient to system. No science can maintain its integrity and vitality unless it continually returns to its experiential data and adjusts itself to them and to the concepts of the age.

The scholastic habit led to extravagance and unreality — an unreality more easily felt than refuted. Whether the theologians themselves felt it or not, the people did, and were alienated. Professor Bliss Perry, in his discerning volume, "The American Mind," illustrates the growing revolt against this theology by Sam Lawson's comment on preaching: "'Wal,' said Sam, 'Parson Simpson's a smart man; but I tell you, it's kind o' discouragin'. Why, he said our state and condition by nature was just like this. We was clear down in a well fifty feet deep, and all the sides round nothin' but glare ice; and we was under immediate obligations to get out, 'cause we was free, voluntary agents. But nobody ever had got out, and nobody would, unless the Lord reached down and took 'em. And whether He would or not nobody could tell; it was all sovereignty. He said there wasn't one in a hundred, — not one in ten thousand, — that would be saved. Lordy Massy, says I to myself, if that's so, they're any of 'em welcome to my chance. And so I kind o' ris up and come out.'"

That is what happened to the New England theology. The American mind "kind o' ris up" and came out from an atmosphere of such chill and gloom, such unreality and oppressiveness, that normal instincts and activities could not live in it. The New England theology as a system was unquestionably a light, a broken light, of truth. But it stained the white radiance of eternity with doctrines so darkly colored with scholastic obscurities and the gloom of sin that the Spirit could no longer make use of it. While it was engaged with its definitions and improvements and corollaries a new and more humane and manageable world was gradually evolving. Science was making rapid progress. New knowledge of nature and human nature was making ancient good uncouth. All this had its certain effect.

¹⁹ Moral Government, Vol. II, p. 134.

Yet even before these disintegrating influences had begun to work there sprang up a theological movement which dashed the refinements of the New England metaphysics against the rocks of native reason and ethical instinct and undertook to substitute for them truths, "to be decided," in the language of its leader, "at the bar of reason."²⁰

VII. Unitarianism grew up within the very citadel of Massachusetts Congregationalism as an open and, after a time, organized revolt, and came to full self-consciousness in W. E. Channing's famous Baltimore sermon of 1819. It was aimed against orthodoxy in general and in particular against (1) its doctrine of human nature, (2) a repellant doctrine of the character of God (3) a formal and conventional doctrine of Christ and Atonement, and (4) a tritheistic Trinity. These objectionable doctrines, though commonly held and preached in many pulpits, were tempered, as we have seen, by distinctions and modifications which Unitarianism refused to recognize. "It is astonishing," said Channing, "what a fabric they rear from a few slight hints about the fall of our first parents; and how ingeniously they extract from detached passages mysterious doctrines about the divine nature."²¹

The controversy, originally theological, speedily became bitterly partisan and personal, losing thus most of its theological value. Like every strong wind it cleared the air — and effected injury. On the whole there can be little doubt that the things which happened to Orthodoxy at the hands of Unitarianism have fallen out rather to the progress of the Gospel. "Unitarianism has rendered to Orthodoxy valuable service," as Dr. Dunning has said, "by turning it from side issues in religion to the defence and proclamation of essential truths, by leading it to a truer sense of the fatherhood of God, and by persuading it to a greater appreciation of the dignity of human nature."²²

While originally chiefly a protest, Unitarianism, as it developed, was not without its constructive elements. "It was not the theological as much as the humanistic that was potent in it. Then, too, in all this movement of thought, as well as later in the New Theology, the larger cultural movement the world over was influential." — *Evans*.

The simple fact is that our whole theological outlook has been moved forward to a fresh point of vision from which the sharp antithesis between the divine and human has disappeared.

The constructive contribution of Unitarianism consisted, first, and principally, in its vital conception — due chiefly to Channing — of the inherent dignity and worth of humanity.

The challenge of Channing to a worthier doctrine of man unveils a trait of Puritan life and doctrine which should not be passed over without comment. It is at first thought a strange fact that the abasement of man before God, so characteristic of Calvinism, should have resulted, for a time at least, in producing precisely the opposite effect, i. e., of imparting to the Puritan character a certain stern and tragic dignity and elevation which cannot but awaken admiration.²³ The Puritan fell on his knees and called himself corrupt, wicked, worthless, a worm, mercilessly reviling his human nature, and then rose to his full height and faced the world and his fellowmen with a self-reliance and composure and nobility of spirit that seemed utterly to belie his words, sincere and honest though they usually were. The secret of this striking contrast between idea and attitude lies somewhere within the words: "He that humbleth himself shall be exalted." His moral and spiritual attitude was, in the main, right, but the doctrine was not, and in

²⁰ W. E. Channing's Baltimore Sermon.

²¹ *Ibid.*

²² Congregationalists in America, p. 315.

²³ Dr. Richard S. Storrs calls attention to this "profound sense of the dignity of man" in his address, *The Puritan Spirit*, p. 21.

time its falsity made itself felt. Channing was right when he insisted that this degrading doctrine of human nature was untrue to God and man. If God is within man as well as above him, it is wronging *Him* to vilify humanity as nothing but a "mass of corruption." Still, there was a profound reality hidden even under so debasing a doctrine. Paul struck very close to it when he said, "I know that in me—that is in my flesh—dwelleth no good thing." Calvinism failed to note that *significant parenthesis*, — "*that is in my flesh*." It belongs to us, children of the light of a larger day, children also of the shadowed sincerity of Puritanism, to reconcile these two polar truths of human worth and human sinfulness in the living synthesis of that greatest of paradoxes, — human personality.

A second contribution of Unitarianism lay in its appreciation of extra-Christian religions. Samuel Johnson and James Freeman Clarke were pioneers in this country of the study of Comparative Religion.

Emphasis upon the human nature of Jesus, as one finds it in Theodore Parker, for example, one-sided as it often was, constituted a third contribution of Unitarian thought and helped to restore a neglected and essential element in Christianity.

The high evaluation of intuition, — as contrasted with "revealed" (in the narrower sense of the term) and with theoretic knowledge, — which appeared in the later development of Unitarianism, was another emphasis that promoted spiritual advance. This reached an extravagant but influential form in Transcendentalism, a philosophy which repelled many orthodox Unitarians but won some of their finest minds. Transcendentalism crystallized the romantic movement in American literature. Ralph Waldo Emerson was Transcendentalism incarnate. Unsystematic and impractical as he was in his thinking, Emerson has come to be recognized as a divine gift to the children of the Puritans, to be received, not as a theologian — for that he never was nor could be — but as a divinely gifted seer and sage, the "cosmic patriot" of the New World, revealing to the half-starved children of Calvin the greatness and goodness of a world spiritualized, — a world which they had renounced for the sake of a great principle, but might now repossess through the conquest of their faith.

Such contributions to theology as these, together with its splendid contribution to literature, especially poetry and hymnology, leave no question as to the enrichment which Unitarianism has brought to our religious life.

With these constructive contributions of Unitarianism have been blended tendencies toward rationalism, a one-sided humanitarianism, pantheism and naturalism which have given the movement at times an individualistic, eclectic and somewhat wavering character. Yet in spite of many temptations, and in spite of its serious failure to realize the full meaning and value of positive Christianity as a redemptive religion centering in Christ, Unitarianism has kept the Christian name²⁴ and a large measure of the spirit of the Master.

The duty of a just appraisal of, and a right attitude toward, this departure from the historic faith rests upon Congregationalism with peculiar force at this hour when history lays upon us its distinctive obligations.

In the perspective of the years the chief defect of Unitarianism theologically appears in its failure to maintain the unity and continuity of the Christian faith. Owing in part to the intolerance of the defenders of orthodoxy and in part to its own radicalism and impatience with the conservatism of the "standing order," its revolt issued in the most painful schism ever experienced in American Christianity, — by reason of which

²⁴ At one time it seemed possible that this might be sacrificed. See George Willis Cooke: *Unitarianism in America*, Chapter IX; also, J. W. Buckham: *The Pilgrim Tercentenary and Theological Progress*, *The Harvard Theological Review*, July, 1918.

the Pilgrim churches are still divided, while the Unitarian churches seem to be more and more isolated from the church universal. This unhappy situation cannot but cause a note of regret in this otherwise harmonious tercentenary celebration. For the Unitarian churches share with us in the heritage of the Pilgrims.

In the light of present comity and cooperation, and especially in view of the larger future which we are facing, it becomes all branches of the church to recognize that doctrinal differences, and even those differences regarding the "Way" of which the fathers were so jealous, should not be allowed to stand in the way of whatever kind of unity the Spirit may be leading us toward.²⁵

Unitarianism did not draw off all the liberalizing resources of the Pilgrim lineage. The old stock sent forth a new shoot — "The New Theology."

VIII. The New Theology was the lineal successor of the New England theology, inheriting its reverent faith and its intellectual vigor, but substituting the spirit of inquiry for that of speculation,²⁶ and based on virtually new *principia*.

Horace Bushnell was the original and constructive mind in whom the New Theology took shape.²⁷ He was the pioneer of the new era, daring, vital, spontaneous, mystical yet rational, above all pressing theology back nearer to the New Testament, centering all his thought in Jesus Christ, and seeking always the *vitalities* and *values* of Christian truth, — next to Edwards our greatest theologian.

"The religion of the time of Horace Bushnell needed relief at four points:— (1) Revivalism; (2) the conception of the Trinity; (3) Miracles; (4) the Atonement. At each of these, Bushnell led the way to a nobler conception. (1) In his 'Christian Nurture' he sought to establish the proposition that the child is to grow up as a Christian and never know himself otherwise—a statement which shook New England theology to its foundations. (2) In his remarkable volume 'God in Christ' he did much to free the mind of the church from a conception of the Trinity, which it was difficult to distinguish from Tritheism and to open the way to the recognition of the one nature shared by God and man through which we have been able to see the Christlikeness of God, the Godlikeness of Christ and the potential divinity of every man. (3) In 'Nature and the Supernatural' he was able to do much to set the mind of his generation free from the perplexities of the problem of miracles until it became clear that the moral and spiritual values of our faith are independent of miracle. (4) Bushnell's great contribution to the doctrine of Atonement was in making it clear that the problems involved in the Atonement are not commercial or governmental but have to do with moral and spiritual relationship."— *Brooks*.

Nearest him, exercising a wider though not so profound an influence, should be placed that great interpreter of the New Theology to the people, Henry Ward Beecher, far more of a theologian than he has been credited with being, sprung from the loins of one of the lions of the tribe of Calvin, rejecting its dogmas but inheriting its reverence and passion, animated with the power of tenderness and appeal and the imaginative freedom which the Puritans so pathetically shut out of their gospel. The New Theology was defined and extended by such thinkers as Theodore T. Munger, Egbert C. Smyth and Washington Gladden (tireless tractarian of the movement), not to speak of other leaders who are still with us.

²⁵ The Kansas City Council Creed is clear and sufficient evidence of a broader and more inclusive point of view and a more fraternal attitude on the part of Congregationalists toward all Christian believers.

²⁶ This distinction has been drawn by President W. J. Tucker. (See *Public Mindedness*, p. 314.)

²⁷ See T. T. Munger: *Horace Bushnell, Preacher and Theologian*.

The New Theology rejected the systemism which had shackled the New England theology for an experiential theology, unified internally rather than externally. It repudiated an isolated and extreme supernaturalism for a naturalized spiritual life which regards Christian nurture as the normal form of regeneration. It was indebted philosophically largely to Coleridge (introduced to America by James Marsh), to whose *Aids to Reflection*, says Dr. Munger, "it may almost be said that we are indebted for Bushnell," and theologically to Frederick Denison Maurice and Frederick Robertson. Stimulated though it was by scientific as well as liberal religious thought, it was an autonomous and distinct movement — as much so as the New England theology before it.²⁸

The primary doctrines of the New Theology were: Divine Immanence; Incarnation; Continuous Creation; Progressive Revelation.²⁹ It is of course not to be inferred that the New Theology, though so largely a movement of Congregationalists, was theirs alone. The doctrine of Immanence, for example, was advanced not only by Unitarians and other liberals but by such teachers as Professors Bowne and A. V. G. Allen, such a preacher as Phillips Brooks, such scientists as John Fiske and Joseph Le Conte, and by such authors as James Russell Lowell and Elisha Mulford.

In close relation to the doctrine of Immanence was that of Incarnation — the central doctrine of the New Theology. In recovering this neglected doctrine the New Theology so revitalized the Greek Theology as to cause this early doctrine of Christianity to bloom again in the modern world, with all the attractiveness and wealth of meaning with which it first captivated the mind of Christian Ephesus and Alexandria. In the field of Apologetics a contribution to Theism of great significance, was made in the works of Samuel Harris, — "The Philosophical Basis of Theism" (1883) and "The Self-Revelation of God" (1887). Professor George P. Fisher's "Grounds of Theistic and Christian Belief" (1902), and other of his volumes also exerted a broadening influence.

IX. Much of the ethical and spiritual reinvigoration which the New Theology should have brought with it has unfortunately been lost through the misinterpretations and lapses which have attached themselves to it. The substitution of the New Testament doctrine of God as Love, in place of the Old Testament idea of Sovereignty, for example, has been made "an occasion to the flesh" on the part of those whose only idea of love is that of a weak, indulgent sentimentalism, instead of the most searching and sincere of all passions, compassionate but never compromising, sacrificial but severe. The New Theology conception of sin, too, as being social as well as individual, and of its punishment as spiritual and remedial, has been distorted into cheap notions of sin as a mere racial, hereditary "strain o' the stuff" and of a hell frozen over or turned to innocuous ashes.

How shall such lapses into spinelessness, such mollusc degenerations of doctrine, be met? Not by going back to the older doctrines, as some would have us to do. That way madness lies. One of our elder Congregational ministers, at some distance yet from the time to go the way of all the earth, has stated that he can remember when as a boy he wished he were a dog or cat, so that he might not be in danger of eternal torment. Charles Kingsley once said to John G. Whittier that it was an unspeakable relief to him,

²⁸ It is significant to note how unreservedly and generously George E. Ellis concedes this in the last chapter of his well-known "Half Century of the Unitarian Controversy," written at the very inception of the New Theology, and closing with these magnanimous words: "May God's blessing be on their labors, to keep them loyal to Him, to Christ, and to the everlasting Gospel of grace and redemption. If the New Theology shall prove to be so much truer and better than Unitarianism as to obliterate the sect, whose visible increase it does withstand, we are ready to welcome it." (P. 402.)

²⁹ The Andover Faculty, urged by controversial issues, laid stress upon destiny as determined by a "future probation," in which Christ was conceived as presented to souls who had no opportunity to know him here. But this theory by no means represented the real character and content of the Andover theology, whose central doctrine was that of the Incarnation.

brought up as he was under the shadow of theological gloom, when he learned that God is at least as good as the average church member. It would be folly, and worse, to go back to doctrines that darkened innocent hearts and lives in the period before the rise of what we call the New Theology. Yet on the other hand we want no concessive, faded, worthless remainders of doctrine such as the New Theology has been unjustly supposed to have dealt out to a complaisant public.

In respect to one of the great Christian doctrines the New Theology has failed to satisfy the Christian consciousness — that of Atonement. "All of the leaders of the newer way of thinking have followed Bushnell in holding practically a moral theory. According to this theory atonement is an individual matter. The old theology wrestled with the problem of an atonement equal to the sin of the world. It seems singular that the New Theology, which boasts of viewing all religious questions in social relations, should be the most individualistic of all theologies on the question of the Atonement." — *Dinsmore*.²⁰ In searching for the heart of this doctrine our English brethren, through Robert Dale and others, have been in advance of us, — though Dale's work, noble as it is, is only a step toward the deciphering of the yet unplumbed meaning of suffering, Divine and human.

The New Theology is more or less closely allied with what may be termed the Social Theology, in which denominational lines are more and more lost to sight. Social Christianity in America is characterized by its denominationally cooperative character. Among its pioneers were the Congregationalists, Josiah Strong and Washington Gladden; its greatest exponent was the beloved and lamented Walter Rauschenbusch, a Baptist; and among its ablest interpreters have been the great-hearted Unitarian, Edward Everett Hale, and the brotherly Episcopalian, George Hodges. Its living representatives include men and women of all denominations, who labor and plan together as if denominationalism had never darkened the pathway of the children of light.

Theologically the emphasis of the Social Theology is upon:

God as a Social Being, closely identified with humanity, rather than an isolated Being, "at an infinite distance." — *Westminster Confession*.²¹

Human Solidarity, understood in the light of racial religiousness, rather than racial depravity.

Sin as Social Injustice.²²

X. It is an adventurous and stirring story, — this of the development of the theology of the New England churches. He is to be pitied who sees in it nothing but inconsequential and evanescent theories and counter-theories. The church established by the Pilgrims and Puritans has proved itself in spite of serious defects not unworthy of those lofty words of Milton concerning the nation from which the Puritans came, "not slow and dull, but of quick, ingenious and piercing spirit; acute to invent, subtle and

²⁰ It is not, however, to be forgotten that Bushnell was not satisfied with the Moral Influence theory and himself sought to go deeper in his Forgiveness and Law.

²¹ "The God of Calvinism was consistent with the feudal notion of society which dominated the Middle Ages. As democratic ideals crowded out the aristocratic and authoritative ideals of an early day, of course the character of God appeared in a different perspective. His absoluteness and his responsibility only to his own character gave way to the notion of relativity and responsibility to men. They, too, have rights, and God is bound to respect them." — A. C. McGiffert, "The Rise of Modern Religious Ideas," p. 245.

²² An early expression of the social aspect of the Gospel occurs in the second report on a Declaration of Faith, submitted to the National Council of 1865, in which it is declared to have been "the grand peculiarity" of the Pilgrim fathers "that they applied the principles of the Gospel to elevate society, to regulate education, to civilize humanity, to purify love, to reform the church and the state, to assert, to defend and to die for liberty, in short to mould and redeem by its all-transforming energy everything that belongs to man in his individual and social relations."

sinewy to discourse, not beneath the reach of any point the highest that human capacity can soar to."²³

What does this history teach us? Whither does it point the way?

The New England theology offers at once a serious warning and a noble incentive. The warning lies in *letting theology lose touch with life*, a mistake which proved so fatal to the New England theology. "There was a strange hesitation on the part of its exponents to test their doctrine by any body of fact save facts carefully chosen to prove their own point or by any experience except the experiences which the discipline and methods of that theology themselves created." — *Atkins*. The result was disastrous. Perhaps there has been no keener perception of this defect than that of Harriet Beecher Stowe in her exquisite historical romance, "The Minister's Wooing," from which we have already quoted. The heroine's lover writes to her, as he puts out to sea, concerning Doctor Samuel Hopkins of Newport, their pastor, as follows:

"And now as to your doctor that you think so much of, I like him for certain things, in certain ways. He is a great, grand, large pattern of a man, — a man who isn't afraid to think, and to speak anything he does think; but then I do believe, if he would take a voyage round the world in the fore-castle of a whaler, he would know more about what to say to people than he does now; it would certainly give him several new points to be considered. Much of his preaching about men is as like live men as Chinese pictures of trees and rocks and gardens, no nearer the reality than that. All I can say is, 'It isn't so; and you'd know it, sir, if you knew men.' He has got what they call a system, — just so many bricks put together just so; but it is too narrow to take in all I see in my wanderings round this world of ours. Nobody that has a soul, and goes round the world as I do, can help feeling it at times, and thinking, as he sees all the races of men and their ways, who made them, and what they were made for."

And yet, in spite of its falling into this unnecessary alienation from life the New England theology inculcates, by way of incentive, *the duty and value of giving to the intellect its true place in theology*. For by this means, in large part, the Puritan church was raised to a plane of true intellectual and moral power.

For the last fifty years theology in this country has been following the lead of Germany and England in concentrating its attention upon historical research and interpretation. The result has been a great advance in theological science, whose gains are waiting to be put to spiritual usury. At the same time, the neglect of the metaphysical foundations of theology has left it, as regards problems of ultimate truth, weakened and self-distrustful. The Protestant church, having ceased to be either a thinking church, or in any adequate sense a worshiping church, has become an easy prey to cults that supply the mystical element — which the church ought to furnish — joined to a thought structure comparable in the degree of its incompetency only to the narrow versions of the Gospel which these cults are so largely supplanting.

In losing its hold of creedal and doctrinal truth, the ministry of today finds itself debilitated. "Our current American theology is too superficial. Its comparative jauntiness and complacency impress one more perhaps than any defect of doctrine. We stand facing the infinite range of divine truth, and the infinite needs of humanity, and we are conscious of a manifest lack of power and lack of apprehension. We need such a new grip on divine realities as shall send our men out with the intensity of conviction

²³ The Liberty of Unlicensed Printing.

and the sense of a heavenly apostleship that alone can make the church a power." — *Kingman*.

We need once more to learn to *think*, to face the real problems of the world in which we find ourselves, and the issues of our own nature and destiny, with the mind of Christ. Only thus can the impressionistic and often superficial Oriental mysticism of today be supplanted by a normal and rational Christian faith. Only thus also can we meet that honest groping after fundamental reality, which is everywhere revealing itself, with convictions that will stand investigation and trial.

XI. No state of theology is to be regarded as complete or final. We are now facing theological problems, many of them accentuated by the war and its aftermath, which call for renewed and thorough thinking under the guidance of the Spirit of Truth.

Among these are:

(1) The interpretation of the nature of God and his relation to the world. Thinking men and women are not satisfied with present crude and confused ideas of God and his relation to the world. Theodicy will always hold unsolved problems, but problems are not necessarily enigmas. The doctrine of Providence has never been sufficiently developed in Christian theology. It calls for profounder study, in the light of modern history, science and philosophy.

(2) A deeper and more comprehensive study of *Christian* experience, and of *religious* experience as its matrix, and a more thorough study of all our human faculties and instincts as related to the religious life. In this study psychology will occupy an increasingly large place; but it will be a disaster if theology becomes lost in psychology.

"The theological system of the faction failed not simply because it was out of touch with life because its premises were either inadequate or false. The theology now being constructed may hope for greater permanence because it is following the strictly scientific method of founding itself on the facts of experience." — *Dinsmore*.

(3) A clearer conception of the relation of the Historic Christ to the Inner Christ (Holy Spirit) as essential to a comprehensive Christian theology. In the union of these two lies the incomparable strength and superiority of Christianity.²⁴

(4) An unflagging, critical, historical, and above all, *spiritual* interpretation of the Bible. In every added year that tests its power, the Bible is proving itself more completely a literature of inexhaustible spiritual worth, capable of, and requiring, continually advancing scholarly interpretation.

Our Biblical scholars, trained in institutions of the highest type, have made a large contribution to the science of Biblical criticism, from Moses Stuart onward. This high service needs to be continued and extended. The Bible can only gain in the end by the most thorough criticism; and even if it did not, we as sons of a truth-loving ancestry are bound to understand its human genesis as well as its Divine inspiration, just as thoroughly as possible. At the same time we are equally bound, by our heritage and training, as good householders to bring out of this treasury its spiritual values, new as well as old.

With respect to the present-day attitude of Congregationalists toward the Bible, there is apparently so great a divergence from the fathers as to

²⁴ A striking contribution to this subject was presented at the Second International Congregational Council in the paper of Principal Alfred Cave, "The Living Christ." See Report, pp. 463-472. One of the members of the Commission questions the pertinence of this distinction.

constitute almost an apostasy; but more careful consideration fails to warrant such a conclusion.

As the sympathetic student of the faith of the fathers contemplates their "high and reverent esteem" for the Scriptures, in their "incomparable excellencies and the entire perfection thereof," he cannot but ask himself as to the nature of the conviction that lay beneath it. This was not bibliolatry, though doubtless there was something very like it in weaker minds. Beneath this fealty to the Bible there rested a fundamental allegiance to a great and permanent principle, — the principle of Revelation. That which the fathers firmly, even passionately, believed was that God does not leave men alone in their effort to find Him, but in infinite "communicability" gives Himself to them.

It was through this book, which appealed to their spiritual nature as no other did, that they felt this conviction awakened, sustained, and confirmed; so much so that they extended the awe and joy with which certain parts of it inspired them to the entire Bible and pronounced it "the whole Counsel of God." "Believe it to be the honor of Religion," says the Saybrook Platform (1708), "to resign and captivate our Wisdom and Faith to Divine Revelation."

In their identification of revelation with the letter of scripture we cannot possibly follow them and be true to our light as they were to theirs. But to the principle itself which guided them and the motive which animated them we with equal confidence subscribe. And as we are true to it we find ever more — inexhaustibly more — of spiritual value in this incomparably inspired book, wet with their tears and illumined and sanctified by their faith.

XII. In the farther advance of theology the spirit and ideals of the Congregational lineage will still be greatly needed. Its distinctive characteristics may be summarized thus:

(1) Intellectual integrity, manifesting itself in *virile, pertinacious and exalted thinking*. There was an infusion of Platonism in New England thought which gave it at once a speculative and a mystical cast.³⁵ Ralph Cudworth's "Intellectual System," one of the chief works of the Cambridge Platonists, was an influential book among the New England divines. The Puritan was a mystic but not a quietist. He was impressed with the duty of using his mind, as given him by God for that purpose. The value placed upon truth by the New England theologians may be gathered from Edwards' sermon, "The Importance of the Knowledge of Divine Truth." "Such is the nature of man," he declares, "that no object can come at the heart but through the door of the understanding: and there can be no spiritual knowledge of that of which there is not first a rational knowledge." This trait did not disappear with the Puritans. Their sons also have believed in "the obligation to be intelligent" and have diligently sought to know the truth that the truth might make them free.

Nor have their minds been wholly taken up with spiritual interests. There has been a marked and ever growing hospitality toward all new forms of knowledge. "One secret of the advance of Congregational thinking lies in its capacity as well as its disposition to absorb the new learning in all departments of thought." — *Beckwith*.

(2) An intense and unalterable conviction of *the singleness and responsibility of the individual soul* has characterized the spiritual lineage of John Robinson, John Cotton, Thomas Hooker and the other great divines who

³⁵ "The orthodox theology, in spite of its arbitrary character and its fixed type of supernaturalism, exercised its professors severely in speculative questions and furnished occasion for discernment and criticism which made reason all but supreme over faith. This theology, too, had its spiritual side — nay, it was essentially spiritual. Its root ran back into Platonism and its flower was a mysticism which, on the intellectual side, bordered closely on Transcendentalism." — O. B. Frothingham, *Transcendentalism in New England*, p. 107.

compelled every member of their flocks to face his God and his conscience, not only when he came into the house of God but in every daily deed and word. "This message of Congregationalism to the country has been of the utmost importance and is likely to be so again, in spite of the fact that it is quite out of fashion today. The essence of the Congregational faith is the individual's responsibility to God and to no one else. Now we all know what a lurch our time has taken in the opposite and socialistic direction and we readily acknowledge the need of emphasizing factors neglected by Puritanism. But it was exactly that one-sided emphasis which gave its characteristic sturdiness to New England and through New England has put backbone into the country. While the social and the individual factors are meaningless when torn apart, the mischief arising from a detached group-consciousness is greater than that of abstract individualism. It is high time that our age asked itself, What shall a man give in exchange for his soul? Self-realization, even in a narrow sense, may helpfully fashion our ethical ideals, as Congregationalism has always urged." — *G. H. Palmer*.

Here we find ourselves in close kinship with the Baptists, Disciples and other bodies of American Christians. Together it is our duty to do our utmost to see that the individual is not lost in the group-consciousness, while we press on toward the realization of the social ideals of Christianity.

(3) Congregational theology has also been characterized by an increasingly *Christocentric* character. Not that this is peculiar to Congregational thought, but it has been quick and living within it. It can hardly be said that Congregationalism was Christocentric in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries — at least not theoretically — but with the rise of the New Theology, through the influence of Bushnell and Beecher, it has been such in an ever-deepening degree. "The most vital thing in Congregationalism is its acceptance of the spiritual sovereignty of Christ. If true to its best traditions in America and everywhere it will be intensely Christological. In the present day, when a restless and distracted world is calling for a competent leader, our distinctive aim ought to be to fix the thought of men upon Christ, to trust him utterly and to follow him unfalteringly in the freedom of perfect love." — *Campbell*.

(4) It has been the prerogative of the sons of the Pilgrims to stand fast for *freedom of thought and utterance*. Not ours alone, but ours in an exceptional degree. In this we may well rejoice — with trembling. We have been called for freedom, only let us not use our freedom for an occasion to the flesh but in love serve. It is true that the founders were not wholly convinced of the safety of freedom. "Toleration was not then believed to be a virtue. . . . Toleration was then in the making and these men were making it."³⁶ It is true also that there have been many attempts to suppress, or limit, freedom by council and conference and by appeal to scripture and creed; but every such attempt has ultimately failed.

It is reassuring to find that this love of freedom has been tempered and steadied by a true sense of the unity and continuity of the faith. This is the more significant in view of the separatist tendencies of the Plymouth Church. The desire for doctrinal unity showed itself at the very outset in the unanimity with which the Massachusetts churches allied themselves with their brethren in England, both Independents and Presbyterians, in adopting a common confession of faith.³⁷ While the Congregationalists

³⁶ Roland G. Usher: *The Pilgrims and their History* (1918), p. 199.

³⁷ The common relationship of Presbyterians and Congregationalists to the Westminster standards, which have contributed strength to both bodies but which both have outgrown — one implicitly, the other confessedly — suggests a possible reunion, when the time is ripe, on the basis of a common historic reverence for these venerable standards, a common Christian experience, a fusion of polities and a common covenant "to walk in his ways according as He is pleased to make Himself known." — *Buckham*.

of today have left the Calvinism of the Westminster standards far behind, they would as a body undoubtedly endorse the words of Robert Dale in his introduction to the Report of the First International Congregational Council: "For myself — though I finally broke away from Calvinism very soon after I entered the ministry — I can see that its conception of the infinite greatness of God and of man's absolute dependence upon Him for all righteousness are necessary to correct some of the characteristic tendencies of modern thought and life. If we could but recover the faith of Calvinism without its speculative theology, the gain would be immeasurable."⁸⁸

This sense of the unity of the faith appears in a worthy form and with significant emphasis in the following statement in the Burial Hill Confession: "Recognizing the unity of the Church of Christ in all the world, and knowing that we are but one branch of Christ's people — while adhering to our own peculiar faith and order — we extend to all believers the hand of Christian fellowship upon the basis of these fundamental truths in which all Christians may agree." The same attitude asserted itself again, in a truly self-denying form, in the "Dayton Declaration" of 1906. Indeed as the counterpart of its love of liberty American Congregationalism throughout its history has been characterized by the longing for a larger spiritual unity.

(5) Finally, *the spirit of progress* has always seemed to the Pilgrim mind both a gift and a calling of the Spirit of Truth. Freedom which does not mean progress is fruitless. Progressivism is not the same as liberalism, which often denotes mere looseness and carelessness of thinking. Nor does it deny the place and value of true conservatism. It believes in testing all things in order to hold fast that which is good. It does not undervalue the past. Yet it keeps its prow toward a new and larger world, as steadfastly as that of the *Mayflower* and the *Arabella*.⁸⁹ "The fundamental thing in connection with American Congregationalism is that it is part of a mighty movement of spiritual liberation. With singular fidelity and consistency it has been led by its inborn essential spirit on an ever-broadening way, in theology as in everything else." — *Campbell*.

A number of influences have conspired to stimulate the spirit of progress. From without, there has been the effect of the developmental theory and the enormous advance of all the sciences and arts. Within has been working the expansive influence of the widening thought and work in which the church has been engaged.

The effect upon theology of missions to foreign lands, an enterprise in which Congregationalism has been in the van, has probably been much greater than is recognized. Non-Christian minds could not accept many of the older doctrines taught them. Take Japan, for example. "The utter depravity of human nature could not gain a hold upon the Japanese mind. If God condemned all the sages and good men of the East who did not know the name of Christ, he could not be a righteous God. Nor could the deistic idea of a God who came down at a special occasion to save his people satisfy the mind of the Japanese. The mathematical doctrine of the Holy Trinity was discredited from the beginning. A continual reinterpretation of theology was needed to satisfy the Christian consciousness." — *Ebina*. It is not to be forgotten that it was the pressure of the problem of the fate of those who had never heard of Christ upon the mind of the missionary that led to the rejection of what has been called "the dogma of a restricted opportunity." Thus has the non-Christian mind helped to

⁸⁸ International Congregational Council, London, 1891, Introduction, p. 31.

⁸⁹ The attempt of Dr. H. M. Dexter, to whom we owe so much in elucidating Congregational history — though along other than theological lines — to tie up Congregationalism to the Savoy Confession is singularly contradictory to its spirit and history. (See Congregationalism as seen in its Literature, Lecture XIII, Section 9.)

open the kingdom of Heaven to all believers and to broaden the view-point of Christian theology. In the light of contact with the mind of many races and religions the universality of the Gospel of Christ — as well as its adaptability — has revealed itself in a clarity and power otherwise impossible.

XIII. As an indication of the progressive spirit of American Congregationalism may be cited the successive steps of its creedal advance, as follows:

The Confession of the Cambridge Synod, 1648; which adopted the Westminster Confession "for the substance thereof"⁴⁰ — a qualifying clause of liberal import, calculated not to minimize but to magnify the heartiness as well as the freedom of acceptance;

The Confession of the Reforming Synod of 1680 which adopted the Savoy Confession in the same terms;⁴¹

The Burial Hill Confession of 1865;

The Oberlin Declaration of 1871;

The Creed of 1883;

The Kansas City Creed of 1913.

These successive creeds reveal a most instructive and normal advance and would well reward a detailed comparison in this respect. There is nothing in the history of denominational creeds that equals them in registering the results of an intelligent and untiring spirit of progress. And yet there is no break with the past. Nothing in these creeds is more noteworthy than the clear consciousness of being in each case in thorough and grateful accord with the faith of the fathers, while equally conscious of carrying it forward into new areas of truth. They reveal also the expansive influence of the Westward movement of Congregationalism with its ever-widening horizon.

To Congregationalists, creeds are not barriers to keep the mind from the freedom of the faith and from ranging where it will in God's great out-of-doors of truth. A creed, as defined by the Boston Council of 1865, is to be taken "not as a test to be imposed on particular churches by external authority, but as a testimony as to what the belief of these churches is." Creeds are maps of such territory of truth as has already become familiar, cultivated and productive, from which one may set out whenever he will for wider exploration and conquest in the realm of truth and which may be cherished as valid and serviceable without being imperative and final. This we have learned through much travail.

XIV. The forward look must continue to characterize Congregationalism or it will be untrue to its trust. No finer expression of its spirit can be found than these words from the preface of Samuel Hopkins' "System of Doctrines": "There is no reason to doubt that light will so increase in the church and men will be raised up who will make such advances in opening the scripture, *and in the knowledge of divine truth*⁴² that what is now done and written will be so far superseded as to appear imperfect and inconsiderable compared with that superior light with which the church will then be blessed."

If the Spirit of Truth can use this "branch of the Lord's planting" still further to serve the cause of Truth we may well thank God and take courage. For there is great thinking as well as great doing ahead, and in the words of Governor Bradford, "we are not among those who are

* For the significance of this phrase and for a brief account of each of these confessions see: William E. Barton, "Congregational Creeds and Covenants," and for a more extended account, Williston Walker: "Congregational Creeds and Platforms." For a discussion of the character and meaning of creed-signature see: Egbert C. Smyth: "The Andover Defense"; also William J. Tucker: "My Generation," Chapter VII.

⁴¹ The Savoy Confession consists of the Westminster Confession with slight alterations made by an assembly of the Congregationalists of England at the Savoy in London in 1658.

⁴² Italics added.

easily discouraged." In spite of present disheartening conditions, humanity is on the borderland of a vastly enlarged understanding and application of Christianity, in which its distinctive and vitalizing truths will appear in far clearer light than ever before. The way is open for theology. The divisions and misunderstandings of the past are entirely gone, — within the Congregational body at least. It is doubtful if they will ever recur as before. The battle for theological freedom, waged ever since theology came into being, has at last been won.

If the church is true to the vision vouchsafed to her, it is not too much to say, in the words of the Puritan poet and defender of the freedom of the faith: "Now once again by all concurrence of signs, and by the general instinct of holy and devout men, as they daily and solemnly express their thoughts, God is decreeing to begin some new and great period in His church, even to the reforming of reformation itself."⁴³

In this new and great period may the sons of the Pilgrims be found "still searching what we know not by what we know, still closing up truth to truth as we find it," yet still loyal to the revelation of God in the face of Jesus Christ, knowing well that, in the words of our chiefest theologian, "the least glimpse of the glory of God in the face of Christ doth more exalt and ennoble the soul, than all the knowledge of those that have the greatest speculative understanding in divinity without grace."⁴⁴

⁴³ The Liberty of Unlicensed Printing.

⁴⁴ Jonathan Edwards' sermon, A Divine and Supernatural Light.

Prof. John W. Buckham, Berkeley, Cal., *Chairman*.

Pres. Arthur C. McGiffert, New York City.

Prof. Daniel Evans, Cambridge, Mass.

Prof. Melancthon W. Jacobus, Hartford, Conn.

Prof. Clarence A. Beckwith, Chicago, Ill.

Dean Edward I. Bosworth, Oberlin, Ohio.

Rev. G. Glenn Atkins, Detroit, Mich.

Rev. Charles A. Dinsmore, Waterbury, Conn.

Rev. James M. Campbell, Manhattan Beach, Cal.

Rev. A. W. Palmer, Honolulu, Hawaii.

Rev. Henry Kingman, Claremont, Cal.

Prof. Frank H. Foster, Oberlin, Ohio.

Rev. George A. Gordon, Boston, Mass.

Prof. George H. Palmer, Cambridge, Mass.

Rev. Raymond C. Brooks, Berkeley, Cal.

Prin. David L. Ritchie, Montreal, Que.

Rev. Danjo Ebina, Tokyo, Japan.

CONGREGATIONALISM AND EDUCATION

I. THREE HUNDRED YEARS OF HISTORY

The leaders of the New England Colonies knew full well the implications of the passion for religious liberty which drove them forth from their native land. If people were to follow the dictates of conscience, that conscience must be enlightened. If people were to think for themselves, they must be educated. If people were to govern themselves in church and state, opportunity for education must be provided.

Thus the very genius of Congregationalism demanded the educational development which followed. It is this educational fruitage and the contribution which it has made and is destined to make which the report of this Commission endeavors to outline.

Educated Leaders

One can hardly read the lives of those connected with the Puritan movement in England without realizing that much of its inspiration came from the halls of Cambridge University. The men who were conspicuous in the earliest beginnings of Congregationalism in England — Robert Browne, Thomas Cārtwright, Robert Harrison, Thomas Barrows, John Greenwood, John Penry, Francis Johnson and John Robinson — were, with one exception, Cambridge graduates. Early leaders of New England, such as William Bradford, William Brewster, Thomas Hooker, John Winthrop, John Endicott, John Cotton, John Davenport, were men of generous education and intellectual tastes. With such men shaping its beginnings it was inevitable that Congregationalism would be from the outset concerned to secure institutions of higher learning in the regions where its churches were planted. A special feature of the outlook of the leaders powerfully influenced them toward early action. It was their conviction that the Church of Christ should give its ministers a liberal training. The Puritanism of New England never shared in the remotest degree the tendency to underrate intellectual attainments which has beset many separatist movements. No perfervid pietism, reliant upon miraculous gifts and graces, marked their mood. In sober, hard-headed English fashion they sought to build upon a basis of tested knowledge and patient thought.

The Planting of Colleges

In 1636, through an act of the Massachusetts General Court, 400 pounds were appropriated for the establishment of a college. Rev. John Harvard left his library and half his estate to the school, and Harvard College became an established fact. In 1700 ten ministers, all graduates of Harvard but one, meeting at Branford, Connecticut, donated books to found a college in the colony. The next year the Colonial Assembly granted a charter making the ten ministers and their successors trustees and the college was founded in 1701. In 1718 it was named Yale College in honor of Governor Elihu Yale, who had made generous contributions to the institution.

Only three additional colleges of the New England group were founded in the eighteenth century, — Dartmouth in 1769, Williams in 1793 and Bowdoin in 1794.

The following list includes all colleges whose early history was closely related to the Congregational churches. A number of these are at the

present time entirely without such relationship. All of them are broadly interdenominational in spirit and method.

*Amer. Internat'l. Col.,	1885	Springfield, Mass.
Amherst College,	1821	Amherst, Mass.
*Atlanta University,	1867	Atlanta, Ga.
*Beloit College,	1846	Beloit, Wis.
*Berea College,	1855	Berea, Ky.
Bowdoin College,	1794	Brunswick, Me.
*Carleton College,	1866	Northfield, Minn.
*Colorado College,	1874	Colorado Springs, Colo.
Dartmouth College,	1769	Hanover, N. H.
*Doane College,	1872	Crete, Neb.
*Drury College,	1873	Springfield, Mo.
*Fairmount College,	1895	Wichita, Kan.
*Fargo College,	1888	Fargo, N. D.
*Fisk University,	1865	Nashville, Tenn.
*Grinnell College,	1847	Grinnell, Ia.
*Hampton Institute,	1868	Hampton, Va.
Harvard College,	1636	Cambridge, Mass.
*Howard University,	1867	Washington, D.C.
*Illinois College,	1829	Jacksonville, Ill.
*Kingfisher College,	1894	Kingfisher, Okla.
*Knox College,	1836	Galesburg, Ill.
*Marietta College,	1835	Marietta, Ohio.
*Middlebury College,	1800	Middlebury, Vt.
†Mount Holyoke College,	1837	South Hadley, Mass.
*Northland College,	1892	Ashland, Wis.
*Oberlin College,	1833	Oberlin, Ohio.
*Olivet College,	1859	Olivet, Mich.
*Pacific University,	1849	Forest Grove, Ore.
*Piedmont College,	1897	Demorest, Ga.
*Pomona College,	1888	Claremont, Cal.
*Redfield College,	1887	Redfield, S. D.
*Ripon College,	1849	Ripon, Wis.
*Rollins College,	1885	Winter Park, Fla.
†Smith College,	1871	Northampton, Mass.
*Straight College,	1869	New Orleans, La.
*Tabor College,	1857	Tabor, Ia.
*Talladega College,	1867	Talladega, Ala.
*Tillotson College,	1877	Austin, Texas.
*Tougaloo College,	1869	Tougaloo, Miss.
*Washburn College,	1865	Topeka, Kan.
†Wellesley College,	1875	Wellesley, Mass.
*Wheaton College,	1860	Wheaton, Ill.
*Whitman College,	1859	Walla Walla, Wash.
Williams College,	1793	Williamstown, Mass.
Yale College,	1871	New Haven, Conn.
*Yankton College,	1882	Yankton, S. D.

* Women admitted

† Women only

A word of explanation is in order as to the formal relation between these colleges and the churches. Broadly speaking there has never been any such relation. Here or there a clause has been inserted in a college charter or by-laws providing that a certain number of trustees should be nominated by the state organization within whose bounds the college was located. Occasionally a committee of visitation and review is arranged for. But there has never been any essential variation from the plan of leaving the control of each college in the hands of a self-perpetuating Board of Trustees. This lack of formal bond has naturally been connected with a wide

variety of vital relationship. The bearing of this situation upon present duty is discussed in a later section of this report.

Into all walks of life in our country these institutions have been pouring a constant stream of Christian leaders. They and other similar colleges have been until recent years almost the only source of our educated ministers and missionaries. Even now they furnish more than eighty per cent of such leaders.

It would be interesting to trace the contribution made by each of these schools to the life of our democracy. But time and space make it impossible to do more than illustrate this contribution by one or two institutions.

Harvard has had a strong influence upon the life of the nation through the men it has sent forth into the various fields of religion, literature, science and statecraft. As a result of its affiliation with Unitarianism 100 years ago many notable men have been members of that communion. Its graduates include such theologians as Phillips Brooks, William Ellery Channing, Edward Everett Hale and James Freeman Clarke; such literary men as James Russell Lowell, Henry W. Longfellow, Ralph Waldo Emerson, Oliver Wendell Holmes, and Howard H. Furness; such historians as Francis Parkman, John Lothrop Motley, George Bancroft and John Fiske; such orators and public men as Edward Everett, Charles Sumner, Wendell Phillips, Charles Francis Adams and George F. Hoar; such eminent jurists as Joseph Story and Lemuel Shaw; such scientists as Louis Agassiz and William James, the psychologist; such colonial leaders as John Hancock, Samuel Adams, and Robert Treat Paine. Three presidents, John Adams, John Quincy Adams and Theodore Roosevelt; a vice-president, three secretaries of State, two of War, one of the Treasury, two of the Navy, six Attorneys-General, two Post Master Generals, and five members of the United States Supreme Court, are among its contribution to the nation's public affairs. It has furnished more than fifty presidents of colleges.

Yale University graduated 101 men in the first twenty years; sixty-six of these entered the ministry. By 1882, when the Divinity School was established, it had prepared over 1,000 men for this high calling. Such church leaders as Jonathan Edwards, Samuel Hopkins, David Brainard, Nathaniel W. Taylor, Horace Bushnell, Hiram Bingham, Nathaniel Emmons and Theodore T. Munger suggest the significance and power of the contribution.

In 200 years Yale furnished 157 college presidents, among them such leaders and moulders of institutions as Harper of the University of Chicago, Gilman of Johns Hopkins and White of Cornell. Ex-president Taft, Vice-president Calhoun, two secretaries each of State and War, three of the Treasury, one of the Interior, four of the Navy, five of the post-office, two attorneys-general, sixty-two senators, twenty-eight ambassadors and ministers, forty-seven governors, twenty-four members of the Continental Congress, four signers of the Declaration of Independence, suggest its tremendous contribution to politics. Such figures as Silliman and Dana in science, Whitney and Morse in invention, are examples in other fields.

Oberlin College was destined to play a prominent part in the burning issues leading to and centering in the Civil War. Practically from the start its doors were open to both sexes and all races. The institution has been a power for positive, aggressive Christianity, and its missionary interest and spirit, conspicuous at the present hour, have made it a leader both at home and in carrying the Christian message to the ends of the earth.

The other institutions west and south have caught the same spirit and have furnished able leadership for the regions where they are located and for the nation at large.

In addition to those already named, just to list a few of the conspicuous Congregational educators, such as Timothy Dwight, Mark Hopkins, James H. Fairchild, Charles G. Finney, Samuel C. Armstrong, Cyrus Hamlin,

James B. Angell, Joseph Neesima, Alice Freeman Palmer, Julius H. Seelye, Joseph Ward, George Washburn and Howard S. Bliss, is to suggest the hundreds who have wrought mightily through their labors in halls of learning for a Christian democratic commonwealth.

Theological Seminaries

For nearly a century, Theology, Greek, Hebrew, and dialectics as taught at Harvard, together with reading courses and study with leading ministers, sufficed in the matter of theological training. But in 1721 at Harvard and 1755 at Yale, regular professorships of divinity were established. Thus was the New England ministry educated until the rise of the Unitarian controversy which was a principal immediate cause of the founding of Andover Theological Seminary in connection with Phillips Academy in 1807. Though the seminary at Brunswick, New Jersey, had an earlier origin, Andover soon became the leading school of divinity in the new world.

Bangor was chartered by the Massachusetts legislature in 1814 and began work in 1816. It has rendered conspicuous service, particularly to northern New England Congregationalism.

Yale Divinity School opened its doors in 1822. The number of its students has been second only to Andover, while the two schools have run closely parallel in power and influence of the leaders they have produced.

Opposition to the New Haven theology resulted in two clearly defined parties in Connecticut. This led to the founding of Hartford Seminary in 1834, a school which has furnished a large number of highly-trained men for the ministry. The Hartford Seminary Foundation now includes the Kennedy School of Missions and the Hartford School of Religious Pedagogy.

In the same year Oberlin College was founded. About this time Lane Seminary at Cincinnati forbade its students to discuss slavery. Most of them left the Seminary in a body. They came to Oberlin on condition that Charles G. Finney be secured as theological instructor, and so Oberlin Seminary became a fact in 1835.

Through the leadership of the General Association of Michigan, clerical and lay delegates from Michigan, Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin, Iowa and Missouri met in 1854 and organized the first seminary of any kind in Chicago, known as Chicago Theological Seminary, which was chartered in 1855. This seminary was organized and is controlled by the churches. It grew to splendid proportions and together with Oberlin has exerted a wide influence upon the middle-west section of our country.

In 1866 the Congregationalists of California organized Pacific Theological Seminary, which was opened for service in 1869. It is now known as Pacific School of Religion and is located at Berkeley adjoining the University of California, where it has a field of wide opportunity.

Atlanta Theological Seminary was founded and began work in 1901. It is the only seminary in the south which trains leaders for our white Congregational churches.

Schauffler Missionary Training School in Cleveland, Ohio, the Training School for Women, and Union Theological College, both in Chicago, were organized in 1886, 1909 and 1916 respectively, and complete the circle of schools for training Christian leaders.

A few figures concerning one or two of these theological institutions will indicate their remarkable contribution to the Congregational churches and to the life of our country and the world. From 1808 to 1908, Andover graduated 2,170 students. The total attendance during that time was 3,538. Of these, 2,378 were Congregationalists. Two hundred and forty-seven of them became foreign missionaries, 700 home missionaries, and 96 were college presidents. Of the total number 3,136 were college graduates, 569 of whom came from Amherst, 509 from Dartmouth, 479 from Yale, 238 from Middlebury, 251 from Williams, 185 from Harvard,

and 164 from Bowdoin. A number of other schools also furnished goodly numbers.

Yale Divinity School has a record scarcely less notable than the remarkable one at Andover. Her graduates run up toward the 1,500 mark, and her contribution to the leadership of the churches and their missionary work is of impressive bulk.

In 1916 Oberlin Seminary had 503 living graduates, and 126 representatives on the foreign missionary field. Our other seminaries have done their part in this remarkable work of training.

Academies

Preparatory schools were early established in New England. Phillips Academy at Andover, Phillips-Exeter in New Hampshire, and Bradford Academy (for girls) are the best known. These and many others which followed are still carried on with vigor. Like the colleges, they are under control of self-perpetuating Boards of Trustees. They maintain as a rule their Christian outlook and their close relation to local churches.

In the west, the majority of the colleges of Congregational affiliation established at the outset preparatory departments. For the most part these have been discontinued. A considerable number of academies also were planted under definite church auspices. The development of public high schools has made it necessary to close many of these. Only six Congregational academies separate from any college now exist between Ohio and the Pacific Coast. The work done by these schools in producing leaders and leavening the life of their constituencies has been fruitful in a high degree. The reduction of their number is an occasion for much regret. Questions as to future policy in this field are discussed in a later section.

Congregational Education Society

With the opening of the nineteenth century the missionary impulse began to express itself in the formation of national organizations. Among the earliest of those formed by Congregationalists was "The American Society for Educating Pious Youth for the Gospel Ministry," incorporated December 4, 1816. In 1842 "The Society for the Promotion of Collegiate and Theological Education at the West" was organized and incorporated, and in 1874 the two Societies were united under the name, "American College and Education Society." Thus the Congregational Education Society was the second of our national societies formed, and is the oldest education society on the continent. In the first hundred years of its history it aided 10,073 men in getting their education for the Christian ministry.

Schools, academies and colleges of every grade from the elementary and mission schools in New Mexico and Utah to colleges of the highest rank have been assisted by this society. Christian academies have been founded or aided in twenty states of the Union. Forty-two colleges have had their inspiration from Congregationalism, and many of these were aided by the Education Society. These institutions are located in twenty-one states of the Union. There are about 25,000 students and over 2,000 professors and instructors in these schools.

About the year 1908 the Society first began work for Congregational students in State Universities by aiding in the support of student pastors. That work has grown until it now has a large place in the program of the Society.

In 1913 the denomination appointed a Commission on Missions, instructing it to undertake as its first duty needed readjustments of organization and function in the denominational agencies. One result of the changes made was to place in the care of the Education Society the responsibility for leadership in the total field of religious education. Its work in this field is closely coordinated with the activities of the Congre-

gational Publishing Society, the two organizations having the same General Secretary and Board of Directors.

The work of the Education Society is now grouped under five departments. The Institutions and Student Life Department aids colleges, seminaries and training schools, provides special religious care for students in colleges and state universities, secures and aids recruits for the ministry and missionary service. The Social Service Department seeks to inform the churches as to movements of social advance, to set forth and apply the principles which should control social relations and to represent Congregationalism in the wide circle of modern interdenominational effort for building a Christian Society. The Missionary Education Department is the servant of all the mission agencies in promoting study of missions, furnishing needed text-books, pamphlets, etc. The Young People's Department now in process of formation will seek to organize the young people of the denomination for local activities and to aid them as opportunity may offer. The Field Work Department is primarily concerned with the Sunday school, seeking to secure the adoption of sound methods of organization and of study. It endeavors also to aid the churches in working out a well-rounded program of education.

The American Missionary Association

One expression of the educational zeal of Congregationalism as well as of its opposition to slavery was the organization in 1846 of the American Missionary Association, "for the purpose of conducting missionary and educational operations, and diffusing a knowledge of the Holy Scriptures in the United States and other countries." The major effort of this Association, which now spends upwards of \$600,000 annually in its work, is for the negro and is along educational lines.

Who can possibly estimate its place in enlightening and uplifting the race! Schools like Hampton Institute (to which we owe Booker Washington), Howard, Fisk and Atlanta Universities, Talladega, Tougaloo, Straight, Tillotson, together with the large number of normal, high and elementary schools, giving cultural, manual, agricultural and household economics training, have wrought mightily for racial progress.

The work of this Association in providing educational opportunities under Christian auspices for Indians, Chinese, Japanese, Porto Ricans and others, is also important and significant.

New West Education Commission

The Pilgrim spirit and its faith in Christian education are again indicated by the organization at Chicago in 1879 of the New West Education Commission. It was chartered for "the promotion of Christian civilization in Utah and adjacent states by the education of children and youth under Christian teachers."

It organized and operated schools of all grades and rendered significant Christian and educational service for many years. In 1893 it was united with the Congregational Education Society.

An Appraisal

The total educational effort summarized in the preceding pages has constituted a notable permanent contribution to the welfare of America and the world. This contribution will probably be appraised by future historians at a value higher than we now venture to put upon it. But the patent facts open to all eyes warrant statements such as these:

(a) The general realization throughout the United States of the importance of education is in large degree the result of the spirit and work of the founders of Congregationalism.

(b) The sheer intellectual output of the colleges which sprang from the Puritan root is of imposing volume. In the realm of authorship, in the

teaching profession, in outstanding pulpit leaders, in civic life and in scholarly research, the influence of these colleges has been broad and pervasive. It has constantly made for generous ideals of culture, mental freedom and a sound realistic outlook upon life.

(c) Particularly distinctive has been their share in adjusting religious thought to the movement of the modern scientific spirit. Without their service in this field the irrational and bigoted forms of faith which still command the allegiance of large numbers of Christian believers would have much wider sway.

(d) The educational ideals and standards of the New England colonists and their spiritual descendants have powerfully influenced other communities. These have developed strongly and rapidly their systems of higher education and are cordial in acknowledging their debt.

(e) The vast fabric of our public school system, utterly without precedent in the old world from which our nation sprung, was suggested, shaped and colored by New England ideals of education in a degree not possible accurately to appraise but without controversy very large.

(f) Last of all may be named the production of multitudes of strong personalities whose achievements in leadership constitute a noble chapter in the history of the last three centuries. With the minimum of concern for material possessions and a steady devotion to ideal ends they have wrought for the Kingdom of God. Some have fought against public evils. Some have served the state. Some have carried Christianity to distant lands. Some from pulpit or platform have interpreted and moulded the men of their generation.

It is a record with many an ample page of worthy deeds. We shall not easily surpass it in the centuries to come.

II. LOOKING FORWARD

As we move out into the future it appears necessary

(a) To review the conditions amid which higher education under Christian auspices must be conducted.

(b) To restate and freshly test our reasons for believing this to be a central responsibility of the church.

(c) To form a clear and well-considered judgment as to the elements of the policy which the Congregational churches should follow in meeting this responsibility.

The General Situation

Taking up the question suggested in (a) above, there appear to be four factors in the existing situation which are measurably new and which bear directly upon the problem in hand.

The first is the immense increase in the cost of conducting educational institutions. Equipment, salaries and incidentals call for an expenditure at least double that of eight or ten years ago because of changed economic conditions. The necessity of broadening the curriculum to meet the expanding needs of our time adds still further to the budget. The days when a college of respectable rank could be conducted on an annual income of twenty-five to thirty thousand dollars and in a plant costing two or three hundred thousand dollars are gone, presumably forever. Since interest rates and tuition receipts remain largely stationary this situation bears heavily even upon the well endowed institution. To the institution with little or no endowment it threatens disaster.

The second factor is the phenomenal growth of state universities. This is especially a feature of the west and south. In the older part of the country privately endowed institutions have so far preempted the ground as to leave less occasion for state supported schools. The state universities and state agricultural colleges of the nation had in 1918 100,000 students as compared with 200,000 in all other colleges and universities. State

institutions are at the present time growing very rapidly. In the largest, such as Illinois, Michigan, Minnesota and Wisconsin Universities, the enrolment runs to 7,000 or more and is rapidly increasing. The effect of this is of course to confront the denominational colleges with a formidable competition. The state university has prestige in the public eye as compared with any young or small college. It offers free tuition as against the substantial fee which the church school must charge. It has funds with which to provide buildings, laboratories and chairs for specialized study wholly out of the reach of most colleges. Whether the balance of real advantage runs for or against the state university need not be discussed at this point. Attention is simply called to the fact that it appeals to the community at large in such a degree as to make it a powerful competitor.

The third factor is the tendency to ignore sectarian distinctions and to seek cooperation among Protestant communions. This tendency grows stronger each year and is welcomed by none more warmly than by Congregationalists. It necessarily has important bearing upon the type of institution which is to be maintained as well as upon the policy to be followed in their maintenance.

A fourth factor is the utilitarian mood of our time, which demands that education bear directly upon the vocation or profession which the student intends to follow. Relatively few are willing to seek solely the cultural values of a college course, postponing vocational studies until it is completed. As a result the liberal arts college is increasingly compelled to modify the courses of the junior and senior years to meet the current demand or to suffer a heavy loss from those classes to the universities. The first alternative is not easily within the power of the college to adopt, even if it did not involve a departure from sound college ideals. The second robs the college of its more mature students and discounts its influence.

The Need of the Christian College

In the light of these three hundred years of experience, of the general social order in which we find ourselves and of the special factors just named, what are the reasons for regarding the fostering of the Christian college as a central and continuing obligation of the church?

Fundamental among them is the consideration which animated our spiritual forbears and remains with us in unimpaired power, viz.: the duty of seeing that opportunities are provided for securing a complete education. It is wholly impossible for the church to be content with an education which stops short of a definite effort to secure the development of the student's moral and religious nature through habitual contact with the teachings of Christ and through the direct appeal of Christian motives and ideals. This is not to say that the church is or ought to be a critic of the state-supported school. As matters stand the state would be criminally at fault if it did not provide such schools, free from religious bias to which any group of citizens could justly object. Presumably this must continue to be the case for indefinite years to come. To these schools the church should give her interest and her warmest support. But it lies within her power and therefore within her duty to provide a parallel system of schools which more nearly embody her judgment of what a rounded education should be. Moreover in maintaining such schools for those who desire to profit by them she will be rendering the state universities the most effectual aid within her power, since the university will thus be encouraged to develop in fullest measure its legitimate possibilities in the field of moral and religious culture. Christianity is a religion of great ideas. These ideas have relation to every department of intellectual inquiry and every field of human interest. It should be a matter of profoundest concern to all lovers of mankind that those who are in training for the leadership of the future shall be equipped with Christian knowledge and moulded by Christian motives. The supreme question of the twen-

tieth century is, what individual men, groups of men and nations are to do with their power. That question is a question of ideals, of character. The crown of any real educational process is the character which it produces, and the best in character rests back in its final analysis upon the Christian religion.

Closely akin to this fundamental justification for the Christian college is the obligation of the church to provide adequately for the leadership of her own special work. The Protestant churches of America have in their service perhaps 200,000 ministers, missionaries, teachers and physicians. Death and withdrawals make wide gaps in this force each year. These gaps will not be filled with adequate numbers of competent persons save through the most intelligent and persistent effort. Experience has demonstrated that in such effort the Christian college has a commanding place. Broaden the definition of leadership to include lay leaders in all walks of life and the case is still stronger. The church cannot serve or save the world except as she multiplies strong Christian personalities. She cannot multiply them save through amplest and richest forms of education.

Although the motives just named constitute the central and sufficient ground for maintaining with all possible vigor the Christian colleges, there are certain other considerations which point in the same direction. The maintenance of parallel systems by church and state will be a permanent protection against the control of education by any class, group or school of thought. With the memory of the last six years of world disaster in our minds, due in no small degree to the shaping of German education as an instrument of militarist propaganda, and with the memory of other ages in which church control of education meant spiritual tyranny, we cannot fail to be deeply concerned to keep our educational agencies under varied auspices in order that those of one type shall serve as a corrective to those of another, and that by the interaction of all a body of sound public sentiment shall be maintained.

Another consideration of large import must be named. In the development of the country's educational life it appears to be increasingly the lot of the church to maintain the college as contrasted with the university and the college of moderate size as contrasted with the school where the attendance runs into several thousands. In both directions there lie strong reasons for the Christian college. Granting that certain advantages accrue to the undergraduate from contact with graduate students, it is the conviction of most educators that far more important advantages are found in the compact and self-sufficing life of the school which keeps resolutely within the sphere of a liberal arts college. Personality is protected and developed. The influence of strong teachers goes further and deeper. Responsibilities to be assumed are more definite and stimulating. The ties which bind student to student are stronger. The influence of the college in the after-life of its graduate is more potent than that of the undergraduate department of the university.

Under the pressure of these considerations it is the conviction of Christian leaders of every communion that we have no choice but to reaffirm the conclusion of our forefathers as to the permanent place of the Christian college in the program of the church of Christ. In fact there is no slight ground for believing that all considerations which led them to that conclusion are more valid today than ever before.

Future Lines of Policy

Agreeing then that we are to continue to maintain Christian colleges, it must still be asked by what principles of procedure we shall be guided. In this field some things are clear, some debatable. The limits of this report do not permit extended analysis of each issue. The Commission must therefore content itself with stating in briefest outline its judgment on questions which should be faced by our denomination:

1. The Commission agrees with the majority of college administrators in the opinion that there should be no change in the custom of leaving the control of colleges with Congregational affiliations in the hands of self-perpetuating Boards of Trustees. It cannot be affirmed that this course has had an unbroken record of gratifying results. Occasionally a Board of Trustees has shown itself singularly wanting in realization of the nature of its trust. Still more often Boards of Trustees, composed of busy men, have left the direction of affairs wholly to one or two persons, with disastrous results. These exceptions to the rule of faithful and wise administration are occasions for keen regret. It is easy to do irreparable damage to sacred interests. But it is in no sense certain that denominational control in whatever form exercised would have lessened the number of such occasions. On the other hand, such control would sacrifice the advantages which result from placing the entire guidance of an institution in the hands of a body of persons who are especially interested in its welfare and whose responsibility is recognized as exclusive and complete.

2. The judgment just expressed is in no sense incompatible with the further conviction that the denomination ought to have in ways both formal and informal a fuller measure of relation to these institutions than it has commonly had. The absence of such influence has been due more largely to the indifference of the churches than to the unwillingness of the colleges. The churches have in great degree permitted college interests to drop out of their consciousness. That way of course disaster lies for all concerned. It is high time to resume the earlier mood. Practical methods of expressing interest are not hard to find. The importance of college training can be presented from the pulpit. The work of a particular college or colleges can have like presentation. Young people can be encouraged to seek generous training. In various ways aid can be given them where needed.

Members of the church can be urged to attend College Commencements and other functions. Large place can be given in each church's beneficence to college interests. District Associations and State Conferences can give conspicuous place in their programs to educational interests. Student deputations can be invited to speak in local churches and in church gatherings.

As to formal relations between the denomination and the college, everything depends upon the circumstances in any given case. In some states a visiting committee, appointed by the State Conference at the request of the college, has been found useful. In others the State Conference nominates to the College Board of Trustees a specified number of its members. Neither of these arrangements has adaptation to colleges in the older portion of the country whose customs were established under conditions of an earlier day.

The present custom of inviting colleges to send delegates to the National Congregational Council should be continued and the colleges should be assiduous in maintaining such representing. None of the relationships just outlined can in any intelligent view of the case be regarded as making void the claim to non-sectarian character which all colleges should be concerned to maintain.

3. One of the modes of expressing denominational interest is of such importance as to call for special emphasis. The denomination has in its Education Society an agency specifically created to be the organ of its educational plans. The Society should be equipped to discharge in the amplest way all the services which such an agency contemplates. Its expert advice on college problems, its cooperation in campaigns for money, its aid in securing suitable teachers and administrators, its guardianship of funds placed in its hands for college use — in such ways it can make real to the colleges the concern of the churches for their welfare.

4. There must be an immense increase in the amount of financial backing given the colleges by Congregationalists. It is not possible to put into any comprehensive formula the methods of gathering these funds and the principles upon which they shall be distributed. The denomination must decide from step to step how to go about the matter. But it should abandon once and for all its *laissez faire* attitude and its painfully cramped notions of what constitutes financial support. The recent insertion of a college, always hitherto known as Congregational, in the budget of the Baptist denomination for \$1,000,000 has been an impressive object lesson both because of the catholicity of spirit shown and because of the new standard of gifts set.

5. The larger interest and ampler backing contemplated must of course be accompanied by a scrupulous effort on the part of the colleges to justify the confidence shown. They should keep the denomination advised through the channels just described as to the spirit and the measures which prevail in their inner life. They should see to it that at the heart of their curricula there are such courses in religion and morals as the best academic judgment would suggest. They should be steadily solicitous to secure and retain a high type of Christian quality in their faculties. They should use all diligence to promote a sound religious spirit in the student body. They should resist unflinchingly all temptations to commercialize or secularize their life. It is impossible to forget that no small number of colleges known as Christian have distinctly fallen short in these respects.

6. The time is at hand when interdenominational support of Christian colleges appears more possible than ever before and Congregationalists ought to be foremost in promoting it wherever conditions suggest. In the foreign field there are various joint college enterprises already on foot. At home the union with the Baptists above mentioned is suggestive of other possibilities which seem within reach. It is easily conceivable that two denominations, each having a strong college in a given state, might find it of advantage to assume such joint relationship to both institutions, especially if they are separated by a considerable distance. They could thus give to each not only the prestige of their joint backing but also a new hold upon a portion of its immediate geographical constituency previously closed to its approach.

7. Although the country is pretty well dotted over with Christian colleges it is not to be hastily taken for granted that no more are needed or that some of those in existence should be closed. Each question should be faced and settled on the basis of the facts. It must be borne in mind that this nation is still in its youth. Its vast area and unlimited resources are capable of supporting not 100 millions but 500 millions. We are laying foundations for the generations to come. Moreover, in the type of civilization toward which we hope we are moving, the proportion of young people desiring higher education and able to secure it will be greatly increased. The time may not be far away when all existing schools expanded to their legitimate limits will be wholly unable to care for the student body. Even now some of the state universities are appealing for relief from an impossible congestion.

It cannot be too strongly emphasized that the interests clustering around the Christian college are of such magnitude as well as of such complexity as to call for intense and continuous study on the part of the churches. They include not only general issues such as those named above but also a wide range of matters dealing with academic policy, student welfare, faculty morale, freedom of the teacher, extension courses and the like. A strong committee has been created by the Commission on Missions of the National Council to review the entire field of our educational responsibility. It will make a personal study of each situation and problem in the effort to lay a foundation for effective effort.

Religion in State Universities

However faithfully the church may discharge her duty to her own colleges, she does not stand excused from another duty equally imperative. The students in state-supported schools should be objects of her care in the same sense and to the same degree as those who attend the colleges she has founded. In former years it was assumed that this responsibility could be sufficiently met by the "Y. M." and "Y. W." with such incidental assistance as might be rendered by local churches. Of late it has been perceived by all familiar with the problem that the church, as such, must cooperate in special and vigorous ways with the "Y's" if the students of state universities are to be under normal religious influence. Various methods have been tried. In some places denominational "student houses" have been built. In most universities "student pastors" have been maintained, usually acting as assistants to the local pastors of their respective denominations. Good results have been secured. It is plain, however, that there is still much to be desired in the way of effective method and still more in the way of ample denominational support of the activities launched. Happily there is a steady growth in the spirit of cooperation and clear ground to anticipate solution of the problem involved.

It is also the duty of the church as already suggested to urge in all suitable ways that the state fully discharge its obligation for the religious welfare of students within the bounds set by the separation of church and state. It is impossible to admit the claim sometimes confidently made that the state is barred from using its influence on behalf of religion. It is utterly anomalous and absurd that great educational institutions should be forbidden to provide that form of training which will unfold the most significant side of human nature. Their educational efficiency is bound to be sharply limited unless they do provide such training. A nation which arranges for religious services in its corrective institutions, which opens its legislative assemblies with prayer, and which stamps upon its coins "In God we trust," is not forbidden to provide religious training to growing youth.

That there are difficulties in making provision for the discharge of this duty goes without saying. No one can assume to have a ready-made solution of these difficulties. But the time has come for educational leaders to address themselves earnestly to the question. Two things ought to be possible: First, these institutions can be just as Christian in their influence as the governing boards and the teaching force desire to make them. Personal forces are supreme in character building and, however handicapped they may be in the formal teaching of religion, there is no hindrance to the operation of Christian personality in its individual influence and in its effort to create wholesome atmosphere. A firmer conviction of the necessity for securing character-building forces in these institutions, which means character-building personalities upon the faculties, would make it possible to move a great distance along this line.

Second, with the modern liberal interpretation of religion, it is increasingly feasible for us to get together in teaching certain Christian fundamentals, common to Protestant, Catholic and Jew alike. Sectarianism and denominationalism are, of course, out of the question, and ought to be. But the time has arrived when the demands of the situation are so imperative that it should be possible for liberal Christian forces to provide training so broad, and yet so definite, that it will meet the demands of character building and the unfolding of the religious nature.

The Church and the Academy

Those who by experience or observation know the value of the Christian academy face with extreme regret the apparent impossibility of maintaining any considerable number of such institutions under church auspices.

The patent and admitted fact that adolescence is the period of vivid impressions and abiding decisions makes a strong argument against assigning that period solely to the decidedly miscellaneous care of the average high school. Facts, however, are stubborn things and it appears to be the demonstrated fact that the judgment and desire of Christian people at the present time do not demand the maintenance of church academies save among pioneer populations or belated groups. As a result both students and financial support are usually found lacking when the attempt is made to sustain these institutions. The Commission believes this an occasion for profound regret. But it also believes that it can not now be altered. The duty of the church is therefore clear. It includes the vigorous maintenance of such academies as are able through special conditions to command a constituency and particularly to foster certain institutions visibly needed for the regions and groups above named. There should also be patient effort to make the high schools of the country wholesomely Christian in their influence and a like effort to keep in vital relations of helpfulness with the privately endowed academies so numerous in the older part of the country and to further, if the way opens, the establishment of similar schools in other regions. This is simply seeking to secure all along the line the parallel systems of education for which a plea was made in a preceding paragraph.

The Church and the Theological Seminary

As has been noted no Seminary save the one at Chicago is organically related to the Congregational churches. This fact does not, however, release those churches from solicitous concern for the welfare of all the seminaries which provide men for their pulpits. In some respects it is difficult to find ways of expressing that concern. The seminaries feel it necessary for various reasons to determine their policies and develop methods without consultation with the churches which they serve. All of them prize their interdenominational status and emphasize it. The churches are not disposed to challenge the propriety of this course nor to ask that it be changed. None the less it creates a situation in which close relationship and mutual helpfulness are not easy to attain.

It is therefore scarcely possible to say that the denomination as such has a policy as to the schools for training its ministers, nor does the present Commission feel competent to propose one. The subject is complex. Existing conditions have their firm root in past history. The familiar fixity of status resulting from endowments given for specified uses enters into the case. Even, therefore, if it be granted that adjustments should be brought about in the interest of more economical and effective effort, it by no means follows that any given set of proposals for such adjustment would rest on adequate grounds or would find welcome among those whose action is required to bring about a change of any sort. The matter appears to be one in which time and the clearer light which the future may bring must be depended upon to reveal the path of progress.

Training Schools

Recent years have seen the swift development of schools in which men and women are trained for Christian leadership in various lines. They are of many types and with their growing attendance seem destined to play no small part in the future history of the church. Some of them unassociated with any denomination are conspicuous for literalism in the interpretation of Scripture and adherence to outworn types of theological thought. Some of them devoted to the training of church assistants, mission workers and specialists in social service have a visible and important function to discharge.

At various points it has become necessary for the Congregational churches to recognize their relationship to schools in this general

field. It does not appear possible to formulate any guiding principles bearing upon their duty. In the main the whole matter is in the experimental stage. It is, however, perfectly clear that our churches should earnestly endeavor to comprehend the issues at stake and open-mindedly to welcome and support any and all modes of training which appear able to make a genuine contribution to the forces which make for the upbuilding of the Kingdom of God.

Pres. Marion L. Burton, Minneapolis, Minn., *Chairman.*

Rev. Albert P. Fitch, Amherst, Mass.

Rev. Frank M. Sheldon, Boston, Mass.

Pres. Donald J. Cowling, Northfield, Minn.

Prof. Lewis B. Moore, Washington, D. C.

Rev. Edward D. Eaton, Washington, D. C.

Pres. Henry C. King, Oberlin, Ohio.

Pres. J. H. T. Main, Grinnell, Iowa.

Pres. James A. Blaisdell, Claremont, Cal.

Rev. Hugh Elmer Brown, Evanston, Ill.

Prof. A. L. Gillette, Hartford, Conn.

Rev. Ozora S. Davis, Chicago, Ill.

Rev. Charles R. Brown, New Haven, Conn.

Rev. Hugh Pedley, Westmount, Que.

Rev. Philip S. Moxom, Springfield, Mass.

THE MISSIONARY HISTORY OF CONGREGATIONALISM IN NORTH AMERICA

*With an Outline of
Its Responsibilities and the Policy and Program Needed*

I

ITS HISTORICAL ROOTS

The missionary spirit is native to Congregationalism. Throughout three centuries of active history our free people have given nobly of their energy and resources that a real gospel might be preached to a world in need. Their emphasis on religious freedom, their obedience to the call of conscience, their sense of Christian fellowship, their confidence in Divine leadership — these have made New England, the first free home of Pilgrims and Puritans, a natural motherland of missionary endeavor.

At the very outset of New England history the early settlers gave expression to their missionary spirit. John Robinson, the revered pastor in Holland of the Plymouth colonists, having heard of a skirmish between the fiery Standish and a band of Indians, wrote to Governor Bradford, "Oh, that you had converted some before you had killed any." The great seal of the Massachusetts Bay Company in 1628, with its emblematic Indian whose extended hands seemed to say "Come over and help us," attested a real desire to secure "the glory of God and the everlasting welfare of the poore naked sonnes of Adam."¹ Matthew Cradock, the governor of the Massachusetts Company in England, in his instructions to Governor Endicott and the Council in Boston, was careful to declare that they had made "plentiful provision of godly ministers by whom . . . also the Indians may in God's appointed time be reduced to the obedience of the Gospel of Christ." The first three ministers, the Reverends Samuel Skelton, Francis Higginson and Francis Bright, were bound by their written contracts in April, 1629, "to do their endeavor" with the Company's people and with the Indians to "further the main end of the Plantation . . . the conversion of the savages."² Their idea, at first, was to prepare the Indians for Christianity by acquainting them with Christian civilization. Squanto and Hobomok are only the best known of many Indians who were encouraged to frequent the settlements. The Pequot uprising of 1637, so summarily repressed, gave colonists and savages alike a greater mutual respect and understanding. Before 1644, responsible leaders began to "lay to heart" an active ministry to their red neighbors. The General Court in November of that year, in view of the prevailing comfort and repose, empowered subordinate courts "to take order to have them (the Indians) instructed in the knowledge and worship of God."³ Two years later the General Court formally provided for sending two ministers each year "to make known the heavenly counsel of God among the Indians."³ It thus became the first missionary organization in Protestant Christendom.

But men were not wanting among the Fathers to give an independent response to the call of need. In October, 1646, the Reverend John Eliot, then forty-two years of age, a distinguished graduate in arts of Cambridge, a colonist of outstanding ability and influence, who had been for fourteen years the learned and godly pastor of the church at Roxbury, having pre-

¹ Bartlett, *Sketches of the Missions of the American Board*, p. 1.

² Young, *Chronicles of the First Planters of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay*, 142, 211.

³ Palfrey, *History of New England*, ii, 188-9.

pared himself to preach in the Indian tongue, delivered a sermon in the wigwam of a neighboring chieftain. For over forty years he eagerly devoted a portion of his time to the evangelization and training of the Indians of his vicinity. He lived a life of trial, self-denial and the brave meeting of opposition from friends and foes alike which gave him a conspicuous place in the missionary history of the first century of occupation.⁴ Eliot not only rendered the Scriptures into the dialect of his Indians, but organized model communities, set up schools, trained teachers and ministers from among the Indians. He evangelized from Cape Cod to Worcester County and in 1675 could enumerate sixteen "praying towns" containing some 1,100 Indians.

There were others no less devoted. In 1650 the Connecticut Colony made a modest appropriation for the religious instruction of the Indians, and the Reverend Abraham Pierson of Connecticut (father of Rector Pierson of Yale) studied the Indian tongue in order to be able to preach to the tribesmen. Thomas Mayhew of Martha's Vineyard in 1644 began a work for the aborigines which was carried on for five generations from father to son until 1803, a devotedness unrivalled by even the Jesuit fathers. Thomas Tupper founded a church on Herring River and Richard Bourne a mission at Mashpee, which were continued by their families. Moreover the very foremost colonists, such as President Dunster of Harvard College and Superintendent Daniel Gookin, who was in official yet friendly charge of the Indians of Massachusetts from 1656 to 1687, and many earnest pastors, such as Thomas Fitch of Norwich or Seaborn and John Cotton, sons of the Rev. John Cotton, the first teaching pastor of the First Church of Boston, were sincerely zealous in the work of encouraging and supporting these leaders.⁵

Quaintly titled reports, such as "New England's First Fruits" (1643), "The Day Breaking if not the Sun Rising of the Gospell with the Indians" (1647), or "Strength out of Weakness" (1652), brought the fruitage of these efforts to the mother country, kindling a sympathetic zeal in the hearts of many. In July, 1649, through the personal influence of Cromwell, who had been stirred by the eloquence of Edward Winslow, Parliament chartered a Corporation for the Propagation of the Gospel in New England, authorized to raise money to be expended "in such manner as shall best and principally conduce to the preaching of the Gospel of Jesus Christ among the natives and for maintaining of schools for the better education of the children of the natives." Thus was born out of New England the pioneer among all Protestant missionary societies.⁶ Through its timely aid many a village pastor was enabled to devote a portion of his time and strength to Indian evangelization, and Eliot's Indian Bible, printed at Cambridge between 1661 and 1664, was made possible.⁷ At the Restoration in 1661, when tempted to declare the corporation illegal and to confiscate its £11,000 of invested funds, Charles II, swayed by Robert Boyle through Lord Clarendon, rechartered the Society as the "Corporation for the Propagation of the Gospel amongst the Heathen Nations of New England and the Parts Adjacent in North America." Boyle, for many years its president, maintained a discriminating correspondence with Eliot and others which exhibits his sanity and zeal. The endowments of this Society,⁸ administered by the Church Missionary Society, still maintain a work for North American Indians.⁹

⁴ Moore, *Memoir of Eliot*.

⁵ Ellis, *The Red Man and the White Man*; Mathews, *The Expansion of New England*.

⁶ Humphreys, *Historical Account of the Incorporated Society for the Propagation of the Gospel*. Quoted in *Records of the Society for Propagating the Gospel among the Indians and Others of North America*, p. 6.

⁷ The New Testament appeared in 1661; the Old Testament in 1664. A second edition was issued by 1685.

⁸ Often referred to as "The New England Company."

⁹ *History Church Missionary Society*, i, 21.

For a generation a community evangelization of the Indians was carried on with considerable success. The innate savagery of the Indians, their roving habits and disinclination to habitual activity, most of all their slavery to the intoxicants which seemed normal beverages to their white neighbors, were great hindrances to the development of Christian institutions among them. Yet in 1675 there is good evidence of the existence of not less than 4,000 "praying Indians," who had met with sincerity every reasonable religious test and were persistently faithful to their principles. Even as late as 1687, President Increase Mather of Harvard declared in a letter to Professor Leusden of Utrecht that there were six churches of baptized Indians, eighteen assemblies of professing catechumens and twenty-four Indian preachers.

From King Philip's War in 1675 to the peace of Utrecht in 1714, came a period of almost continuous, deadly struggles with bitter experiences of treachery, violence and spoliation, which developed in colonists and Indians alike an unreasoning distrust or a relentless hatred. It naturally made havoc of much of this work of evangelization. Moreover, the solicitude of the colonists regarding their independence and the hardships which they had to bear could not fail to dull their ardor for religious tasks. The technical rigor with which the tests of fitness for church membership were applied had its effect in formalizing and deadening the life of the churches. Although a colony under Rev. Joseph Lord had settled in 1696 at Dorchester¹⁰ in Carolina, in response to the appeal of fellow Puritans there for help in "establishing the ordinances of the gospel," and although Cotton Mather in 1710 had pleaded with his people to "emulate the Jesuits, Danes and Dutch in propagating the old and glorious religion of Christ," yet the aggressiveness of the churches declined until there had developed a "widespread shadow of depression and discouragement." In all New England in 1700 there were about 120 organized churches; at least 110 were Congregational.¹¹ In 1701 William III, at the instance of English prelates, had chartered the well-known Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, which began a work in 1702 among the negroes and Indians of North America. This Society, however, had little in common with the free churches.

II

THE GREAT AWAKENING OF 1735-1742

The quarter century following the Peace of Utrecht was a time of rapid extension and quickening life for the colonists. The real New England, which set its stamp upon our nation, began to come into being. While Harvard and Yale had shared in the prevailing formalism of the years preceding, they had not failed to develop men of leadership for the hour. For more than fifty years in the frontier parish of Northampton the Rev. Solomon Stoddard, a Harvard graduate, distinguished for his devoutness and ability, had maintained a fruitful ministry. In his pulpit his famous grandson, Jonathan Edwards, a graduate of Yale, one of the most impressive figures in the religious history of America, preached righteousness with such originality, conviction and power that the winter of 1734-5 initiated in his community a religious revival so real and sweeping that Edwards' "Narrative" regarding it stirred all New England and the colonies and eventually the mother country, giving form to ideas which

¹⁰ This colony prospered greatly. It founded a Congregational church, which, on its removal along with the bulk of the Puritan community about half a century later to Sunbury, Ga., became known as the "Midway" Congregational church. This church and the old "Circular" Congregational church of Charleston, organized in 1680, reared a strong group of southern Christian leaders. The Midway church ceased to exist in 1865; the Circular church is still active.

¹¹ Platner, *Religious History of New England*, p. 55.

had been stirring in the fertile mind of John Wesley.¹² This revival died down after a year, but was reawakened by the fervidly eloquent and stirring preaching of Whitefield among the colonies in 1740-41. This great evangelist became, rightly or otherwise, a critic of the New England churches and pastors, and was eventually discredited by them; yet the whole movement had two significant results: it mellowed New England theological thinking and it quickened into new life the moral and spiritual idealism of New England, exalting the moral tone of each community, developing a hopeful and inspiring faith in Divine providence, kindling finer human interests, more tolerance and liberty, and arousing afresh that sense of responsibility to God and to humankind which stirs missionary zeal and sustains it. Among the other natural motives which led to the chartering in 1746 of the College of New Jersey as the third college to minister to the needs of the Northeastern colonies may be reckoned the desire for an atmosphere of greater intellectual and spiritual freedom than the Harvard or the Yale of that day permitted. Early steps toward its organization were taken in the presbytery of Newark, a settlement from Connecticut and virtually Congregational. The sponsors of the ten-year-old college welcomed Edwards to the presidency and the teaching of divinity in 1757.

Such an awakening of spiritual life could not fail to arouse the conscience of New England in regard to the few Indians now remaining, long since shorn of dangerous power, and to the tribes at a distance. In 1743 work was being carried on with some success in Rhode Island under the auspices of the "New England Company." Many conversions were reported at Westerly. On Long Island a Mr. Horton, at Stockbridge, Mass., John Sergeant, and at Sharon, Conn. and elsewhere the Moravian missionaries were actively promoting evangelization. From 1743 to 1747, David Brainerd, forced to give up his student career at Yale, gave himself with determined zeal as a missionary of the Honorable Society in Scotland for Promoting Christian Knowledge (founded in 1709) to "gospellizing the heathen Indians" of western Massachusetts and Pennsylvania. Despite two flattering calls from attractive parishes he persisted in this self-denying task until seized by consumption. He died a member of Edwards' family in 1747, less than thirty years of age. The story of his devoted life, based upon his journal and interpreted by Edwards, wielded a potent influence over the world of that day.¹³ William Carey, Samuel Marsden and Henry Martyn with a host of others in England and the colonies were the direct fruitage of that simple record of self-denying, Christlike heroism. When Jonathan Edwards in 1751 was forced to leave his Northampton parish, he was then ready to give a part of his strength in service for the Stockbridge Indians as a missionary representing the Massachusetts Commissioners for Indian Affairs and the Society in London. Meanwhile at Lebanon (now Columbia), Conn., a worthy enterprise had been developing since 1744, under the leadership of Eleazer Wheelock, the local pastor. He had interested himself for ten years in the training for missionary service of a few promising lads, both Indians and white boys, among them Samson Occum, who had been converted in the Awakening in 1745, and Samuel Kirkland, who became a famous missionary to the Oneidas. In 1754, a local associate, Joshua Moor, willed a house and two acres in Lebanon for the uses of the school, which was in consequence called the Moor's Indian Charity School. The countryside subscribed £500 for the school. Beginning in 1754 with two pupils, in 1762 there were twenty. Occum became a successful evangelist to the Indians. In 1766 Occum and Nathaniel Whitaker went to England to secure funds for the enlargement of the school. Dr. Wheelock's friendship with Whitefield led the latter to exert himself on behalf of the two solicitors. They collected some £9000, duly acknowl-

¹² Allen, *Jonathan Edwards*, p. 134.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 247. Allen thinks that Edwards contributed distinctive elements.

edged in 1768 by the General Assembly of Connecticut "in support of Dr. Wheelock's Indian Academy for the Promotion of Christianity and Civility among the Savage Indians on this Continent." Wishing a new location and an incorporation, Dr. Wheelock secured in 1769 the charter of Dartmouth College, named for the Earl of Dartmouth, the active patron of the enterprise in England. The college was established at Hanover, N. H., in association with the school which was moved thither, and with the same purpose of the evangelization of the Indians by the training of missionaries to them and by the education of Indian boys. In 1771 out of fifty students nine were Indians. Thus Dartmouth, like Princeton, was indirectly at least a fruitage of the revival movements.¹⁴

Meanwhile in 1762 a group of gentlemen in Massachusetts had organized a Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge among the Indians of North America, raised a substantial fund, obtained a colonial charter and planned an enterprising work. This organization would have been the first missionary society in New England, had not the Archbishop of Canterbury persuaded His Majesty to negative the act of incorporation, fearing lest the new society should interfere with the established Society in London and become a non-episcopal channel of influence.¹⁵ This interest taken in New England in the Indians was paralleled by a concern for African slaves, who had for upwards of a century been found among the colonists. Dr. Samuel Hopkins of Newport was not only a great theologian but a brave opponent of slavery, converting his own church about 1772, and the whole state of Rhode Island by 1784, to a policy of manumission. He planned with Dr. Ezra Stiles (later president of Yale) to educate two promising Africans and to send them back to their native land as missionaries. The Revolutionary War drove Dr. Hopkins and his church from their homes and the negroes from their studies. Nor was this missionary interest confined to those regarded as heathen. From 1714, when Massachusetts in a friendly rectification of boundaries gave Connecticut 60,000 acres of her "western lands," a tract lying north of the Berkshires, until Vermont attained statehood in 1777, that region was peopled by settlers who came principally from Connecticut. Just as Cotton Mather, about 1720, led the Boston churches to send out preachers to care for the "shepherdless" people of the "wilderness" [Worcester Co.], so the General Association of Connecticut was not unmindful of its responsibilities. In June, 1774, it voted to raise funds to send missionaries to "Ye settlements now forming in the wilderness to the westward and northwestward [New York and Vermont], who are mostly destitute of the preached gospel, many of which are our brethren, emigrants from this colony."¹⁶ Yet the political turmoil of the era forced a postponement of these plans, while the wave of unbelief which accompanied the growing intellectual influence of France contributed to a slackening of energy in all religious undertakings.

III

THE DAWN OF A WIDER HOME MISSIONARY INTEREST IN NEW ENGLAND (1783-1795)

Up to the withdrawal of French influence in North America in 1763, the continent west of the Hudson River valley and of the Alleghenies was with few exceptions inhabited by none but Indian tribes. In 1780 the "utmost west" of the colonies went only a little way beyond those boundaries. The movement of population was rather northward into Vermont and Maine or southward.

¹⁴ Wheelock, Eleazer, *A Narrative of the Origin, Design, Rise, Progress and Present State of the Moor's Indian Charity School in Lebanon, Ct.*, 1762.

¹⁵ *Records of the Society for Propagating the Gospel among the Indians and Others of North America, 1787-1887.*

¹⁶ *Records of the General Association, 1738-1799.*

The opening by act of Congress in 1787 of the Northwest Territory, — a vast area including Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan and Wisconsin, — gave a continental turn to New England thinking. It was a Massachusetts clergyman, the Rev. Manasseh Cutler, a forceful hero of the Revolution, who drafted that part of the Ordinance of 1787 which guaranteed to the new territory complete religious liberty, the public support of a school system and the prohibition of slavery. Former soldiers of the Revolution, at the Bunch of Grapes Tavern in Boston on March 1, 1786, had organized the Ohio Company of Associates. Led by General Rufus Putnam forty-eight members of this Company made the first settlement in the new territory at Marietta on the Ohio River, April 7, 1788. In November of that year Dr. Cutler wrote Putnam announcing contributions amounting to \$200 "for the support of preachers and schoolmasters for the present." This may have been the first home missionary money expended in Ohio. Religious services were held at Marietta from July 20, 1788. Daniel Story, the first pastor, paid in part by the Company, began work in March, 1789.

At about this same time a few gentlemen in Massachusetts had received a commission from the Scottish Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge to act on its behalf in the wise use of funds raised to help instruct and evangelize the aborigines of North America. Stung by a sense of their own negligence these men procured from the legislature of Massachusetts in November, 1787, a charter for "The Society for Propagating the Gospel among the Indians and Others in North America." This society assisted in 1790 in the support of Rev. Zechariah Mayhew of Martha's Vineyard and of Rev. John Sergeant of New Stockbridge, N. Y.¹⁷ Up to 1843, its funds were mainly expended in New England and New York to support instruction to the Indians, later in Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin and Canada; later still in recent years they have been used for work among Indians and colored people.¹⁸

The early nineties witnessed a rising interest in all directions. The Connecticut General Association in 1793, in revival of the policy initiated nearly twenty years earlier, appointed eight of the settled pastors, among them such leaders as Rev. Ammi R. Robbins of Norfolk, Rev. Samuel J. Mills of Torrington and Rev. Cotton Mather Smith of Sharon, to go out for a period of four months each to preach in the Vermont and New York settlements. They were allowed \$4.50 a week as salary and \$4.00 for a pulpit supply.¹⁹ In that same year the indefatigable missionary to the Oneida Indians, Rev. Samuel Kirkland, whose influence had kept them neutral in the Revolutionary struggle, laid the foundations of the Academy which became in 1812 Hamilton College; while at Williamstown, Mass., was organized the sixth New England institution of higher learning, Williams College.²⁰ The ministry of the Connecticut clergy to the growing settlements was steadily maintained. By 1798 a total of twenty-one pastors, released for the purpose by their parishes, had given a term of active service. Their experience quickened the convictions which led to the founding of the vigorous Missionary Society of Connecticut in 1798.

Pioneering distresses had delayed the development of the Ohio project, but in 1790 a body of settlers from Connecticut, through the Connecticut Land Company, entered the northeastern portion of Ohio, known as the Western Reserve, establishing their homes near Cleveland. The first home missionary to New Connecticut, was David Bacon (1800). In 1801 Joseph Badger brought along the college idea and established the in-

¹⁷ The son of the Sergeant of Stockbridge, Mass., who followed the Stockbridge Indians to their New York home.

¹⁸ *Records of the Society to 1887.*

¹⁹ *Records of the General Association.*

²⁰ The University of Vermont was chartered but not active.

stitution which in 1826 became Western Reserve College.²¹ Massachusetts also contributed other settlers to Marietta, where in 1796 the First Congregational Church was properly organized, and in 1797 Muskingum Academy, which developed in 1835 into Marietta College. These groups of hardy pioneers represented the westernmost outpost of Congregationalism at the beginning of the nineteenth century.

IV

THE SECOND AWAKENING AND ITS MISSIONARY AFTERMATH (1795-1807)

"The new century came in," says Clark, "with a momentum of spiritual power. Church membership increased thrice as fast as the population." New England Congregationalism had almost a new birth in the revival spirit which, notwithstanding the acute Unitarian controversies, began to be felt by 1791, when the long period of political distraction had come to an inspiring close. All Anglo-Saxon Christendom was manifesting a new interest in the extension of Christ's kingdom.²² In 1792 the Baptist Missionary Society was organized in England to support William Carey, who started in that year on his forty-two years of devoted service in India. In 1795 the London Missionary Society began its world-ranging work, the Edinburgh Missionary Society in 1796 and in 1799 the Church Missionary Society. In New England religious interest reached a climax in 1799 but continued as late as 1805. It was not a time of undue excitement, but of the steady promotion of spiritual strength. Between 1798 and 1800 one hundred and fifty revivals were reported in western Massachusetts and Connecticut. No one great preacher dominated the period.²³ Yet southern New England was deeply stirred by the lofty personality and impassioned preaching of Timothy Dwight, who, in 1795, in the prime of his years, coming to Yale as its president, had routed the French skepticism which had become an intellectual fad among the students. Through him and many others there was aroused an apostolic spirit of self-denial, generosity and genuine missionary zeal which inaugurated a "great missionary decade." In 1796 the New York Missionary Society was organized, in 1797 the Berkshire and Columbia Missionary Society, in 1798 the Missionary Society of Connecticut, "to Christianize the heathen in North America and to support and promote Christian knowledge in the new settlements in the United States," and, in the following year, the Massachusetts Missionary Society, "to carry the Gospel to the heathen in America and across the seas." Between 1801 and 1807 domestic missionary societies were organized in each New England state. At about the same time the women of New England began to organize for missionary giving. Fourteen Baptist and Congregational women organized in 1800 the Boston Female Society for Missionary Purposes. In 1802 Mrs. Simpkins, the wife of the treasurer of the Massachusetts Society, organized the Female Cent Institution, to provide means for the distribution of religious literature. In 1804 Mrs. Elizabeth McFarland of Concord, N. H., started the New Hampshire Female Cent Institution, to which local Female Cent Societies became auxiliary. This latter organization has maintained a continuous existence until today, and may rightly be termed the oldest existing society of women for any purpose in North America. During its first year it collected \$5; during its history, \$276,635. In 1800 the *New York Missionary Magazine* and the *Connecticut Evangelical Magazine* were founded, in 1803 the *Massachusetts Missionary Magazine*, in 1805 the *Panoplist*, while missionaries from England on their way to their fields in the West Indies or North America and missionary publications from

²¹ Dunning, *Congregationalists in America*, p. 429 f.

²² *History of Connecticut*.

²³ Walker, *History of the Congregational Churches in the United States*, pp. 319, 320.

over the sea were not infrequent means of missionary uplift in New England homes. The Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge was founded in 1803,²⁴ the Connecticut Religious Tract Society in 1807. Thus by 1807 all New England was fairly ready for missionary service in the pioneer settlements and on behalf of the Indian tribes. In that same year the sum of \$6,000 was contributed and sent to England by American churches of all denominations for Carey's work in India.²⁵

The spirit of the age in New England was fairly catholic. The churches were not interested in spreading Congregationalism, but Christianity. Under the "Plan of Union," adopted in 1801 by the General Association of Connecticut and the Presbyterian General Assembly, providing for combined effort in founding new churches in central New York and northern Ohio, the religious foundations of the central West were largely laid, to the immense and permanent advantage of Presbyterianism. For the next thirty years the funds raised by the many societies in New England were mainly utilized outside of New England in new settlements and in foreign lands with the unselfish purpose of planting Christian institutions wherever needed.

V

THE STUDENT UPRISING AT WILLIAMS COLLEGE AND ANDOVER THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY (1806-1810)

The greatest asset of this age of revival was the body of broad-minded, fine-spirited leadership it brought to the front, alike among the clergy, the older laity and the youth. In 1805 such men as President Timothy Dwight, Dr. Nathaniel Emmons and Governor John Treadwell of Connecticut, Rev. Joseph Lyman and Dr. Samuel Spring of Massachusetts were prominent among the older ministers and laymen, while Lyman Beecher, Leonard Woods, Edward D. Griffin and Samuel Worcester were in their early thirties. By that year twelve institutions of higher learning had been founded within New England, eastern New York and New Jersey, Middlebury being the most recent one in 1800. In the ten active colleges there were approximately 1,230 students. A fair proportion of them were young men whose hearts had been deeply stirred during their boyhood days by the religious spirit of the times and who were not unmindful of God's claims upon them. Two young men of this sort were Samuel J. Mills, Jr., and Harvey Loomis, who, fresh from a great revival in western Connecticut, went together to Williams College in 1806. Mills, encouraged by his father, who had himself served the pioneer settlements, and supported by the prayers of his godly mother, cherished a definite purpose to prepare for missionary service. He was not an exceptional student, not even physically strong, but his magnetic enthusiasm gave him a marked power of leadership.²⁶

A college revival in the preceding winter had resulted in a group of men who were in the habit of holding regular meetings together for prayer. It was natural for Mills and Loomis to join this group. One day in August, 1806, five young men, Green, Loomis, Mills, Richards and Robbins, met for prayer, and with unusual seriousness discussed their obligation to take the gospel to the heathen. The apparent folly of the project, as viewed by one or two, was overborne by Mills' convincing appeal, "We can do it if we will." An approaching storm forced them to take refuge under a haystack, where was made the famous compact to look forward to lives of missionary service wherever God should send them.

That very year Dr. Samuel Spring of Newburyport was laying his plans

²⁴ It disbanded in 1870, donating its trust funds to the care of the C. S. S. and P. S.

²⁵ Richards, *Samuel J. Mills*, p. 70.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, *passim*.

for an institution at Andover for the proper training of a learned and influential clergy. The missionary impulse was an important factor in his thinking and pleading. One of the Andover Associates, a Mr. John Norris of Salem, who with his wife gave ten thousand dollars to the enterprise, declared, "We must raise ministers, if we would have men to go as missionaries." On this basis of loyal service the two "schools" of orthodox Congregationalism reunited in the step which created immediately a notable center of missionary zeal.

The purpose of the Haystack group did not flag. In 1808 in old East College was organized the Society of Brethren "to effect in the persons of its members a mission or missions to the heathen." No one could become a member unpledged. The first five signers to the constitution were Samuel J. Mills, Ezra Fisk, James Richards, John Seward and Luther Rice. Five others were admitted at Williams, of whom two died while at college. The Brethren was a secret society devoted to self-improvement, mutual support and the missionary enlistment of others. It was made secret because of the general attitude of students and people toward missions.

Early in 1810, after their graduation, Mills, Rice and Richards with Gordon Hall went to Andover Theological Seminary, organized two years before, to receive the training needed for missionary efficiency. There they met and quickly challenged by their own flaming zeal three other outstanding men, Adoniram Judson, Jr., from Brown University, Samuel Newell from Harvard and Samuel Nott, Jr., from Union College, who joined the "Brethren." For sixty years this Society maintained its organization at Andover, almost the last three members to be admitted in 1870-72 being Joseph Neesima of Japan, Robert A. Hume of India and John P. Sanderson of North America. It furnished during these years a splendid succession of outstanding missionary leaders, representing the capacity, the energy and the heroic faith of Congregationalism at its best. For the first ten years all who were sent out by the American Board, except one, were educated at Andover.

VI

THE ORGANIZATION OF THE AMERICAN BOARD IN RESPONSE TO THE APPEAL OF THE "BRETHREN" (1810)

Without delay the notable group at Andover appealed to the churches to open a way for their despatch to a foreign mission field. On June 28, 1810, Judson, Mills, Newell and Nott made a strong plea to the Massachusetts General Association at Bradford. Their proposal was indeed a challenge. The Association was only seven years old; its membership was cautious and conservative. Two young men, probably Richards and Rice, who were ready to join with the four, did not present themselves lest the Association be alarmed by so large a number of candidates. Only too many in the churches were inclined to characterize devotedness like theirs as "overheated zeal." Fortunately, however, the Association and the real leadership of the churches of Massachusetts and Connecticut included a remarkable group of men. When Moses Stuart left New Haven in 1810 for his new professorship at Andover, his young deacon, Jeremiah Evarts, left on the same coach for Boston to take charge of the *Panoplist* and to be, like Doctors Samuel Worcester, Samuel Spring, Edward D. Griffin and Jedediah Morse, profoundly interested in every educational, theological, reformatory or missionary enterprise of the time, giving it momentum and shaping its trend.²⁷

After a long debate, swayed, we are told, by the energetic faith of Dr. Worcester, it was voted with due solemnity to take steps to form an organization under the joint auspices of the churches of Massachusetts and

²⁷ Paper by Secretary Alden, *Report of the American Board*, 1882, p. xxxii.

Connecticut. Of its nine members five represented the Massachusetts Association; four were from Connecticut. These were to elect their successors. On September 5, 1810, at Farmington, Ct., the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions came into being. Six men were present, Governor John Treadwell of Farmington, who was chosen president, Dr. Samuel Worcester of Salem, who became the secretary, Dr. Samuel Spring of Newburyport, Dr. Joseph Lyman of Hatfield, and Dr. Calvin Chapin of Wethersfield, with Rev. Noah Porter of Farmington,²⁸ invited as their host to take a place in the company. Deacon Noah Porter, his aged father, was so interested in the report of the proceedings that he gave the Board \$500 soon after this meeting, one-fifth of his property. The newly constituted Board elected a Prudential Committee of three, which it instructed to make a careful survey of unevangelized peoples and to report at the next meeting. At Worcester in September, 1811, the Committee suggested two desirable fields, the Burman empire and the North American Indian territory.

The Board needed the period which its candidates required for training that it might raise the funds essential for their outfit and steady support. The response to its appeal was at first disappointing. It had sent Judson over to England in Jan., 1811, to propose to the London Missionary Society a joint undertaking. When that Society declined this proposal the corporation hesitated to take the great risks involved in the enterprise, until at last Judson declared that he and his associates would brook no further delay. If they could not go out under the American Board, they declared that they would accept the appointments already tendered to them by the London Missionary Society. By a fresh appeal to the churches sufficient funds were secured for the initiation of the enterprise; and on February 6, 1812, — the very year of Henry Martyn's death at Tokat in Asia, — five young men, Hall, Judson, Newell, Nott and Rice, were ordained at the Tabernacle Church, Salem, Mass., by five clergymen, Worcester, Spring, Griffin, Morse and Professor Woods, to the work they longed to undertake. With them went three noble young women, Ann Haseltine Judson, Harriet Newell and Roxana Peck Nott, pioneers of a long procession of gifted American women who have given themselves cheerfully to the hardships and problems of missionary service. As speedily as possible the devoted band of eight set out in two groups for Calcutta and the long and splendid history of the American Board began.

The organizers of the Board were strongly evangelical in temper yet catholic in spirit. They were Congregationalists, but lost no time in opening the way for the friendly cooperation of the Presbyterian churches, after discovering that the General Assembly was not ready to organize a Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions. Presbyterians were represented on the corporation by 1812. One member was added from the Associate Reformed Church in 1814, one more from the Reformed (Dutch) Church in 1816, and one, still later, from the Reformed German Church.²⁹

VII

FIFTEEN FRUITFUL YEARS OF EXPLORATION AND ORGANIZATION (1812-1826)

The next fifteen years were required for the process of bringing the churches up to the level of the new missionary impulse. The Board was a spiritual venture. Its legal charter was secured only after two exciting sessions of the Massachusetts legislature. Its continuance and growth, no less than the group of associated enterprises which followed it, owed much to the devotion, foresight and zeal of the very one who had led in its

²⁸ The father of President Noah Porter of Yale.

²⁹ Bliss, *Encyclopedia of Missions*, 2d edit., p. 27.

founding, Samuel J. Mills. By genius a promoter rather than a builder, Mills had been deliberately set apart by the Brethren for the work of arousing college and theological students and the churches.²⁰ Yet not even did this great task set limits to his energy. Soon after the missionaries had set sail for India, Mills, under the commission of the Missionary Societies of Connecticut and Massachusetts and of the Society for Propagating the Gospel among the Indians, began a remarkable tour of exploration throughout the inhabited West. Only nine years before, in April, 1803, the Louisiana Purchase had been consummated. Settlers lined the lakes and rivers. Mills spent a whole year, at a net cost of \$338, in traversing the newly settled portions of New York, Ohio, Kentucky, Tennessee, Louisiana, Mississippi and Georgia, investigating religious conditions, founding Bible societies and preaching the gospel. His report on the Indians of the southern states was an important factor in encouraging the Board about six years later to begin its work for the Indians of Tennessee and Mississippi. After a year spent largely in appeals to theological students and in the organization of local missionary and Bible societies in New England, Mills made a second tour of nine months over much the same territory. His challenging reports deeply stirred the churches.

The year 1816 was noteworthy. A new theological seminary was organized at Bangor, Maine. In May the Bible societies of Connecticut, Massachusetts, New Jersey and New York, four of the one hundred and thirty-two Bible societies instituted during the years following the organization of the British and Foreign Bible Society in 1804, were persuaded by the persistency and genius of Mills to extend and coordinate their activities through the American Bible Society of New York. In October the Society for the Moral and Religious Instruction of the Poor was organized in Boston to sustain Sunday-school work.²¹ In December, largely because of the appeals of Mills and other young men for trained Christian leaders for home and foreign service, there was organized in Boston the American Society for the Education of Pious Youth for the Gospel Ministry, which later became the American Education Society. In May, 1814, the persuasive pleading of Professor Porter of Andover had led to the forming of the New England Tract Society, which in 1825 developed with other local societies into the American Tract Society. These four societies represented distinctly Congregational initiative, but were conceived on so high-minded and unselfish a plan that they served from the beginning all churches which did not prefer so to serve themselves. Under the Plan of Union the Connecticut Missionary Society was cheerfully contributing its representatives and its resources to promote a Christian civilization in the Mississippi valley without questioning the presumption that the churches formed should be Presbyterian in organization. So real was the spirit of fraternity that Mills had much to do with the organization in July, 1817, of the United Foreign Missionary Society, which enlisted the Presbyterian, Dutch Reformed and Associate Reformed churches, under the official control of the General Assembly and the General Synods, to push specifically the evangelization of Mexico, of South America and of the Indians of North America. He was also active in the establishment in 1816 of the African School of New Jersey, controlled by the Synod of New York and New Jersey. The last enterprise of this zealous, self-forgetful, tolerant apostle was the exploration of the west coast of Africa, as an agent of the American Colonization Society organized in 1817. On the return voyage, June 15, 1818, his great soul passed away. More than any one man he had pioneered the way for a missionary century.

Meanwhile the American Board had developed active missions at Bombay in India, at Jaffna in Ceylon and among the Cherokees of Tennessee

²⁰ Richards, *Samuel J. Mills*, p. 79.

²¹ This Society eventually became the Boston City Missionary Society, which is still active. Its Sunday-school work was taken over by the Massachusetts Sabbath School Society.

and the Choctaws of Mississippi. Judson and Rice on reaching Calcutta in June, 1811, announced their change of views regarding baptism, were immersed and withdrew from the control of the Board. This apparent disaster led in 1814 to the organization of the Baptist General Convention,²² a great sister Society. The three remaining missionaries were forced to leave Calcutta. On February 11, 1813, Hall and Nott reached Bombay; Newell, after the death of his wife in the Isle of France, reached Ceylon. The next January he joined his brethren at Bombay, having first satisfied himself that Ceylon was a practicable field. They were allowed to remain at Bombay under sufferance. They spent the time in such tactful correspondence with the authorities in Bombay and in England, and employed themselves so wisely and discreetly, that they won from parliament the permission to labor among the peoples of India as translators, teachers and evangelists. In 1815 five more men, Bardwell, Meigs, Poor, Richards and Warren, were appointed by the Board to India. Bardwell, who was a printer, went to Bombay; the others made their way to Jaffna, in northern Ceylon, where in October, 1816, they began the second mission of the Board. In the next two years the two Indian missions were founded and the Foreign School at Cornwall, Conn., for the training of promising youths from mission areas for home evangelization, was opened with twelve students, five of them from the Sandwich Islands and two from India. The latter enterprise was generously conceived but proved futile. The graduates almost without exception proved unfitted for useful evangelization among their own people. In 1827 the school was abandoned.

During the next three years, 1818-1820, the *Missionary Herald*, successor of a group of missionary magazines, was made the official organ of the Board; and three new missions were undertaken. Pliny Fiske and Levi Parsons went to Palestine in 1819 to spy out the land, while Hiram Bingham and Asa Thurston with their wives and a group of unordained associates started around Cape Horn for the Sandwich Islands. At this early date the Board had begun to conceive of its task as the development of a Christian civilization along with the conversion of individuals. It had commissioned farmers, mechanics and printers as well as ordained missionaries. In 1819 Dr. John Scudder, the first physician sent out by the American Board, and in 1820 Myron Winslow and Levi Spaulding reported at Ceylon and a new mission to the southwestern Cherokees was begun. The American Board itself in 1826 absorbed the United Foreign Missionary Society and the mission of the Synod of South Carolina and Georgia, thus adding eight missions, mainly to the Indians, and fifty-five missionaries to its roster. This gave the Board a total of sixteen missions with forty-six stations and two hundred and twenty-three American missionary laborers of all types. West Africa, South Africa, Greece and South China were by that time under consideration. Of the missionaries of 1812 none were left in 1826 in the service of the Board,²³ but many heroic and noble men were at their work. The development of native workers was still in the future.

Within these years were established the American Sunday School Union (1824), the National Temperance Society (1826), and the American Tract Society (1825), organizations in which Congregationalists were strongly represented. Through such organizations not only were Christian forces given the leadership they craved, but the literature and method of pioneering began to be worked out. Amherst College in 1821²⁴ and the Yale

²² The General Convention of the Baptist Denomination in the U. S. A. for Foreign Missions. In 1846 it was incorporated as The American Baptist Missionary Union. It is now known as The American Baptist Foreign Mission Society.

²³ Because of ignorance of proper sanitary precautions and for other similar reasons the early missionary mortality was very great. There were more deaths than converts in the first ten years.

²⁴ In 1880, eighty per cent of the missionaries of the American Board had come from New England, half of them from Amherst and Williams.

Divinity School in 1822 added to the institutions which furnished a steady stream of leaders for Christian service.

The year 1826 was noteworthy for another important reason. In January, 1825, a few Andover men, Rev. Nathaniel Bouton, a recent graduate, with Aaron Foster and Hiram Chamberlain of the Senior class, became impressed, during an historic trip from Andover to Newburyport and back, by the urgent need for domestic missions in the new West and South and by the specific demand for ministers in the new communities so rapidly developing. A committee of eight was appointed by the "Society of Inquiry" to bring the matter to the attention of the churches. It had the invaluable counsel and encouragement of Professor Ebenezer Porter, who gave dignity and steadiness to the project. Six seniors pledged themselves to home mission service, the two initiators, with Lucius Alden, Luther Bingham, John M. Ellis and Augustus Pomeroy. They were commissioned by three different societies and ordained in Boston, September 29, 1825. The next day Professor Porter called a small group of leaders together to consider the desirability of forming a national society. This gathering requested Professors Porter and Edwards and Dr. Nathaniel Taylor to make a thoughtful study of the proposition. The outcome was that on May 10, 1826, one hundred and twenty-six ministers and laymen of four denominations and from thirteen states and territories gathered at the Brick Church, New York, endorsed the favorable report of this committee and approved a constitution. The new organization, known as the American Home Missionary Society, absorbed the work of the United Domestic Missionary Society of New York, which had been formed in 1822 by delegates from ten small local societies of New York State. It represented the interests of the New England societies, of the Board of Domestic Missions of the General Assembly and of those of the Reformed Synods. Thus was laid a basis for united, aggressive national service. In its first year this Society commissioned one hundred and sixty-nine missionaries at an average cost for a year of labor of \$127.

VIII

RAPID FOREIGN MISSIONARY EXPANSION (1827-1852)

The next decade witnessed a rather steady advance of foreign missionary activity, supported by a corporate membership unmatched for "learning, wealth, character and leadership."³⁵ Dr. Rufus Anderson nobly maintained as Secretary the traditions of Dr. Samuel Worcester and of Jeremiah Evarts. In 1836 he outlined on the basis of a comprehensive survey of the world as then known a scheme for the evangelization of the world, which called for a missionary force of 3,780. Many features of that daring plan have since been followed.

In this decade the Board undertook sixteen new enterprises in the Near East, China, India, Siam, Africa and North America. When William Goodell entered Constantinople in 1831 that city became the starting point of extensive explorations eastward which convinced Eli Smith and Harrison Dwight of the attractiveness and opportunity of the Armenian and Nestorian fields. Smyrna, Trebizond, Brousa and Urumia were occupied, while the older mission to Syria was reenforced by Eli Smith, William M. Thomson and Cornelius V. A. Van Dyck.

Meanwhile a work had been started in South China at the appeal of Robert Morrison. Elijah C. Bridgman and David Abeel reached Canton in 1830. Within four years S. Wells Williams had joined as director of press work and Peter Parker had inaugurated a distinctive medical missionary service. His hospital and training school were the forerunners

³⁵ Strong, *The Story of the American Board*, p. 154.

of the vast ministry of relief of today. Even with this aid the progress of the mission was infinitely slow.

In striking contrast was the work in the Sandwich Islands and in India. In 1832 the mid-Pacific islanders, led by their queen, seemed to be rapidly becoming a Christian people. In Jaffna and Bombay there were revivals and a great extension of all kinds of mission work, while at Ahmednagar in 1831, at Madura in 1834 and in Madras in 1836, new missions were begun. R. W. Hume, Samuel Fairbank, James Herrick and Joseph Noyes were some of the recruits, together with Cynthia Farrar (1827), who was the first single woman to receive appointment.

In North America the work among the Indians had begun to show great promise, when the national policy of transferring them to distant reservations threw it into confusion and made it unstable. The Board followed the tribes to their new homes and opened missions among the trans-Mississippi tribes. In 1836 the intrepid Dr. Marcus Whitman and Rev. H. H. Spalding, accompanied by their wives, forced their way over the Oregon trail between February and September and settled among the tribes of eastern Oregon, near what is now the city of Walla Walla. In September, 1842, Whitman undertook the daring ride back across the continent to urge the Prudential Committee to reconsider its avowed intention of abolishing the mission and to appeal to the Government at Washington to secure Oregon to the United States. Heartened by the permission of the Board to continue his work for the Indians and encouraged by the attitude of the Government he hastened back to Oregon in 1843, assisting the first group of hardy pioneers to get through. In four short years the mission force at Walla Walla was massacred, but the great Northwest had been given an enduring impulse.

The year 1837 was one of widespread financial disaster, causing sharp retrenchment of mission work, particularly in the successful areas. In Ceylon, where fourteen schools were left out of one hundred and eighty-seven, the advance was checked for a generation. Among the American Indian missions disheartening cuts had to be made. This disaster affected the work of the Board for years. Not until 1852 did another bold advance begin. The years between were not, of course, years of absolute barrenness. The Sandwich Islands had been too far away in 1837 to be affected by the depression. A great revival, which culminated in 1838-39, was under full headway. Titus Coan in July, 1838, baptized 1,705 persons on one Sunday. Despite all kinds of difficulties the next decade saw the Hawaiian nation formally recognized as civilized and predominantly Christian.

The decade between 1840 and 1850 witnessed many changes. The stations at Singapore and in Borneo were given up and Siam was transferred in 1849 to the American Missionary Association. Asia Minor, Syria, India, Ceylon and South Africa settled down into the missions of today. In China the ending of the Opium War in 1842 opened five treaty ports, three of which, Amoy, Foochow and Shanghai, were occupied by 1847. Everywhere it was the policy of the Board to emphasize education. Groups of efficient educational institutions developed, which attracted the choicest young men of each missionary area. By 1850 the Board was directing twenty-four active missions, distributed over ten great world areas, in each of which it had a legal standing and relative freedom. In each of these missions, along with evangelization, translation and publication, education, medical relief, and vocational training in various tentative forms were developing. In 1833, with the division of the Presbyterian Church into Old School and New School, the New School congregations continued their foreign missionary work through the American Board, the Old School Presbyterians working through the Western Foreign Missionary Society, which had been established by the Synod of Pittsburgh. Out of this Society grew in 1837 the Presbyterian Board of Foreign

Missions. The Presbyterians under the leadership of Dr. Elisha P. Swift were in favor of organizing their missionary work as a part of the regular work of the Church rather than under an independent society. It is interesting to note that the gradual development of a denominational consciousness has led Congregationalists to the same position.

IX

THE UNION HOME MISSIONARY MOVEMENT (1826-1852)

The organization of the American Home Missionary Society (1826) was the response of statesmanlike leaders to three appeals, that of an extending frontier with its religious desolateness, that of a sense of the responsibility of religiously strong New England to the whole nation, and that of the demand in the newly settled regions for settled pastors rather than for itinerant preachers. Mills, in 1812, had called attention to the ignorance and intense sectarianism of the uneducated preachers of these areas. Both those at home and those who pioneered were anxious to transfer to the frontier the characteristic love of civil and religious order and zeal for church and school that dominated the East. It was still taken for granted that Congregationalism was ill adapted to pioneering conditions and that New England should cheerfully support expanding Presbyterianism.

The rapid development of western New York and of the Northwest Territory threw a heavy burden upon the Society. In 1827 three-fourths of its one hundred and sixty-nine missionaries labored in the state of New York, twenty-five in the Northwest Territory, thirteen in the South. In 1831, out of four hundred and sixty-three missionaries in twenty-two states and territories, one hundred and eighty-five ministered to parishes in New England and the East, one hundred and twelve were in central and western New York, one hundred and twenty-nine were in the Northwest and thirty-one in the South. At the tenth annual meeting in May, 1836, out of seven hundred and fifty-six missionaries and agents one hundred and fifty-four were reported in the Northwest and thirty-three in the South. Thus there was a steady pushing out into the pioneer country.

The situation in the rapidly developing West made a strong appeal to earnest-minded students. In 1828, Theron Baldwin, a theological student at Yale, read before the Society of Inquiry a paper on "Individual Effort in the Cause of Christ," which led Mason Grosvenor, his classmate, to propose a grouping of service in some new territory. Seven men, these two with John F. Brooks, Elisha Jenney, William Kirby, John M. Sturtevant and Asa Turner, formed an "Illinois Association." Their correspondence with Rev. John M. Ellis, who had been at work in the new territory several years, led them to unite their efforts, while still at Yale, with his for the founding of Illinois College. They raised \$10,000 on its behalf. During 1829 five others joined them, Romulus Barnes, Flavel Bascom, William Carter, Albert Hale and Lucien Farnham. Nine were Yale men, Jenney from Dartmouth, Brooks from Hamilton and Farnham from Amherst.

In 1829 Illinois was true frontier. In 1825 Michigan had just one Protestant preacher, while Wisconsin was a wilderness until 1834. Under those pioneer conditions, meeting at the outset prejudice as well as hardship, these devoted men and their brave wives worked in friendly concert. Sturtevant opened Illinois College in January, 1830. Baldwin, Bascom and Turner with him made a quartet who rank among the historic characters of the commonwealth of Illinois. These missionaries laid foundations which have made the central West a stronghold of the Congregational order. Their enterprising energy so quickened a zeal for home missions at Yale that the Divinity School became for decades a dependable source of

Christian leadership in the growing West. Their successful work also inspired the organization of a second group.

In 1843, when the new territory of Iowa was in process of settlement, an "Iowa Band" of eleven men, Harvey Adams, Edwin B. Turner, Daniel Love, Erastus Ripley, James J. Hill, Benjamin A. Spaulding, Alden B. Robbins, Horace Hutchinson, Ephraim Adams, Ebenezer Alden, Jr., and William Salter, was organized at Andover to Christianize that trans-Mississippi area. As forerunners they had a small group of unusual men, such as Asa Turner of the Illinois Band, Reuben Gaylord and Julius A. Reed. The soil was ready; the sowers were competent as well as self-sacrificing. In fifteen years Congregationalism, backed by its college Grinnell (1847), had taken deep root in Iowa. Thus these two groups of young leaders and their associates, persistently loyal to their ancestral ideals, settled for all time the legitimacy and value of Congregationalism in the Middle West.

In 1832, the Massachusetts Sabbath School Society was organized, under auspices definitely Congregational, to take the place of the Massachusetts Sabbath School Union of 1825, which had been shared with the Baptists. Each denomination wished to be free to minister to its own constituency. The new Society despite its name had nation-wide plans. Within two years Asa Bullard began his noteworthy forty years of service. For seven years the Society was an auxiliary of the American Sunday School Union, but in 1839 it became independent and in 1841 was chartered with provision for departments of missionary extension, education and publication. Such leaders as Horace Bushnell, Lyman Beecher and Calvin Stowe were its enthusiastic supporters, speaking often on its behalf. In 1846-8 the other state Sunday School Unions of New England recognized the Society as their agency in national service. By 1849 it served twenty areas in North America.

Two other important developments of this quarter century of home missionary pioneering deserve mention because of their significance for the missionary history of Congregationalism. In 1833 Oberlin was founded as a distinctively educational Christian center, unhampered by any type of ecclesiasticism or social theory. It drew no lines of sex or color. Its students, trained by Finney, Morgan and Mahan, were foremost in the discussions and the self-denying enterprises of anti-slavery days. Of similar importance was the founding in rapid succession of Western Reserve, Illinois, Marietta, Knox, Beloit and Iowa Colleges by men who desired an adequate supply of competent ministers and teachers. From such institutions as these have come the missionary leadership of today. They could hardly have developed into strength had not Theron Baldwin, keenly aware of the strategic value of Christian education in national growth, taken counsel with Leonard Bacon and the two Beechers and organized, in 1843, a Society for the Promotion of Collegiate and Theological Education at the West to assist colleges and theological schools. The American Education Society at that time declined to undertake the support of institutions lest its work of educating ministers be endangered. The former society in its first year helped Illinois, Wabash, Western Reserve and Marietta, besides Lane and Western Reserve Theological Seminaries. Up to 1850 its field covered Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Iowa and Wisconsin. It won for Baldwin the well-deserved title, "Father of Western Colleges," and helped to found a series of institutions in which Congregationalists will ever take justifiable pride.

X

THE RISE OF THE AMERICAN MISSIONARY ASSOCIATION (1842-1861)

Meanwhile another great Society was in process of incubation. Ever since the founding in 1790 of the Connecticut Anti-slavery Society by President Stiles to repatriate negro slaves, and of the National Temperance Society in 1826, the Puritan conscience had been growing tender with reference to moral issues. The Missouri Compromise of 1820 shocked the country into a quarter century of deepening interest to which such men as Lyman Beecher and Leonard Bacon largely contributed. In 1832 Garrison began to publish the *Liberator*. In 1833 the American Anti-Slavery Society was founded. By 1837 it had 1,200 auxiliaries and 125,000 members. Not alone in such a free community as the Oberlin of that day, but all over Congregational territory, unending debates went to the very roots of Christian principles and practice. There were men and women, here and there, like John G. Fee of Kentucky or Oliver Emerson of Iowa, who began to question the legitimacy of drawing salaries paid by any of the great missionary or associated Boards, since none of them was ready to take a position of unequivocal opposition to slavery. In 1833 the New Haven Anti-Slavery Society declared for immediate abolition. A strong minority demanded that the parent Society take the same position. Hence in 1840 the milder group organized The American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society. Congregational clergymen and laymen were quite consistently hostile to slavery, but they were slow to identify their two great missionary organizations or the other national societies with that particular issue. In 1839 a group of negroes was kidnapped from the Mendi coast and sold into Cuban slavery. Some of them escaped in a sloop which was wrecked on the coast of Long Island. Forty-four were captured and confined in the New Haven jail, where Professor Gibbs of Yale succeeded in identifying their place of origin and in getting their story. A committee, known, from the name of the sloop, as the Amistad Committee, was formed to care for these hapless people, to afford them protection and to repatriate them when practicable. In 1841 the United States Supreme Court set them free, whereupon they were committed to the instruction of Rev. (afterwards Professor) George E. Day, then of Farmington, Conn., and placed under the responsible care of the newly organized Union Missionary Society of Hartford. The Committee asked the American Board to add a Mendi Mission to its two African missions already under way, making it an anti-slavery mission, but without success. Hence, in 1842, the Committee merged with the Union Missionary Society, which founded the mission by sending two white missionaries, James Steele and William Raymond of Oberlin, with the thirty-nine remaining repatriates. By 1848 fifteen missionaries had joined the mission, all from Oberlin; eight had died.

The action of the Board aroused many protests and led in 1844 and 1845 to extended debates at the annual meetings. It was the judgment of such men as Noah Porter, Mark Hopkins, Calvin E. Stowe, Leonard Woods and Leonard Bacon that the work of the Board could not be subordinated to or jeopardized by any particular moral issue, however important. Yet the feeling of other good and godly men grew beyond repression. At Albany, in September, 1846, "friends of Bible missions" met and organized the American Missionary Association "for the propagation of a pure and free Christianity from which the sins of caste, polygamy, slaveholding and the like shall be excluded." The Association absorbed or affiliated along with their missions three active organizations, the Union Missionary Society, a recently organized Committee for West Indian Missions at work in Jamaica, and the Western Evangelical Missionary Society, founded in 1843 by the Western Reserve Association to support

a group of Oberlin students in work among the Ojibway Indians. The Association was not a Congregational organization, but from the outset Congregational influence was predominant in its management. Professor George Whipple of Oberlin was made Corresponding Secretary in 1847, and remained an honored leader for thirty years. In 1850 the Association could report twelve missionaries and five missions, the Mendi Mission in West Africa, the encouragement of a self-supporting missionary family in the Sandwich Islands, a well supported work in Jamaica, a mission in Siam, transferred by the American Board because the two missionaries, one of whom was Rev. Dr. D. B. Bradley, were in full sympathy with the position of the Association, and a mission to the Ojibway Indians of Minnesota. Moreover the needs of colored refugees in Canada were being met. In 1853 a work was begun in California for the "Chinese and other foreigners," and in 1854 for the Copts of Egypt. At the same time a "Home Department" had been established from the outset to work for home missions through those missionaries, like John G. Fee, who wished "to bear clear testimony against slavery and caste." Berea College, which began its life in 1858, embodied the ideals of this remarkable man. In 1860 the Association had over a hundred home missionaries on its roll, fifteen of them in the slave states or in Kansas. Thus the young Association had developed a limited but widespread and thoroughly useful work. It gave a positive Christian expression to the moral earnestness of many. Those who were dissatisfied with the older organizations were able to use it as the channel of their benevolences. For many years Oberlin furnished most of its missionaries. In 1857 the Avery legacy of \$100,000 as a "perpetual fund to disseminate Christianity among the black and colored races of Africa" seemed to set a seal of public approval on what it had achieved.

XI

THE DEVELOPMENT OF FOREIGN MISSIONARY PRINCIPLES AND POLICIES (1851-1880)

The quarter century beginning about 1851 was one of constant discussion and bold experiment along lines of foreign missionary policy. By the end of the period the essential principles of mission management as practiced today had been debated and adopted. The meetings of the American Board became great inspirational assemblies which mightily stirred its constituency, which, by 1880, had become rather distinctively Congregational.

During these decades the Board steadily enlarged its borders. In 1851 the Arcot district in India was entered as the fifth enterprise in that great area. The opportunities afforded by the opening Chinese Empire were rapidly seized. Shanghai was occupied in 1854, Tientsin entered by Dr. Blodget in 1860, Peking in 1862, Kalgan in 1865, Tungchow in 1867, Paotingfu in 1873 and Shaowu in 1877. Chauncey Goodrich, Henry Porter and Arthur H. Smith began their many decades of leadership during these years. An advance from the Sandwich Islands to Micronesia was made in 1852. At Salonica a mission for Jews, begun in 1849, was maintained for seven years but found impracticable. In the Turkish Empire not only was a new mission for Syrians founded at Mosul, but also the whole missionary program was reorganized and extended, the territorial organization of today being practically established. Two noteworthy forward movements took place, the entrance into Japan in 1869, when Daniel Crosby Greene landed at the newly opened village-port of Kobe, and the initiation of work in Papal lands, in Spain, Austria and Mexico in 1872, with an ineffectual attempt in Italy in 1873. This latter enterprise was due to the direct appeal of many Congregational churches

which had been contributing for many years to the work of the American and Foreign Christian Union, but were dissatisfied with its policy.

Mission enterprises were dropped or transferred as well as begun. Siam had been transferred to the American Missionary Association in 1850. In 1857, when the Reformed churches withdrew to organize a Board of their own, it was given the Amoy and Arcot missions, which had been virtually manned for some years by its people. In 1870, when the new school Presbyterians determined to work for foreign missions through the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions, it was assigned the work for the Seneca and Ojibway Indians, the Nestorian mission, the Gaboon mission and the Syrian mission. The Sandwich Islands mission was given up in 1870; the Canton mission had been closed and its property sold by 1868, and, for various reasons, all Indian missions except that to the Sioux were abandoned. Thus about 1880 the Board was left with missions to India, Ceylon, China, Japan, the Turkish Empire, South Africa, Micronesia, Japan, Papal lands and Mexico.

The problems and policies of these missions were grappled by a remarkable group of missionary statesmen. At the home base were Rufus Anderson, Selah B. Treat, Nathaniel G. Clark, Pres. Hopkins, Dr. A. C. Thompson, Elbridge Torrey and Alpheus Hardy. On the field were such men as Cyrus Hamlin, Daniel Bliss, C. H. Wheeler, T. C. Trowbridge and J. K. Greene in Turkey, Hiram Bingham and E. T. Doane in Micronesia, Henry Blodget and Charles Hartwell in China, O. H. Gulick, Daniel C. Greene and J. D. Davis in Japan, Eurotas P. Hastings and Thomas Smith in Ceylon, John E. Chandler and William Tracy in Madura, Samuel B. Fairbank, Lemuel Bissell and Allen Hazen among the Mahrattas.

In 1854-55 Secretary Anderson and Dr. A. C. Thompson constituted a deputation to India and Ceylon to discuss and determine fundamental questions of future mission policy. The Prudential Committee had become alarmed because the missionary institutions in India for the training of students in Western learning seemed to be producing scholars and national leaders in abundance, but comparatively few candidates for Christian service. This seemed a misuse of consecrated money. As matters were working the natural village leaders were apparently being educated out of village service. The Committee was also concerned over the slow development of native churches. The deputation brought about a thorough educational reorganization, which affected policies in the Turkish Empire as well as in India and Ceylon. It dropped or altered the institutions for higher learning so that provision was made for the education of those only who were training for Christian service, and that mainly through the vernacular. At the same time it did provide for a village school system and it unified and organized the evangelistic attack. This withdrawal from educational leadership was bitterly deplored by many on the field and at home. At the Annual Meeting of 1856, however, the new policies were established by general concurrence. From the perspective of today it is evident that a middle ground should have been taken. The deputation took away from its missions a leadership and a means of influence which they never regained. The wonderful group of influential institutions of higher learning on the field in which Congregationalists take just pride today was inaugurated under the pressure of Christian constituencies and not in pursuance of the Board's stated policy.

The deputation's other principle established Secretary Anderson's place as a missionary statesman of the first rank, — original, bold, constructive. He shared with Henry Venn of the Church Missionary Society the honor of formulating the slogan "a self-supporting, self-propagating, self-governed church." He disbelieved in missionary paternalism. He insisted upon the wisdom of a policy which encouraged the assumption of self-support by mission congregations, the use of nationals as pastors and the undertaking of responsibility for the further spread of Christianity. Such a

statesmanlike policy, however, meant trained leaders of nation-wide standing and of real culture and schools capable of producing them; hence it eventually forced a reconsideration of the educational scheme, and a return to the early policy which Dr. Anderson had repudiated. The colleges which began to appear on mission soil under independent yet friendly auspices were encouraged. In 1863 Robert College was founded at Constantinople, under the leadership of Cyrus Hamlin, and, one year later, Syrian Protestant College at Beirut. In the next decade a group of institutions was established with a close relation to the Board yet independently endowed, such as Jaffna College in Ceylon (1872), Central Turkey College at Aintab (1874), the Doshisha in Japan (1875) and Euphrates College at Harpoot in Turkey (1878). These colleges by their quick success settled forever the question of the legitimacy of such institutions and of the whole organized attack through first-rate education on the superstition, ignorance and entrenched leadership of oriental lands.

Another important advance in home base and field organization was made in this quarter century against much opposition and misunderstanding through the splendid leadership of Mrs. Albert Bowker and her gifted associates all over the country. Encouraged by the success of the Woman's Union Missionary Society of America, organized in 1860, they argued that the women of the churches should organize in order to work for the women and the children of mission areas through the enlistment and support of young women untrammelled by home duties. Very few such women had been commissioned by the Board, and most of these for the organization of colleges like Mount Holyoke abroad. In January, 1868, The Woman's Board of Missions was organized, followed in October by the Board of the Interior, and, six years later, by the Board of the Pacific. These Boards, by a system of "Branches," each grouping a number of related churches with their complement of women's missionary societies, young people's organizations and mission bands, developed a remarkably efficient scheme of organization. They have sent to the foreign field a group of women who have nobly maintained the traditions of Maria Ogden in Hawaii, Eliza Agnew in Ceylon, Myra Proctor at Aintab and Fidelia Fiske at Urumia. To the genius and insight of these leaders many constructive advances have been due. The full significance of these organizations in making articulate the proper share of women in the missionary program was slowly recognized, but they have become indispensable factors in wise administration and effective progress.

A testing of the strength of the Board came with the withdrawal from federation in 1857 of the Reformed churches and the uniting in 1870 of the New School Presbyterian churches with the Foreign Board of the Presbyterian Church. These withdrawals were deplored at first, since they diminished by a third the Board's resources. In the end they constituted a challenge to each group of churches which was nobly met. Between 1870 and 1878 the missionaries of the American Board increased from two hundred and forty-seven to three hundred and forty-nine. About one hundred new places were occupied, with a great gain of churches. The American Board thus became essentially a Congregational organization.

This generation, virtually spanned by the sane, dignified presidency of Dr. Mark Hopkins, commanding of presence and wise in counsel, and the constructive leadership of Rufus Anderson, Selah B. Treat and Nathaniel G. Clark, was concluding in 1879 with a necessity of disheartening retrenchment because of conditions at home. Then the unanticipated receipt of the great Otis legacy opened the way for educational advance, for substantial reenforcement of all mission service, and for fresh pioneering, affording the Board and its devoted missionaries a fresh opportunity and a renewing of zeal.

XII

THE EXPANSION OF HOME MISSIONARY AGENCIES (1852-1865)

The Albany convention of 1852, the first really representative gathering of Congregationalists since the Cambridge Synod two centuries earlier, abolished the Plan of Union and cleared the way for a free denominational advance. Two decades of experience had shown that the flexibleness and catholicity of Congregationalism made it an admirable and frictionless religious agency among the varying creeds and races of the home frontier.

This convention was profoundly stirred by the appeal of pioneer ministers in the Middle West who asked aid in completing their houses of worship. The best way of meeting this need was a topic of general discussion. Challenged by an offer of \$10,000, the convention authorized the raising of a church building fund. Sixty-two thousand dollars came from the churches in response, a sum which assisted in completing two hundred and thirty churches. On May 11, 1853, the society, now known as The Congregational Church Building Society, was organized in the Broadway Tabernacle in New York, under the name of the American Congregational Union. Its purpose was to promote spiritual unity, fellowship and understanding among Congregationalists, as well as to cooperate with weaker churches in building meeting-houses and parsonages. In good Congregational fashion some objected to this last proposal as interfering with Congregational freedom. But the influence of Leonard Bacon, Richard Salter Storrs and others overcame such objections. The work developed slowly. In the third year the receipts from the churches were but \$560.26. In the fifteenth year only five hundred and eleven churches contributed to the treasury of this Society. But under the leadership of such men as Ray Palmer and L. H. Cobb it gradually justified its place as a welcome and indispensable ally of the Home Missionary Society. In 1892, that its name might more clearly indicate its work, the Union became the Church Building Society. The splendid legacy of J. H. Stickney enabled it to develop a large loan fund to be used with its grants. In sixty-seven years it has used more than nine million dollars in completing more than five thousand churches.

The Massachusetts Sabbath School Society was encouraged by the Albany convention to put workers into the western field to promote Sunday-school development and the use of good literature. In 1853 it appointed four field workers, the forerunners of its large, active and competent staff of subsequent years.

With the virtual federation of these three home organizations for the splendid task of multiplying the churches of the Pilgrim order threefold in half a century, Congregationalism was reborn in the newer states of the central West and of the Coast. Dr. G. H. Atkinson in 1848 had reached Oregon after an 18,000 miles journey via Cape Horn and Honolulu only to hear of the tragic Whitman massacre. He found four Congregational ministers and two little churches, but began a service of forty years as pastor and as general missionary, as founder of churches, schools, academies and pre-collegiate institutions, as promoter of social, commercial, educational and religious development, which, measured by the loftiest standards of true citizenship, gave him a recognition at his death as "Oregon's most eminent citizen." From 1849 for a generation two devoted men, Dr. S. H. Willey and Dr. J. H. Warren, were the leaders of the slower development in California. In the central West, Ohio, Michigan and Illinois were at the maximum of activity, while Iowa, Wisconsin, Minnesota and Kansas were pressing hard after them. Dr. Truman M. Post organized the first Congregational church in Missouri in 1852. To him and to Dr. Henry Hopkins after him southwestern Congregationalism is deeply indebted. Chicago Seminary was founded in 1855 by a delegated convention

of the churches of the central area to give their territory the trained leaders needed. They made themselves responsible for the Seminary, organizing the Chicago Theological Seminary Triennial Convention. The new enterprise was thus in a new and striking sense the child of the churches. Under President F. W. Fisk and Dr. G. S. F. Savage it quickly made its place. Pacific Seminary followed in 1869, as soon as a trainable constituency began to exist. To meet the exigencies of the time with greater efficiency the Home Missionary Society gradually organized its work in the West into well-defined districts, often the limits of a state, under the expert superintendence of selected leaders.

In 1856 the Society definitely declared against the tolerating of slaveholders in missionary churches and began a withdrawal of its workers from southern territory, which left only one representative by 1857 and virtually none for the next decade. Notwithstanding this curtailment there was a growth in free-state territory which amply balanced the loss.

One of the stirring events of this period was the organization at the Yale Divinity School and the departure in 1857 of the third of the heroic pioneering "bands" which have shed such luster upon our Congregational name. It numbered four men, Sylvester S. Storrs, Grosvenor C. Morse, Roswell D. Parker and Richard Cordley. They cast their lot in with the New England, Illinois and Ohio pioneers, who had been aided by the Emigration Society to enter the new territory of Kansas and had settled near Lawrence and Topeka. These choice pioneers were anxious to keep the territory loyal to free principles. Each one of the band became a leader, Storrs as a missionary superintendent, Parker as a preacher, Morse as an educator, Cordley as a pastor. For a generation they were the moving spirits of every great religious advance in the state and helped to give its eastern half a distinctively "Pilgrim" stamp.

XIII

THE NEW TASKS OF THE AMERICAN MISSIONARY ASSOCIATION (1861-1883)

The American Missionary Association was founded as a general missionary agency for home and foreign service, to be utilized by those who were uncompromisingly anti-slavery in conviction and practice. Attention has already been called to its limited yet useful and varied program for its first fifteen years of existence. Candor compels the statement that during this early period the Association was not in cordial relations with the older organizations, due, no doubt, in good part, to their unfriendly attitude. The Civil War, however, gave the Association a new field of missionary service for which its heritage, principles and policy gave it a special aptitude. In 1861 the freedmen became in a moment a Northern responsibility. The Association was quick in grasping the new need and supplying the Christian response. On September 17th of that year it established the first day school among these destitute negroes, unconsciously laying the foundation of the great Hampton of today. In 1867 General Armstrong, then at Hampton in charge of the refugees, wrote to the Association recommending a certain estate nearby as a suitable site for a permanent educational project for freedmen. Given timely aid by the Avery trustees, the Association purchased the plantation, planned for a school and persuaded Armstrong to become its principal. His early knowledge of the Hilo Manual Labor School for Hawaiians gave him the idea of the type of education which is most generally needed by an undeveloped race.

The Association followed in the track of the Union armies, setting up schools. In 1865 at Boston the Congregational Council gave a hearty recognition of this service of evangelization and education. It promoted

the raising of a fund of \$250,000 for the work among freedmen and designated the Association as providentially prepared to administer it. Within seven years came a remarkable development, including seven chartered institutions for professional training, twenty graded schools, sixty-nine common schools and at least one school of theology. Despite the Ku-Klux Clans the three hundred and twenty teachers of 1865 became five hundred and thirty-three in 1870. During the same period churches were planted among the negroes and churches and schools among the mountain whites. Hampton soon became independent of direct aid from the Association, and Tuskegee, the child of Hampton, was never its ward; but the general plan of cultural, professional and vocational training which has proven such a success in affording undeveloped peoples their rightful chance of growth has been due in no small degree to the experience gained by Association leaders during the fifteen years which followed the war. The emphasis of the Association has been laid upon cultural and professional education, partly because of the need of leaders for the colored race, partly because thorough vocational instruction requires vast expenditures. Fisk, Atlanta, Talladega, Tougaloo, Straight and Tillotson have justified this policy. Howard University deserves mention as the virtual child of the First Congregational Church of Washington, D. C. Founded in 1867 by General O. O. Howard, long its president, and with a series of distinguished executives who have been drawn from Congregational ranks, it has become the largest and best equipped institution for the higher education of the negro in North America or the world.

The pressure of the Association's expanding work for the colored race caused it to withdraw gradually from foreign missionary service. In 1873 its work in the Sandwich Islands was given up; in Jamaica its schools were soon after transferred to the government and its churches to the Baptists. In 1874 the mission to Siam was ended. In 1883 the Mendi mission was transferred to the United Brethren, while the mission to the Sioux Indians was taken over from the American Board. These measures gave the Association a constituency of negroes, mainly in the Southland, of Orientals on the Pacific coast and of North American Indians, to which in 1884 was added the mountain people of the Southland. It thus became a specialized agency of the churches for dealing with the backward populations under the American flag and for those Orientals or Latin Americans temporarily living in the United States, whose disabilities made them dependent on Christian sympathy and aid.

XIV

HOME MISSIONS AFTER THE CIVIL WAR (1865-1880)

The close of the Civil War initiated a wave of western migration due in part to the liberal homesteading legislation of Congress, in part to the rapid building of railways and in part to a great increase of immigration. Congregational missionary agencies followed hard upon the heels of these pioneers to Kansas, Nebraska, California, Colorado and some parts of the Northwest. Joseph Ward entered Yankton in 1868; Col. J. D. Davis (later of Japan) and Josiah Strong were at Cheyenne soon after. The first churches of our order at Denver and at Boulder were organized in 1864, that at Colorado Springs in 1874. These were years of college planting, Washburn in Kansas (1865), Carleton in Minnesota (1866), Doane in Nebraska (1872), Drury in Missouri (1873) and Colorado College (1874), each with the missionary motive. The New West Education Commission was organized in 1879 at Chicago, because the American College and Education Society at Boston, which had absorbed in 1874 the College Society of 1843, though national in scope, interpreted its charter as forbid-

ding it to use its funds for the support of other than college or theological education. It also declined to hold itself responsible for developing the educational policy of the denomination. This decision seems today an error of judgment. An aggressive society would have found a way to shape a definite national policy of educational advance through Christian academies and colleges. President Tenney of Colorado College and Rev. Charles R. Bliss, who had seen the urgent need of planting a true Christian civilization in Utah and the adjacent states through Christian academies, which were the only available means of coping with the menace of Mormonism and of Jesuit power, would not be denied. They vainly approached the Home Missionary Society for favorable support and at last organized the Commission with Dr. Frederick A. Noble as its president and Mr. Bliss as its secretary.

During these years the Home Missionary Society was very aggressive, both in New England, where it maintained three hundred and twenty-seven missionaries, and in the West, notably in Kansas, Nebraska, Minnesota and California, where it had six hundred and twenty-two. In 1880 it had four negro missionaries and held regular services for immigrants of Welsh, German, French and Swiss extraction.

The territory of Dakota was a prize worth working for in the period from 1866 to statehood in 1889. The heroic services of Joseph Ward, the virtual founder of South Dakota, and of Stewart Sheldon, its general missionary, may not soon be forgotten. Their leadership inspired the fourth historic "band" to volunteer for service in 1880. A group of nine Yale Divinity School graduates, aroused by the stirring call of one of their number who had spent a summer on the Dakota field, offered themselves for home mission work in that rapidly settling region. Seven of these came from states which had been home missionary fields a generation before. Three of them are still valued Congregational leaders.

The New South, created by the outcome of the war, provided a host of fresh missionary problems for the two societies undertaking home missionary responsibility. The aftermath of racial conflicts drew a line of demarcation between work among the whites and that among the negroes, which led to a tacit division along racial lines, unfortunate and un-Congregational but apparently justified by sheer necessity. The share of the Home Missionary Society in the new Southland was slowly assumed. With the development of manufacturing, the building of railways and the rush of immigration from the North and West there were educational and religious needs to be met which challenged our churches. This growth in Florida, Texas, Georgia and Alabama began in the seventies. Its moderate extension throughout the southern belt has been the work of decades.

This period witnessed some Sunday-school experimenting. The American Doctrinal Tract Society of 1832²⁸ became in 1854 the Congregational Board of Publication. In 1868 this Board united with the Massachusetts Sabbath School Society, which had had so honorable a history, to form the Congregational Sabbath School and Publishing Society, giving to the new organization a clear denominational standing and a national field. In 1870 its name was shortened to the Congregational Publishing Society. In 1874, under the influence of a temporary demand for unification, the missionary work of the Society was transferred to the American Home Missionary Society. This proved to be a disastrous step, almost drying up denominational support of Sunday-school extension and badly crippling its organization. In 1882 the National Council approved a restoration of the missionary service to the renamed Congregational Sunday-School and Publishing Society, which it declared to have "a field peculiarly its own." For the days of active pioneering which yet remained this judgment met the general approval of the Congregational churches.

²⁸ Organized in 1829 as the Doctrinal Tract and Book Society.

XV

TWO STIRRING DECADES CLOSING THE CENTURY (1880-1900)

In 1881 there was organized at Portland, Maine, by a Congregational pastor, Francis E. Clark, who gleaned his idea from Horace Bushnell's "Christian Nurture," a contributory agency to missions of very great value, the Young People's Society of Christian Endeavor, which has been for four decades all over the Christian world a potent means of developing Christian volunteers. Only five years later at Northfield, Mass., the Student Volunteer Movement sprang into being as a perpetual challenger of student life for missionary service. This latter organization and its corollary, the World's Student Christian Federation of 1895, have been loyally fostered by Congregationalists, but they cannot claim them as their own.

With the year 1880 the American Board began a new era of expansion. The great Otis legacy of 1879, together with the Swett legacy of 1884, making a joint fund of \$1,500,000, used until 1897 to supplement the regular contributions of the churches, opened the way for strengthening, standardizing and enlarging the whole range of foreign activity. In 1880 the West Central Africa mission was founded in Angola after costing the death of two eminent leaders, Edward P. Smith, formerly Indian Commissioner, sent to explore the field by the American Missionary Association, and Rev. John O. Means, sent later by the American Board, — both dying on the Coast. In the support and development of this mission Canadian Congregationalists who organized the Canadian Foreign Missionary Society in 1881 and furnished one of the three pioneer missionaries, have generously shared. In 1883 the Shansi mission in China was begun by Oberlin graduates. In 1883 Kwangtung province was reoccupied in China and Northern Mexico entered at Chihuahua; in 1883 East Central Africa was entered at Inhambane and North Japan at Niigata; six new enterprises within four years.

New vigor stirred the older missions. Japan, after ten years of experiment and preparation, had a period of remarkable growth under the leadership of an unusual group of missionaries, including such men as D. C. Greene, Jerome D. Davis, John H. De Forest and M. L. Gordon. The year 1888 was the banner year. The next decade developed a nationalistic spirit in the empire which brought about a decided reaction. After Nee-sima's death in 1890 the Doshisha was temporarily placed on a non-Christian basis, but in 1898 full cooperation was resumed, assisted by the firm yet friendly attitude of a deputation which went to Japan in 1896. In China the first decade was characterized by laying foundations; the Shansi mission, planned at Oberlin in 1880, and wholly manned by Oberlin students, had a steady growth; the second decade witnessed an expansion all over the empire. In 1898, for the first time in sixty-eight years — a fact by no means creditable to our administration of foreign mission interests — a deputation headed by Secretary Judson Smith visited China, affording not a little encouragement. In Turkey a deputation in 1883 allayed a growing source of disunion and promoted an unusual growth, which was retarded but slightly by bitter persecution and martyrdom in 1893-5. This calamity forced the missionaries to undertake a work of general relief and of the care of orphans that has developed into a permanent missionary agency. In Micronesia in 1887 the Spanish showed hostility to our long-established work, but were displaced after the close of the Spanish-American War (1899). In India a steady growth took place, while in Africa, after some vicissitudes, an unusual advance was registered.

These years were noteworthy for the alteration of the rigid practice of the Prudential Committee of the Board regarding the religious convictions of its missionaries. The "Andover Controversy" raged very strenuously

in the early eighties throughout the Board's constituency. The Prudential Committee had acted as an ecclesiastical court, not alone rejecting candidates who were uncertain regarding probation after death, but also declining to return to their fields such missionaries as were affected. The issue, personalized in the case of one missionary whose spirituality and usefulness could not be gainsaid, was fought out at annual meetings between 1886 and 1893. Three honored administrators, when no longer upheld, retired in 1893 from connection with the Board, but the principle became established for all time that missionaries on the field have the same freedom of thought as their ministerial brethren at home. The forceful personality and catholic temper of President Richard S. Storrs, together with the keen yet irenic statesmanship of Professor George P. Fisher, went far in assuring this happy issue of a divisive controversy.

Various constitutional betterments were made by the Board when it added the president and vice-president of the Board to the Prudential Committee *ex-officiis* (1889), placed the enlarged Committee on a basis of limited terms of service (1888), and gave state and district Associations of Congregational churches the right of nominating a majority of the greatly enlarged corporate membership (1893). In 1894 Dr. E. E. Strong was made Editorial Secretary and Dr. James L. Barton a Corresponding Secretary. In 1896 "cooperating committees" were appointed to assist in raising the large annual budget. In 1899 the "Forward Movement" initiated the policy, which has proved so valuable, of the support of missionaries by individuals and churches.

These decades made havoc of some of the great leaders of earlier years. In 1887 Dr. Mark Hopkins, for thirty years the impartial, benignant president of the Board, and Alpheus Hardy, a diligent and competent member of the Prudential Committee, passed away, followed in 1901 by Dr. A. C. Thompson, for years the unquestioned authority on Prudential Committee transactions and on the history of missions. In 1896 two famous secretaries, the great-hearted, intrepid Clark and the scholarly and brilliant Alden, ceased from their labors, followed in 1900 by the eloquent, fair-minded Storrs, who for ten troubled years had kept the constituency of the Board together. In 1899 the noteworthy administration of President Samuel B. Capen began.

The two decades were equally eventful for home missions. Between 1880 and 1893-97 the missionary force of the Home Missionary Society was doubled. The banner year was 1896, when 2,038 missionaries were on the roll of the Society, 22 per cent in New England, now with many weak country churches, 7 per cent in the Middle States, 5 per cent in the South, 6 per cent in the Southwest, 50 per cent in the West and 10 per cent on the Coast, a proportion fairly well maintained for a long period of years. West of the Missouri the Dakotas, Colorado, Southern California, Oregon and Washington were given especial attention. Between 1880 and 1900 Washington absorbed twice as much missionary money as any other section. Its wonderful appeal enlisted at Yale one more home missionary "band" of six men who in 1890 set their faces toward the growing state. They planned a close fellowship in service and wrought an important work together under many hindrances. All are still active. A similar development was going on in the New South, especially in Florida, Georgia and Alabama, where in the later eighties, under the leadership of Superintendent Sullivan F. Gale, Congregationalism again began to get a foothold. He helped to discover the Congregational Methodists of Alabama and Georgia, and added many of their congregations to our constituency. The year 1893 was notable because the Society became in name as well as in fact the Congregational Home Missionary Society, and because the Society established more satisfactory relations with its growing brood of self-supporting state societies. From a little group of half a dozen states with organizations, responsibilities and a budget of their own, there had come to be

more than twenty. The period closed with the entrance into Alaska and Cuba.

One of the outstanding home missionary developments in this era was in connection with the flood of immigration. Its rapidity and volume up to 1870 had been surprising but not alarming. Those who came over the sea were quickly Americanized. But by 1900 one-third of the population of the United States was of foreign parentage. In many great cities and in several states they held the balance of power. In the later eighties the type of immigrant lowered. To some extent this fact altered the home missionary impact. The Society's task was not only to keep up with the tide of settlement, planting the seeds of a Christian society, but also to stem this tide of ignorance and superstition. In 1883 the Society organized three foreign departments — German, Scandinavian and Slavic — under expert superintendents. The Chicago Theological Seminary had already begun the special training of leaders for such work. By 1900 the gospel was being regularly preached by its missionaries in thirteen different tongues.

Meanwhile Congregational women who since earliest times had been the source of numberless choice "barrels" or boxes, and who in New England had been pioneers in missionary organization among women, began to organize themselves more definitely for home missionary service. The Minnesota Woman's Home Missionary Union was formed in 1872. This was followed in 1880 by the formation in Boston of the Woman's Home Missionary Association of Massachusetts and Rhode Island. In succeeding years, in rapid succession, under the inspiring leadership of Mrs. H. C. Caswell, other states were also organized. In 1883 both the Congregational Home Missionary Society and the American Missionary Association established Women's Departments, to serve as a clearing agency for the activity of these Unions. The process of state organization, thus begun, has continued until there are now thirty-seven state unions. Unlike the Woman's Boards, the Woman's Home Missionary Unions established no distinct work of their own, but contributed directly to the work of the national homeland societies, maintaining close cooperative relationships with them and raising a definite part of each annual budget. Under the direction of these unions, through their district and local organizations, important work has been done in reaching and training the children and young people of our churches in missionary knowledge and service. Nor has their "labor of love" in the preparation of barrels ever ceased. The rapid expansion of this work made necessary the establishment of a central body to represent the unions in all matters of common interest, both denominationally and interdenominationally. Accordingly in 1905 the Congregational Woman's Home Missionary Federation was organized, to be the national body through which this wide range of home missionary activity among our women should find common expression, and by which it should be stimulated to increased efficiency and service.

In 1883 the Church Building Society undertook to raise a parsonage fund of \$25,000 to assist small churches in erecting parsonages. Dr. William M. Taylor, the pastor of the Broadway Tabernacle Church, who was at this time the president of the Society, was deeply interested, securing the first \$5,000 from his own congregation. With Secretary L. H. Cobb, he made a tour of the leading churches, securing the whole fund in a short time. This fund now amounts to \$260,957. It has assisted in erecting about fourteen hundred parsonages.

In 1881 a new era in Sunday-school development began with the election of Rev. Albert E. Dunning as General Secretary of the Publication Society, which was reestablished in 1883 as the Sunday School and Publishing Society, the Sunday-school missionary work having been retransferred to it by the Home Missionary Society. With a strong force of superintendents and missionaries, the work of the Society was rapidly extended

throughout the whole country. At the same time it began to publish Christian literature of a high order.

From 1880 to 1893 the New West Education Commission did heroic work, chiefly in Utah and New Mexico. It built up such important institutions as Salt Lake College and Provo and Albuquerque academies, which had an important share in shaping the educational life and in lifting the educational and spiritual ideals of states and communities in process of formation. Its fourth report in 1884 exhibited thirty-eight schools, sixty-two teachers and two thousand nine hundred and twenty-five pupils. Above all it demonstrated the value of the Christian academy as a home missionary agency. Eventually in 1893, after the American College and Education Society had obtained a broader charter and a new and shorter name, and the growth of the public school system had narrowed the sphere of the Christian academy, the Commission was consolidated with the Society under one management. Between 1882 and 1897 ten new colleges and several Christian academies were established.³⁷

The American Missionary Association pursued an undisturbed course of steady development, in the guidance of which Dr. M. E. Strieby, Dr. J. E. Roy and Dr. E. C. Cravath won permanent distinction. In 1884 the Association came to a definite understanding with the American Home Missionary Society regarding the scope of each home society. In that same year it began schools for mountaineers. The Daniel Hand legacy of more than a million dollars, given in 1888, to afford opportunity to the colored race, by a man who had made his fortune in the South, so provided for the work in the South as to enable the Association in 1890 to extend its work to the Eskimos of Cape Prince of Wales, Alaska. After Porto Rico, with its problems of illiteracy and poverty inherited from centuries of Spanish misrule and neglect, had come under the American flag, a mission for both educational and church work was founded in that island in 1899. All other phases of its work were strengthened. In 1898 in common with the other societies it adopted the policy of rotation in office for its Executive Committee, of which a majority were to be laymen.

The one undeveloped objective of Congregational missionary statesmanship was reached in 1886, when the National Council organized the Congregational Board of Ministerial Relief for the proper care of those whose lives have been spent in heroic missionary service or in country parish work at a mere living salary. From a very modest beginning this work of providing for the veterans of the cross in their declining years has steadily grown, until last year more than \$100,000 was distributed. The bequest of Mrs. D. Willis James made the endowment fund more than a million dollars.

The closing decade of the century so strongly emphasized the denominational consciousness that in 1902, half a century after the Albany Convention and seventy years after Congregationalism really began to stretch its wings, several of the home missionary organizations altered the term "American" in their corporate names to "Congregational." In 1886 also the national societies established a new organ, *Congregational Work*, intended to circulate widely throughout the denomination as a medium of fresh and attractive news regarding each society. It continued for twenty-three years.

³⁷ During the century of the existence of the various organizations represented today by the Congregational Education Society, sixty-two colleges, academies and schools for training have been founded or aided and 10,250 students have been aided for the ministry, all at an expenditure of approximately \$6,500,000.

XVI

A DECADE OF EXPERIMENTATION (1900-1910)

The new century developed much unrest among the churches in regard to their relations with the seven societies which had come to be recognized as Congregational. Six of these organizations were in reality self-perpetuating; two of the six even regarded their constituencies as somewhat broader than the Congregational churches. There was no unwillingness to permit real constituents to assist in shaping missionary policy, but a natural hesitancy about surrendering a freedom characteristic of Congregational institutions and sanctioned by splendid achievement. The churches, however, steadily pressed the idea that in their organized capacity they should assume responsibility for their own missionary work.

In 1901 the National Council at Portland endorsed the ideas of a corporate body for each society, elected mainly by the churches, and of an annual meeting in common, a joint magazine and fewer treasuries. In 1902 the Home Missionary Society arranged to have its controlling membership elected through the State organizations. In 1904 the American Board voted to secure a majority of its corporate membership in the same way. In that same year at Des Moines the seven benevolent societies held their annual meetings in connection with the Council. Two years later the Home Missionary Society adopted a new constitution completely reorganizing its relations with the state bodies and their home missionary interests. It created a responsible directorate chosen mainly by the recognized State Conferences, subject to the review of the Society at its annual meeting, provided for an annual apportionment and policy meeting in January, placed the Executive Committee under the control of the directorate, classified the participating states as constituent and cooperating on the basis of complete or partial self-support of all home missionary work, and included city missionary organizations as an affiliated interest. Thus in its eightieth year the Society discovered how to function successfully for the nation while giving full play to local responsibility and initiative and made a definite forward step in home missionary administration. In 1909 the home societies established *The American Missionary* as a joint magazine. In that same year in a "Together Campaign" the three largest societies were freed from indebtedness. During the decade the Reserve Legacy plan for the stabilizing of legacy receipts, begun by the American Board in 1900 under the name of the Twentieth Century Fund, and the plan of annuity endowments, both initiated or at least emphasized under the businesslike leadership of President Samuel B. Capen, became generally adopted by the societies. Dr. Capen brought to the presidency of the Board and to many other directorates a business judgment and a friendly but forceful and strongly spiritual leadership which had unmeasured value for the missionary interests of Congregationalism.

For the American Board the decade opened with the Boxer uprising in China, compelling a sacrificial outpouring of Christian blood, missionary and national alike, that proved indeed to be the seed of the church. Before the decade had closed there was a great religious advance in China, shaped and stimulated by the great Centenary Conference of 1907 at Shanghai. In 1901 a deputation was sent to India, one in 1903 to Africa and one in 1907 to China. Their reports were very clarifying and productive. The death of Dr. Elias Riggs after nearly half a century's service in Turkey, the capture by Bulgarian bandits of Miss Ellen M. Stone, and the founding of the International College at Smyrna were occurrences of 1901. In 1902 the Philippines mission in Mindanao was begun. The interesting work of the Yale Foreign Missionary Society at Changsha, China was begun in 1903 by Rev. and Mrs. Laurence Thurston, who were followed by Warren Seabury and Brownell Gage. While not linked, like the Oberlin-

Shansi movement, to the American Board, the Yale-in-China project grew out of the earnest plans of a group of Congregational students and received much assistance from the Board at the start. It has always been managed and maintained independently. In 1905 the Forward Movement, initiated in 1898, was absorbed into the Home Department as an established method of procedure. In that same year the first annual conference for newly appointed missionaries was held by the Board.

The year 1906 witnessed the centennial of the Haystack prayer-meeting. It gave the occasion for a notable review of the century's missionary progress. More than that, it witnessed the genesis of the Laymen's Missionary Movement, so blessed of God since then in the enlistment of men and money for missions. The idea was born in the mind of John B. Sleman, an energetic Congregational layman of Washington, D. C. Dr. Capen warmly seconded his suggestion and acted as the chairman of the Movement until his death. In 1906 Dr. Judson Smith, for twenty-two years a secretary of the Board, ended his scholarly, dignified career. In 1908 the United Church of South India, composed of the converts of three great communions, including the American Board, was organized, an epochal forward step on mission soil.

In home missionary organization the decade has already been reviewed. Worthy of special notice, however, because of Congregational leadership and cooperation, are the development of the Missionary Education Movement in 1907 out of the Young People's Missionary Movement of 1902, the organization of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America in 1908 and of the Home Missions Council in that same year, each of significance to mission efficiency at home and abroad. In 1905 the Woman's Home Missionary Federation, previously referred to, was organized. In 1910 Rev. William Salter of Iowa passed away, the last survivor of that sturdy and heroic band who planted Congregationalism firmly beyond the Mississippi in 1843.

The American Missionary Association held in 1903 its first convention of colored Congregational workers in the Southland, a gathering that quickly proved its strategic value and the general principle that a race which is on the way upward can be used with wisdom to speak for itself in the formulation of wise policies. In 1906 an educational director was given the task of reorganizing the educational service of the Association. In 1907 a beginning was made in the organization of distinctively agricultural high schools, one for each Southern state, which resulted in eight such institutions by 1910. In general a process of intensification of the whole work was instituted. A partnership with the Hawaiian Evangelical Association was begun by the American Missionary Association in 1904. During the decade the work for mountain whites and for orientals on the Pacific Coast reached marked efficiency. The Atlanta Theological Seminary was opened for instruction in 1901.

A notable fact of the decade was the installation in charge of each of the societies of forward-looking, able executives in complete sympathy with the slowly formulating plans of denominational reorganization.

XVII

A DECADE OF REORGANIZATION AND REALIZATION (1910-1920)

At no stage of world development can anyone dare to hope that perfection has been attained. It is true, however, beyond a doubt that the second decade of the twentieth century has witnessed a remarkable missionary advance all over the world in federation, comity, efficiency and the intensive application of ideals and principles to mission work.

All this began in 1910 with the great missionary conference at Edin-

burgh, Scotland, which led the way to a federated unity never before realizable in the history of the Church catholic. Its work was supplemented and forwarded by the Congress on Christian Work in Latin America, held at Panama in February, 1916, which dealt particularly with Latin American interests not fully represented at Edinburgh. These great ecumenical gatherings developed a spirit of cooperation which has revolutionized missionary policies and prepared the way for rapidly increasing efficiency in years to come. Congregationalists participated gladly with all other communions in furthering these gatherings and their related conferences in missionary areas. In North America fresh life was given to the Foreign Missions Conference, organized informally in 1893 with the hearty support of Secretaries Nathaniel G. Clark and Judson Smith and given official standing in 1905, so that it became, under its new constitution of 1911, an organization truly representative of the foreign missionary interests of North America and contributory toward the scientific development of missionary policies. In that same year in December the Board of Missionary Preparation held its first annual meeting and initiated its career of serviceableness. In 1912-13 were held the eighteen sectional conferences in Asia by Dr. Mott and his associates, and in 1916 the seven regional conferences in Latin America which succeeded so admirably in developing and accelerating the process of federated cooperation in missions in each great area. To them Congregationalists everywhere lent hearty support. The decade has witnessed the steady development of interdenominational organization, of union enterprises, of friendly adjustments of fields and of a spirit of cooperation which rejoices the heart of every true follower of the Pilgrims.

Congregationalists at home have been preparing to do their share in the new era. On the one hand a remarkable group of institutions for the training of missionaries is being developed at Hartford, New Haven, New York, Chicago, Oberlin and Berkeley, which will be prepared to answer all reasonable demands made upon them in the future. On the other hand in 1913 the National Council, by its adoption at Kansas City of a new constitution which made it truly representative of the Congregational churches of the United States and gave it a continuous existence, assumed a definite responsibility for all the denominational tasks. It appointed a permanent Commission on Missions which during the years ensuing has drawn the seven national societies into a direct responsibility to the churches through the Council, has arranged a realignment of tasks that gives each society a well defined responsibility, draws them into natural affiliations and promotes efficiency and economy of management, and has endorsed an Apportionment Plan, developed out of twenty years of experimenting, which distributes as evenly as possible the cost of missions among all the churches. Experience will doubtless indicate other wholesome adjustments, but the Congregational churches of North America will now be able to work them out without friction or unnecessary delay. Thus has been reached by a genuinely Congregational procedure, covering half a century or so, a missionary administration promising a rich fruitage in the future.

Characteristic of the decade has been a rapid change in stress from the individual to his environment. Our mission enterprise is thinking socially of the new community and of the new nation as well as of the new individual. This has accompanied and been encouraged by the steady growth in democratic sentiment around the world because of the recent war. Equally characteristic has been the rapid growth of the demand for schools of vocational training, industrial and social alike, not merely among undeveloped peoples but everywhere.

The Great War of 1914-18 affected seriously missionary work in all the world. It forced large unproductive expenditures upon the American Board and upon our home societies. It caused many readjustments of

work. On the whole, however, it has opened the way to an energetic extension work in the third decade of this century.

The American Board began the decade by passing the million dollar mark in annual receipts and by commissioning seventy-three missionaries, the greatest number in any one year. Its centenary was impressively celebrated at Boston, Andover and Bradford, a stirring expression of the affectionate devotion of the Pilgrim churches to their world-wide task. In 1911 the wife and son of the late D. Willis James, a life-long friend of missions, gave \$1,000,000 as a permanent fund to be expended in the promotion of higher education on our mission fields. In 1913 the Board sent a deputation, headed by its president, Dr. Capen, to attend the centenary of the Marathi mission, the first to be organized under its auspices. From that journey he did not return, but his thirteen years of zealous service during the decade of transition will ever be memorable among forward-looking Congregationalists. The war with its readjustments of influence let loose a fiendish attack upon unhappy Armenia, which prostrated but could not destroy our missionary service. On the contrary so generally have the missionaries been used in relief operations that a new field of influence and service has opened to them among those hitherto inaccessible. During the same period a deputation went to India, and another visited Japan. Grinnell College with the consent of the Board set on foot the Grinnell-in-China educational program, which gives to the students and alumni of that college a definite task of educational development in North Shantung. Other colleges have since followed the lead of Oberlin, Yale and Grinnell, but not as yet with a similar breadth of plan. In 1918 the first missionary to Africa representing our colored Congregational churches was commissioned for service in the West Central Africa mission. The "Forward Movement" among the Canadian Congregational churches, just completed, has raised \$75,000 for the equipment of Currie Institute at Dondi. The Canadian staff has been doubled in two years and plans to take charge of three stations.

In home missions the decade has been one of great progress. The "heroic Christian surgery" of the Commission on Missions of the National Council resulted in much readjustment of home responsibilities, but also in a condition of excellent healthfulness. In 1911-13 a survey of the neglected fields in the United States was carried through by a group of denominations, materially forwarding denominational comity on the active frontiers. During those same years a number of State Associations became incorporated Conferences, assuming steadily larger responsibilities for meeting their own missionary needs.

The American Missionary Association in 1916 transferred its white church work in the South to other organizations and took over the mission work of the Education Society for Spanish-speaking people in the Southwest and Florida. In that same year the veteran missionary, Rev. Alfred L. Riggs, passed away after thirty-four years of powerful service among the Sioux Indians. In 1917 Dr. Ryder, whose great heart beat for all dependent races, ended his thirty-two years of continuous service to the Association.

The Sunday School Society began the decade by adopting the Pilgrim Standards. These as revised in 1917 have worked wonders in raising the efficiency of our Sunday Schools everywhere. In 1916 the religious education work of the Sunday School Society was given to the Education Society; the field work was transferred to the newly organized Sunday-school Extension Society, which is one of the Church Extension Boards. Two new departments were added by the Education Society, a department of Student Religious Life and one of Social Service, the latter taken over from the National Council. In 1918 an annual Every Member Canvass of the Churches was instituted in the effort to rise to the heights of the Tercentenary appeal.

In 1917 the Board of Ministerial Relief reported to the National Council a well-conceived plan for an annuity system which would greatly increase the benefits of the Fund. This report was enthusiastically adopted by the Council. The Pilgrim Memorial Fund is the generous contribution of the denomination to assure the efficient and lasting execution of this project.

The decade has closed with a munificent gift, the full value of which is as yet unknown, the Charles M. Hall bequest to Oberlin, to the American Missionary Association, to Berea and to educational missions in the Orient, which will greatly contribute to missionary extension. Simultaneously has developed our own Tercentenary Movement with its fivefold program and the pan-denominational Interchurch World Movement with its comprehensive survey of world conditions and its astonishing development of missionary giving. In 1920 there appeared also the conclusions regarding the Missionary Outlook in the Light of the War prepared by the Federal Council's Committee on the War and the Religious Outlook, a symposium of the highest practical value. In April at Honolulu was celebrated by suitable pageantry and addresses the centennial of the Hawaiian Mission of the American Board.

The concluding year of the second decade of this century thus finds the Congregational churches of North America singularly well organized for the task before them. Their 800,000 members are directly related to their missionary responsibilities. They may review a hundred years and more of rich, instructive, stirring experience; they are now a working unity; they control the policies of the seven societies which are the channels of their generosity and faith; these societies have as many distinctive fields of effort covering all objectives without overlapping; there is a comprehension of our denominational task and an intelligence regarding its details quite unknown in earlier years except among the leaders. Our people stand in well-ordered relations of cooperation with the vast majority of the organizations of other communions; they look forward with the brethren of other names to a great advance movement in the years just ahead; the burden of responsibility has been laid squarely upon them as a great fellowship in service. The great question of today is, "What next?"

XVIII

THE BY-PRODUCTS OF THIS MISSIONARY HISTORY

The impetus of a great missionary devotedness extending over generations has given rise to many incidental achievements which are worthy of mention.

Foremost among these is a *growing missionary tradition*. The descendants of the heroic pioneers of an earlier day are among the readiest volunteers of today. The names of Bridgman, Wilder, Peet, Riggs, Ballantine, Bissell, Hume, Fairbank, Gates, Chandler, Herrick, Hastings, Howland, Sanders, Hartwell, Porter, Cary and DeForest among our foreign staff, and of an impressive number of the leaders of our church life at home who are children or grandchildren of the pioneers in our home development, testify to the persistence from generation to generation of the missionary purpose, creating a sacred treasury on which without fear of depletion our churches may perpetually draw.

Of equal value is a *gradually attained organization of the Congregational churches as a missionary constituency*. Our churches henceforth will share collectively in the task of Christianizing America and the world. Without repressing individual initiative or opportunity they have adopted a missionary program representatively directed. To this result, recently attained, decades of organization for giving, for education and for service have contributed. In this process of organization by states, districts,

communities and churches Congregational women have tirelessly and resourcefully cooperated.

Meanwhile on the foreign mission field an *educational program* has developed which fairly rivals in scope and significance the educational service at home which Congregationalists regard as indispensable and for which they make generous provision. A chain of institutions for all types of education stretches from the Levant through British India and the Far East to the Philippines and South Africa, sharing with the union universities and theological schools of China and India and Mexico in the inspiring tasks of creating an intelligent Christian constituency and of providing it with a trained, indigenous leadership for the future.

Through its great missionary societies Congregationalism has been influential in guiding the *formulation of mission policies at home and abroad*. In foreign mission interests this influence was due in part to a priority of organization with its accompanying prestige and leadership during the first half of the nineteenth century; but even more has it been due to the splendid capacity of the administrative group brought together by the meetings of the Prudential Committee. The American Board was a pioneer in field organization; it commissioned the first missionary whose task was to be distinctively medical; it was the first society to occupy North China; it was one of the earliest to promote the idea of an independent, self-propagating native church in each mission area. In a parallel way Congregationalism can claim to have contributed through its home societies to the growth of a sane, brotherly, nation-wide policy in meeting the needs of the United States. In the half century since the Civil War our home administrators and their advisory committees by their fairness and friendliness have led the way to that definite cooperation between different communions in dealing with matters of national and local need which is becoming an accepted policy.

The execution of a wide-ranging missionary program has developed *many outstanding personalities*, who have led the way in many types of achievement. We have contributed our full share of explorers with pioneering capacity, of great evangelists, of administrators, of language makers, of translators, of missionary educators and physicians, of statesmen who were truly makers of a people, of historians, scholars and investigators of every type. Such men are still at the forefront of our great enterprises. Through them we have been able to solve the perplexities of the last two decades with the efficiency and certainty of our historic past.

To these impressive by-products of Congregational advance may be added the *promotion of cooperative Christian enterprises*. Congregationalists were foremost in the work of the Christian Commission of the Civil War, and have always reacted promptly to legitimate appeals for aid from without in times of famine or destitution by organizing a nation-wide response. The denomination has always generously supported enterprises naturally cooperative in character, such as the Bible, Tract, Temperance, or Seaman's Friend Societies and the Young Men's and Young Women's Christian Associations. In truth the Year-Book for 1918 reports that the gifts of our churches during the previous year to undenominational interests were only a little less than the grand total of gifts to our eight standard denominational societies. Whether wise or not, this generosity is an index of the favor with which Congregationalists look upon friendly schemes of federation and of the readiness with which they share in the support and management of movements looking toward the minimizing of denominational advantage and the extension of cooperative enterprises. The combined attack of the whole American Church, Protestant and Catholic alike, upon the problems raised by the late war was exactly in line with Congregational desire. Its members did their full share, and more, in supporting the War Work Council and the Red Cross, and in carrying to the front our flag, where not a few of them won the *croix de guerre*.

XIX

THE ALLOTTED RESPONSIBILITIES OF CONGREGATIONALISM

Notwithstanding the readiness of Congregational forces to enter into cooperative enterprises there are well defined responsibilities in the line of Christian aggression which must be assumed by distinct denominations as convenient units of energy, zeal and reserve power. The Congregationalists of North America and the churches affiliated with them have been allotted certain tasks, the development of which rests upon them.

In general the American Congregational churches have accepted responsibility for the evangelization of about one-tenth of the unevangelized world. The greater part of the vast island of Mindanao in the Philippines, second in size in the archipelago, a territory in Mexico as large as the northeastern United States from Maine to Virginia, Albania in the Balkans, the Turkish and Armenian speaking portions of Asiatic Turkey and choice sections of China, India, Africa, Alaska and Porto Rico are dependent for their Christian development upon the loyalty and devotedness of our churches. In these countries our Congregational representatives have undertaken and must carry to completion important tasks of educational, social and religious development. Each country is in need of the program of Christian service which has wrought such miracles in past decades on every mission area.

There is a parallel duty of real importance. In the new Czecho-Slovakia, in Japan, India, China and the Hawaiian Islands indigenous Protestant churches are organized to assume various degrees of a real and growing responsibility for their own life and growth. Our part for years to come will be the hearty giving of aid and counsel to such church groups in their worthy tasks, seeking their strength, not our own. By such helpfulness we shall continue the generous sympathies of our fathers without repeating their errors.

XX

THE MISSIONARY POLICY OF CONGREGATIONALISM

This survey of the three hundred years of Congregational growth has developed a sane, forward-looking, efficient policy which may be stated as follows:

Congregationalism does not recognize itself as provincial under any circumstances. While it has always been generous to the verge of prodigality to undenominational enterprises, Congregationalism has gradually discovered its own values. No keen and honest observer of today will declare that its usefulness is limited to certain areas or colors or social classes. It has a message everywhere for those of any social scale who like independence and will assume responsibility.

It holds to a broad comprehensive, progressive and social gospel at home and abroad. There is abundant room in Congregationalism for freedom of thought and of speech; it favors the historical viewpoint which recognizes the element of good in history; it has repeatedly refused to be bound by the theological formulas of the past, although believing in their essential truth. It does not impose either upon its missionaries or upon the churches which they organize a rigid creed or form of service. It seeks to develop the social implications of the gospel, and through many of its trusted leaders is aiding to establish the applications of the principles of Jesus to social situations. Congregationalists have been ready in their support of social movements which, though not avowedly Christian, were Christlike in spirit and action.

It believes in high standards of service and in trained leadership. The Pilgrim leaders were not prompter in founding Harvard College than were

our Congregational leaders in the "newest West" in taking steps for institutions of higher learning, or Joseph Neesima in pleading for the Doshisha, or General Armstrong in setting up a Hampton. The whole splendid series of colleges and academies which have thrown a luster on Congregational ideals were founded for the sake of producing an adequate, cultured Christian leadership. A great task still awaits our churches of making good this history by developing it to the end. That end will not have been reached until every strategic institution in which we have a historic interest is equipped for first-rate service.

It accepts cooperative responsibility with evangelical believers of all shades of opinion. Congregationalists believe in the Church Universal. They are ready to go as far toward organic church unity as is consistent with local autonomy and free individualism. They believe in doing much of the missionary work of the world cooperatively, notably the work of higher education, of medical service and of social uplift in areas occupied by more than one Christian communion.

It believes in the promotion to the utmost of the independence and self-direction of the churches which it has helped into life. From the days of Dr. Anderson Congregationalists have been prominent in the development of this policy. To that end the denomination has spent great sums for the training of national leaders in missionary areas and then has *let them lead*. Not only in Japan and in the Turkish Empire, but more recently in China, India and South Africa this policy has borne fruit.

It has granted also a reasonable autonomy to each mission group on the foreign field. Very early in the history of the American Board, it constituted its missions as communities. As soon as there were three male members in a mission, it was expected to organize with stated meetings and exact records. The mission thus organized has gradually been accorded ample self-directing powers, subject, of course, to the revision and counsel of the Prudential Committee.

It has encouraged individual initiative and responsibility. On the whole Congregationalism has trusted its own agents and products. It has picked its representatives with care and then given them relative freedom; it has founded its institutions and rejoiced over their attainment of independence; it has exercised no such superintendence over its own agents as to develop an ecclesiastical machine. Such a policy leads to loss as well as profit; but on the whole we may regard it as justified by its outcome.

It believes in a true Christian unity. Congregationalists fellowship with all sincere Protestant Christians and stand ready to enter into the closest practicable relations with them, refraining from pushing into fields already sufficiently churchied and welcoming the reduction of churches in many communities through a mutual exchange of fields. Organic unity it may debate; cooperative unity it supports unhesitatingly.

XXI

THE FUTURE MISSIONARY PROGRAM OF NORTH AMERICAN CONGREGATIONALISM

It is idle for any organism to project itself for a generation, but a forecast for the third decade of this century may be less daring and more excusable.

The missionary program of the next ten years should be a united Society program in the sense that every one of our recognized organizations will be one member of a well-organized team, each having its definite responsibility and doing its share of the work. Our National Council through its Commission on Missions may be held responsible for the adop-

tion of a well considered policy for each and all, and through its voting control it has now become able to insure a related program without conflict, jealousies or lost motion.

It will be more and more a whole church program. During the last half century the women of the churches and the young people have been gradually finding their place in the missionary program and contributing definitely and wisely to its efficiency. It may be time to raise the question whether the splendid enthusiasm and ripened judgment of the women and the broadening range of the tasks allotted to juniors may be more effectively utilized in the execution of a program for the whole church, without sacrificing the initiative, efficiency or responsibility of natural groupings of workers.

It will be a program addressed to an educated and wisely organized church. Congregationalism should promote the education of its whole constituency on missionary matters. The Student Volunteer Movement was the pioneer, about 1894, in developing a literature of missionary education in this country, but its output was for students and had little effect upon the churches. Two Congregationalists in 1900, Miss Abbie Child and Dr. Harlan P. Beach, began to formulate a workable plan for increasing the intelligence of the churches regarding missions. This scheme since 1902 has occasioned volume after volume of missionary literature, studied by rapidly increasing numbers.

The progress of educational science has gradually led the churches of America to adopt a classification for all purposes of instruction that recognizes natural intellectual grades and groupings, each lending itself to a suitable type of instruction, anticipating certain definite impressions and resulting in specific tasks. Our churches are fortunate in the scientific leadership along these lines for which the Education Society is equipped.

It will call for a vigorous policy of recruiting for Christian service. No graver problem faces Congregationalism than the maintenance of the Pilgrim tradition which consecrated the choicest son of a family to Christian leadership. Its solution will not be reached merely by furnishing our Christian colleges with adequate endowments. It involves the standardizing of the departments of Biblical Literature and of Religious Education in our colleges and their first-rate equipment and the encouragement at each institution of some provision for the sane interpretation of religion. A true solution, however, goes back into the secondary schools and, even farther, to our Christian pulpits and homes. More aggressive leadership and organized attention must be given to the enlistment of the finest young men and women of our churches and schools for lives of service. This administrative advance should be supported by the organization by our Boards of candidate departments to give continuous, individual attention to the task of recruiting and training candidates for appointment. Our choice young people are not unready to respond to a summons to service. They must, however, be hand-picked.

It will involve the intelligent promotion of a wise scheme of missionary preparation and training for these recruits. Good missionaries require arduous and extended preparation. Congregationalism has been foremost in furnishing the institutions required for their adequate preparation at home and in supporting those required for their further training on mission areas. Their wise promotion will be a prominent feature of the missionary statesmanship of the immediate future.

It will be sympathetic with the progress on the field of plans for mission devolution. During the next ten years there must be a very marked advance in the transfer of authority from our missions to the churches in certain mission areas with an accompanying assumption on their part of self-support and of responsibility for the evangelizing of their respective

areas. American Congregationalists have looked with approval upon the formation of "United Churches" in India, China and elsewhere.

It will develop and then trust a broadly conceived, indigenous leadership for these areas. In several areas Christians of the third generation are becoming available for responsible tasks with a heritage of Christian culture which should qualify them for real leadership. Such promising youth must be enabled by scholarship, fellowship or loans to secure a first-rate training. Generally they belong to families whose revenues are meager, the pastors and teachers of the mission area. The completion of the \$2,000,000 fund for higher education on the mission field, already more than half paid in, will enable the Board to go forward with this important task. The leaders needed will not be pastors only, but competent literary, professional and social workers of every type.

It will contribute heartily toward the current movements in the direction of a greater unification of missionary activity. There is no longer any disposition to question the wisdom of union institutions on the foreign field for higher education, for medical service and for various forms of social service much approved. How far the administrative functions of securing and training recruits, of securing funds and of educating the churches may be advantageously performed in a similar manner is a matter of discussion and experiment today. Congregationalists have "played the game" in comity matters throughout their history. Apparently the world is just on the threshold of a great interdenominational advance.

It will include a more adequate effort to reach the representative classes of each occupied area. Our missions have won their place, their prestige and their influence quite generally, as in India, by what they have done for depressed and lower classes. Christianity has a message, however, for the strong, the self-reliant and the influential, no less than for the weak. The approach to the cultured classes and their Christianization must be a real feature of the next decade without at all diminishing our sympathy or our program of helpfulness for those who need an uplift.

It will face bravely, frankly and in friendly fashion the social conditions of the day at home and on the foreign field. Our home churches face this task and are organizing under the leadership of the Education Society and the National Council's Commission on Social Service and in cooperation with the Federal Council and the Interchurch Movement to meet it adequately. The whole problem is one of the Christianization of society. Hence the need of emphasizing the broadest training for Christian leadership.

Even more essential is it that our Christian program in foreign fields should include a constant contact with the social interests of the day. There is danger that a mission church, like many at home, will settle down to the mere cultivation of its own life, the maintenance of its services and the pressing of its religious program without aiming to impress very definitely the teeming life which surrounds it. Since the non-Christian faiths make so little contribution through their temples and services to the social welfare of their communities, it is all the more incumbent upon Christianity to show how it deals with every phase of human need. No reform movement in India or elsewhere should make a deeper appeal to the sacrificial spirit of the race than does aggressive Christianity.

It will share with sister denominations in furnishing a real ministry for the newly formed communities of the nation, for the growing cities with their manifold problems and for those who have come from foreign shores to the United States and are yet unassimilated, also for the weak yet strategically important churches of the rural communities. This is an urgent national task. Connecticut and Massachusetts, the generous foster-parents of every missionary advance since 1793, contributors of millions to home missionary work alone, require today one-third of the

workers of the Home Missionary Society for the maintenance of their Pilgrim integrity. Congregationalists have happily promoted relations of federation and comity with other communions and will do all in their power to further such relationships in the years to come.

It will set its face against race antagonisms and unbrotherliness, helping all depressed races to self-reliance, patriotism, literacy and serviceableness, training the needed leaders. This great task will, as in the past, be pushed chiefly through the American Missionary Association.

It will provide generously, as a part of its missionary program, not only for the current efficiency but for the old age of those whose lives are spent in missionary service. The Pilgrim Memorial Fund and the other funds will not be considered as a means of granting a dole to destitute ministers, but of making a deserved recognition of faithful and heroic service. Nor is that service, at home or abroad, to be one of heart-breaking penury. Congregationalism proposes to enable its representatives to do their work with zeal, efficiency and repute.

It will, with the zeal and persistence of early years, promote nation-wide efforts for evangelization, for social rehabilitation and denominational efficiency. These years have shown that freedom of thinking, speech and action are wholly consistent with corporate unity, so long as that remains representative. In our mission work, as in political affairs, we face the future on a federated, organized basis. Vitalized by the religious motive and by a spirit of real fraternalism, Congregationalism will be able to do its full share for the world. It will seek to support all types of missionary work with a liberality that expresses the conviction that the church which is interested only in its local needs is dead already.

XXII

IN CONCLUSION

Facing the new decade of opportunity with all this unity and variety of organized life, what Congregationalism most needs is a fresh spiritual empowering on Boards, churches, pastors, teachers, laity and missionaries alike. It was that power which quickened the first great mission enterprise, when a hundred men "who had trod the banks of the Cam with John Milton and Jeremy Taylor" came across the sea to make a Christian country with Christian institutions. Only the lessening of that zeal can account for the indifference and the occasional hostility among our church members to the missionary enterprise. Congregationalism more than most of our sister communions requires an incessant propelling force. We must rely upon a constant renewal of the factors which during these three centuries have shown us the way ahead.

The real secret of Congregational efficiency has been its leadership. Other denominations may go far by thorough organization and able supervision. These factors will never assure the best that is in Congregationalism. They have great value, but we are not dependent upon them. Leaders, who embody our ideals, are indispensable. With them in sight we can mold our history as it comes, preserving both our cherished liberty and our efficiency.

The story of the Pilgrims and their successors is a trumpet-call to further service as high and heroic in its character as any already recorded. The heart beats faster and the blood runs warmer as we think through the thrilling record of these three centuries. The vision of the fathers abides to challenge their children of to-day.

APPENDIX

The Commission desires to remind our churches of a few of the books relating to the theme of this report with which all Congregationalists should be acquainted.

I

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II

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CONGREGATIONALIST SHOULD KNOW

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A brief historical interpretation of the Congregational order, omitting details.
- 3 DUNNING, A. E. *Congregationalists in America*. New York, Hill, 1894. Boston, Pilgrim Press, n. d.
An ample, detailed, historical account of our development as a denomination. Very clear.
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A history which emphasizes the organic side of the denominational growth.
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An invaluable, interpretative summary of the first century of foreign missions.
- 6 BEARD, A. F. *A Crusade of Brotherhood*. Boston, Pilgrim Press, 1909.
A readable yet compelling interpretation of the significant data of American Missionary Association history.
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A close study of the details of this important episode.
- 21 ANDERSON, RUFUS. *History of the Missions of the American Board in India (1874), to Oriental Churches (1872), and to the Sandwich Islands (1870)*. Boston, Congregational Publishing Society.
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Typical Congregationalists, including Bradford, Eliot, Woods and Bacon.
- 27 FARIS, JOHN T. *Winning the Oregon Country*. New York, Missionary Education Movement, 1911.
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- 28 HILL, JAMES L. *The Immortal Seven*. American Baptist Publication Society, 1913.
The story of Adoniram Judson and his associates.
- 29 THOMPSON, CHARLES L. *The Religious Foundations of America*. New York, Revell, 1917.
An attempt to trace to their European sources the principles which are at the basis of our national life. Two fine chapters discuss the Pilgrim and Puritan contribution.
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A picture of the conditions which we must help to meet.

III

MEMBERS OF THE COMMISSION ON CONGREGATIONALISM AND MISSIONS

SANDERS, Rev. FRANK K., D.D., Chairman, New York City.

Director of the Board of Missionary Preparation.

BAIRD, Rev. LUCIUS O., D.D., Seattle, Wash.

Superintendent of the Washington Congregational Conference.

BEACH, Rev. HARLAN P., D.D., New Haven, Conn.

Professor of Missions in the Yale Divinity School.

BROWNE, Rev. J. K., San Francisco, Cal.

Assistant Secretary of the American Board for the Pacific Coast.

CAPEN, Prof. EDWARD W., Ph.D., Hartford, Conn.

Dean of the Kennedy School of Missions.

CHOATE, Miss MIRIAM F., New York City.

General Secretary of the Congregational Woman's Home Missionary Federation.

EMRICH, Rev. F. E., D.D., Boston, Mass.

Secretary of the Massachusetts Home Missionary Society.

EVERSZ, Rev. MORITZ E., D.D., Chicago, Ill.

Superintendent of the German Department, Congregational Home Missionary Society.

HUME, Rev. ROBERT E., Ph.D., New York City.

Professor of the History of Religions, Union Theological Seminary.

LEE, Mrs. LUCIUS O., Chicago, Ill.

Secretary of the Woman's Board of Missions of the Interior.

MINER, Rev. HENRY A., D.D., Madison, Wis.

Secretary Emeritus of the Wisconsin Congregational Association.

MISKOVSKY, Prof. LOUIS F., A.M., Oberlin, Ohio.

Principal of the Slavic Department of the Oberlin Graduate School of Theology.

PHILLIPS, Rev. W. L., D.D., Shelton, Conn.

Member of the Executive Committee of the Congregational Home Missionary Society.

RICHARDS, Rev. CHARLES H., D.D., New York City.

Church Building Secretary of the Congregational Church Building Society.

SMITH, Rev. ARTHUR H., D.D., Tunghsien, Chihli, China.

Missionary of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions.

STRONG, Rev. WILLIAM E., D.D., Boston, Mass.

Editorial Secretary, American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions.

TUCKER, Rev. JOHN T., B.D., Toronto, Canada.

Principal of the Dondi Institute, West Central Africa.

WARNER, Dr. LUCIEN C., New York City.

Chairman of the Congregational World Movement.

CONGREGATIONALISM AND THE SOCIAL ORDER

Before beginning a discussion of the relation of the Church to the social order, it is fitting that we seek to determine the limits of our investigation. Before we follow the records of the Congregational churches in America for the last three hundred years, we must know for what we have the right to look. It will help us if we may state in outline the relation we might expect the church to bear to a social order. The character of the contribution is determined by the character of the church as an institution. If we were studying the contribution of a college, our investigation would necessarily be determined by a certain *a priori* conditions involved in the nature of a college. Likewise in investigating the contribution of a church to a social order our investigations will be determined by certain principles necessarily involved in the character and nature of the church as a social institution.

Christian churches are social groups of people who have heard the call to the Christian vocation which comes from Jesus Christ and are pledged to the working out of social justice in human society. As Christians they are banded together for the task of promoting social justice in themselves and in others. In studying, then, the record of a church in its relation to a social order, our questions have to do with the success of the church in leading its membership along the line of social righteousness. Our investigations will subdivide along the following lines:

1. Did the religion of the early Puritans and Pilgrims have a social outlook? Did it call for a righteous social order?
2. How far did the early Congregational churches avoid an over-emphasis on sectarianism, ceremonialism, and keep the social emphasis in its proper place, and how successful have later Congregational churches been in maintaining the emphasis?
3. How far has the Congregational Church influenced the vocational ethics and the professional codes of its membership?
4. How far has the Congregational Church during these three hundred years made its people conscious of the ethical and spiritual significance of the community life in which the churches have been located? As this community life has changed with the changing national order, has the church kept pace with the change?
5. How far have the Congregational churches been conscious of their resources as churches for social ministrations? When they called people together for public worship, public discussion and festivals, have they been conscious of and have they developed their resources for social ministrations in these meetings?
6. Have the Congregational churches adapted their system of education to the successive social orders in which they have shared during the last three hundred years, and have they adapted their work to the various kinds of communities of which they have been a part?

THE THREE PERIODS OF NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

The questions which we have enumerated are to be asked of any church in any period and we shall ask them of the Congregational churches as they have played their part in three successive periods of national development. These periods can be briefly summarized as follows:

The Colonial Period. 1620-1789

This period is the earliest and most formative period of American life so far as its political institutions are concerned. During this time the

fundamental essentials of a democratic form of government were established. This period saw the development of a town meeting which was the unit of American democracy. It saw the federation of the colonies, the adoption of the Constitution, and the establishment of a representative form of government. The social life was clearly characterized by the distinctive marks of a pioneer civilization. The problems were those of a pioneer period.

The National Period. 1789-1865

This period saw the population which had developed along the Atlantic seacoast extend itself with its institutions practically across the continent. It was the period which developed and settled the Mississippi Valley. It was a period of isolation in national affairs. The strength and energy of the nation was taken up with the problems which had to do with American development. It was essentially a period of agricultural growth and development. The problems were those of a developing rural population.

The Period of Industrial Development. 1865-1920

This period has witnessed the development of a system of industry which has changed the whole character of American national life. Its problems have been the problems of factories rather than of farms. There has been an abundant food supply and the building of cities in great industrial centers. The mobilization of capital, the multiplication of machinery, and the organization of labor has made possible a system of production which is without precedent in the world's history. American life has rapidly been industrialized. We are in the midst of what might be called America's industrial period.

THE SOCIAL OUTREACH OF THE CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH IN THE
COLONIAL PERIOD

The religion of the Pilgrims and the Puritans had a very definite social outlook. They came to this country stirred with a religious passion and determined to found a theocratic commonwealth. Their plans and their purposes rooted in the social passion of the Hebrew Prophets. They definitely purposed a righteous social order. It was a heroic and militant group of social idealists who settled on the rocky coasts of New England. They purposed a social order in which the Rule of God should be realized. In their interpretation and execution of this Rule of God, they made use of the Scriptures and the Church.

The Theocracy and the Scripture

The will of God was for the Puritans written in the Hebrew Scriptures. Consequently, the laws for the theocracy were found in the Bible, which had for them the value among other values of a law book. The first two of the fundamental articles of the New Haven Colony adopted in 1639 assert as follows:

I. "That the Scriptures hold forth a perfect rule for the direction of Government of all men in all duties which they perform to God and man; as well in families and commonwealth, as in the matters of the Church.

II. "That, as in matters which concern the gathering and ordering of a church, so likewise of magistrates and officers, making and repealing laws, dividing allotments of inheritances, and all things of like nature, they would all be governed by these rules which the Scripture held forth to them."

They later voted that "the judicial laws of God as they were delivered to Moses and expounded in other parts of Scripture, so far as they are not

typical or ceremonial nor had exclusive reference to Canaan, should be the civil and criminal law of the colony till the same be branched out into particulars hereafter."

The Theocracy and the Church

But this theocracy did not find its complete interpretation in a law code. Those who accepted it reserved the right to discriminate between essential and non-essential in the law code, and the church which accepted it was made up of people who exercised many democratic prerogatives. There was no over-lordship, and the rule of right was decided in the face-to-face councils where the members met together for reasonable conference. The church itself although accepting the law Code of the Scriptures fairly revelled in its catalogue of liberties, as the following declaration of the liberties of the Church clearly indicates:

1. "All the people of God within this jurisdiction who are not in a church way, and be Orthodox in judgment, and not scandalous in life, shall have full libertie to gather themselves into a Church Estaite. Provided they doe it in a Christian way, and with due observation of the rules of Christ revealed in his word.
2. "Every Church has full libertie to exercise all the ordinances of God, according to the rules of the Scripture.
3. "Every Church hath libertie of Election and ordination of all their officers.
4. "Every Church hath free libertie of admission, recommendation, dismission, and expulsion.
5. "No injunctions are to be put on any church, church officers, or members in point of Doctrine, worship or discipline.
6. "Every Church of Christ hath freedome to celebrate dayes of fasting and prayer.
7. "The Elders of the Church have free libertie to meete monthly, Quarterly, or otherwise.
8. "All Churches have libertie to deal with any of their members in a church way that are in the hands of justice.
9. "Every church hath libertie to deal with any magistrate, deputie of court or other officer.
10. "We allowe private meetings for edification in religion amongst the Christians of all sortes of people."

The Puritan theocracy interpreted through the medium of a democratic Church kept the Hebrew law code from becoming an instrument of tyranny.

Church Membership and Citizenship

The early limitation of voting privileges in the control of the colony to those who were members of the church was a part of the logic of the theocratic plan. Whatever objection may be urged against it, it bears eloquent tribute to the social character of the early religious leaders of the Congregational churches. They believed that their religious principles were to be incorporated in a social order. Religion was not something to be held apart by itself. The social order did not exist, isolated from religion. It was to be controlled by religious people. In the course of time the religious limitations on voting were removed. Ecclesiastical control developed its own limitations. But even then the democratic church nourished the democratic spirit in politics. When men met together in the face-to-face relationship of an independent church meeting, they developed a spirit of independence which they carried over into the political organization and activities of their time.

The Church and the Town

The cardinal idea of the New England town system was that the nearer government is brought to the people, the more clearly it shows their sentiments and reflects their will, and that this is the desideratum in local affairs. This was the New England idea of both city and church government. Whatever was discussed in the town meetings was discussed thoroughly, and whatever action was taken by them was the result of intelligent and deliberate conviction. Therefore the vote of the people of New England in their town meetings was a far more reliable index of their sentiments than the votes of their representatives in either state or national legislature. In these little democracies the cardinal principles of political equality, opposition to tyranny and freedom of speech were taught, and taught in such a way that they were never forgotten.

But this democratic experience was intimately related to the democratic religious experience fostered by the Congregational churches:

"It is quite certain that they copied largely in their formation of the scheme of town government, from the form of church government of that branch of dissenters from the established Church of England which afterwards developed in the Congregational Church in this country. Indeed, the common name 'moderator' was applied alike to the presiding officers of both town and church meeting."

"In 1766 Jonathan Mayhew wrote to James Otis: 'You have heard of the communion of Churches. . . . While I was thinking of this in my bed the great use and importance of a communion of colonies appeared to me in a strong light, which led me immediately to set down these hints and transmit to you.'"

These two passages clearly indicate that the indirect control of the early church over the political order was as great, if not greater, than the direct control which it first sought to exercise.

The Thursday Lecture

The Church in the colonial days "kept" the Sabbath extremely free from secular concerns and secular activities, but it had in the institution of the Thursday Lectureship an institution through which it felt fairly free to deal with the social order. Leading ministers lectured on matters which had to do with the better social order among the colonies. The following interesting description of the use an eminent divine made of this Thursday Lectureship is very much in point here:

"These things gave occasion to Mr. Cotton, in his public exercise the next lecture day, to lay open the error of such false principles and to give some of the rules of direction in the case. Some false principles (of Christian Commerce) were these:

1. That a man might sell as dear as he can, and buy as cheap as he can.
2. If a man lose by casualty of sea, etc., in some of his commodities, he may raise the price of the rest.
3. That he may sell as he bought, if he paid too dear, etc., and though the commodity be fallen, etc.
4. That, as a man may take advantage of his own skill or ability, so he may of another's ignorance or necessity.
5. Where one gives time for payment, he is to take like recompense of one as of another.

The rules for trading were these:

1. A man may not sell above the market price, i. e., such a price as is usual in the time and place and as another (who knows the worth of the

commodity) would give for it, if he had occasion to use it; as that is called current money, which every man would take.

2. When a man loseth his commodity for want of skill, etc., he must look at it as his own fault or cross, and therefore must not lay it upon another.

3. Where a man loseth by casualty of sea, it is a loss cast upon him by providence, he may not ease himself of it by casting it upon another; for so a man should seem to provide against all providences, that he should never lose; but where there is a scarcity of the commodity, there men may raise the price; for now it is a hand of God on the commodity, and not the person.

4. A man may not ask more for his commodity than his selling price, as Ephron to Abraham, the land is worth thus much."

Not only was this Thursday lecture time for social education, but it also seems to have been a time for social enjoyment:

"The Thursday Lecture afforded an opportunity for social meetings; of which advantage was eagerly taken and the people often went from one town to another to attend the exercises, so much so that in 1675 it became necessary to put some restraints upon 'a loose and sinful custome of going or riding from town to town, upon pretence of going to lectures.'"

The Colonial Church and Social Ethics

The quotations which have just been given are eloquent of the interest which the early church had in the secular conduct of its members. The ministers discussed even as now the proper mode of attire for the women. We read of one minister who thus denounced a woman who was too much given to concern about the things which have to do with dress. He called her "the very gizzard of a trifle, the product of the quarter of a cipher, the epitome of nothing, fitter to be kicked, if she were a kickable substance, than either honored or humored." The Rev. Mr. Cotton delivered lectures on the laws of Christian Commerce. The Church laid great stress on those virtues which have to do with productive life and denounced the vices of idleness, riotous living, and the wasteful use of one's substance. As was to be expected, a church which took the Bible as a law book copied the priestly emphasis on the keeping of the Sabbath. The Sabbath of the Puritans was a very solemn occasion. One historian thus describes the Puritan observance of the Sacred Day:

"In the Assembly of 1782-83 the country members had been strenuous for a Sabbath of thirty-six hours; but those from the larger towns were mercifully disposed to limit it to eighteen, and the latter carried their point. From midnight of Saturday until six o'clock the next day, it was unlawful for any hired carriage to leave or to enter Boston, while during service no vehicle could move faster than a walk. By a statute enacted ten years later, traveling and all secular employments save those of necessity and mercy were prohibited. It is doubtful whether these laws were fully enforced, though there is a story that Governor Hancock was once fined for taking a turn in the mall on his way home from Church. In 1802 the selectmen proposed to enforce the edict against Sabbath breakers upon certain persons who were in the habit of bathing at the foot of the Common, and other places where the sea could be reached."

In summing up the social outreach of the Colonial churches, we find this social enthusiasm grounded in a very vigorous passion for righteousness growing out of its theocratic conception of society. We find this social passion showing itself especially in relationship to the political organization of the community. The democratic church nourished the democratic spirit in government, both directly and indirectly. We find the church in

its Thursday Lectureship providing a means for the instruction of the people in social matters and for the leading of them in social activities. We find the church developing a definite leadership in social ethics. The churches definitely opposed Ceremony, and thus the people were never allowed to offer ceremonial righteousness in place of social righteousness. There was probably an over-emphasis on the religious conception of the Sabbath, but even this had its distinct place in that it guaranteed to the community a six-day working week, which from the standpoint of social amelioration is more important than the eight-hour day.

THE SOCIAL OUTREACH OF THE CONGREGATIONAL CHURCHES IN THE NATIONAL PERIOD

The Congregational churches approached the period we have described as the National Period, including the time from 1789 to 1865, with a tradition of freedom and a passion for democratic control in church and government. It had been the only church in most of the communities in which it had existed, and had the community outlook which comes naturally where the church is not forced into self-consciousness in the competitive struggle for existence. It faced the period of national development with its enthusiasm for a righteous social order still undiminished. We may expect in this period of national expansion that the church will express its social enthusiasm in a participation in the pioneer movements which now settle up the great western part of the United States. An interesting expression of this enthusiasm is found in the following extract from the Annual Report of the Massachusetts Home Missionary Society, presented by Rev. Henry D. Hooker, D.D., Secretary, at its anniversary in the year 1861:

1. "We do but catch the spirit of the noble founders of the Commonwealth in our zeal and labors for Home Missions. As fast as the progress of emigration and the natural increase of the population swept away the wilderness, and towns and villages began to beautify these eastern coasts, so fast did the missionary spirit of our fathers impel them to establish the church of God and provide and maintain the institutions of the Gospel, in the growing settlements. . . .

2. "The social ties that bind us to so many on the western field press us on in this great work. The energy and the enterprise, so prominently distinguishing New England character, have been strikingly displayed in the emigration of vast numbers to new homes toward the setting sun. . . . We cannot but have a parental interest in them, and cannot but express it by furnishing for the needy and the destitute those most valuable tokens of our regard, the institutions of the Gospel. And we are the more readily and heartily to do this, in that, carrying with them, as these voluntary exiles do, the peculiar energy of New England people they are sure to exert the most powerful influence in moulding the character of the various communities where they find their homes. We cannot confer a richer blessing upon the West than by producing, by the Gospel, New England energy of Christian character, and by building up such religious communities as have been, and now are, the glory and the beauty of the land of the Pilgrims.

3. "The Home Missionary spirit is in keeping with those large views of human welfare which have marked New England men. A noble stand has been taken, from the days of our fathers, on the side of everything that lifts human beings up from degradation, and which bestows the highest excellence of character. Civil freedom, education, wise laws, benevolent institutions of every kind — all these have been generated and sustained by New England energy and money and counsel, and none have gone before her in this regard. The precious institutions of the Gospel have begotten this spirit in New England minds. And wherever we can send

it, freedom and education and law, all rise and vigorously thrive. Accustomed to great enterprises, promoting the best interest of men, we act in harmony with our own antecedents when we press forward the work of our country's evangelization. The universal triumph of Christian truth is synonymous with all that can elevate and beautify individual character and ennoble a nation."

This quotation reveals several very interesting facts about the social outlook of the religion of the Congregational churches during this National Period.

Geographical and Political Extension

The churches during this period are interested in adjusting themselves to the geographical and political extension of their American constituency. America is settling her great undeveloped farming territory. It is the pioneer age in the Middle West. The problem of adjustment is the problem of planting churches in new communities. The churches consider themselves a great cooperative organization in which the strong and well-established must help the weak and those who are doing the pioneer work. There is a social outlook in this task, and we can say that those who are promoting it are carrying on the work begun by the Pilgrim Fathers.

The Church Carries a Political Code

The Church has adopted a code of political institutions which it considers to be in harmony with its democratic religion. Wherever it goes it promotes the town government of New England and establishes "civil freedom, education, wise laws, and benevolent institutions." It is fairly accurate to say that throughout the Middle West, the Congregational churches either magnificently supported these institutions, or when they did not otherwise exist, took the initiative in establishing them. The planting of the college and the academy, which is represented today in some of the finest of the independent educational institutions of the West, bears eloquent tribute to the extension of New England enthusiasms in the settling of the Western States. Men like Marcus Whitman not only added to the territory of the great Northwest, but through the founding of colleges guaranteed the quality of the citizenship which made up the population.

The Church Extends an Ethical Code

But not only did this Congregational type of religion have its accepted political institutions, it had a fairly definite ethical code which it carried wherever it went. It magnified individual freedom, industry, frugality, and intelligence. It fought against the vices of intemperance, laziness, and whatever made man inefficient as an individual.

The Social Organization of the Church in this Period

The Congregational churches in this period are churches made up of families. It is the type of church filled with family pews to which the father leads the family every Sunday morning. It was a church fairly well adapted to the village and county seat community and the residential portion of the growing cities. Its services were planned for the needs of people in one type of community. This type was the prevailing type and the church was meeting the needs of the dominant American community in building and carrying on the family church. It magnified and honored the greatest American institutions — the family and the American village and town.

The Congregational Conscience and Intemperance

Even in the Colonial Period, the Church had recognized intemperance as an enemy of society. In the decade between 1820 and 1830, we find

the churches taking up a fairly vigorous campaign against the evils of intemperance. In a list of general instructions to the Home Missionaries, the Executive Committee of the American Home Missionary Society directs the attention of its missionaries to the importance of the topic of temperance in the following words:

"Intemperance like other evils which it is the tendency of Christianity to correct is most likely to prevail in those communities which have long been destitute of a preached gospel. Such are many of the stations occupied by Domestic Missionaries. If, then, the prevalence of intemperance, as a national evil, has become so alarming as to unite the exertion of many of our physicians and other leading laymen in public measures to suppress it; and if, as a national sin, it has called large sections of the church to special fasting and prayer and efforts; if, as a common enemy, has assumed an attitude which demands the combined resistance of all the morality, religion and patriotism of the nation; surely, the ministers of Christ will not be backward in this warfare. Especially will they who are stationed at those points, where society is in its forming state, and where these and other evils threaten the arrest of every thing which God has ordained for a blessing, esteem it their duty by every means to save from this soul-destroying contagion, the people committed to their care."

The reports of the Missionary Society contain many recitals of successful temperance campaigns carried on either by local churches or by groups of churches. In 1812 Dr. Lyman Beecher introduced a report to the Connecticut Congregational Association to the effect that all ministers should preach against the evils of drink. In the letters which came from the Congregational ministers from all over the Middle West, it is evident that these ministers considered that the riotous living which goes with strong drink is one of the chief enemies of individual character and the American home, and that they were conducting campaigns against it. The seed was gradually being planted which bore its fruit in the next generation.

The Congregational Conscience and Slavery

Dr. William Jewett Tucker, Ex-President of Dartmouth College, has said that the abolition of slavery was the last great act of the Puritan conscience. It is of great interest to us to know in how far the Congregational Church participated directly and indirectly in carrying this conscience to this fruition. From 1770 to 1776, Newport, R. I., was the great slave market of New England. In the Congregational Church of that city were many men whose living and whose wealth was dependent upon the slave traffic. Dr. Samuel Hopkins was pastor of the church. From his pulpit on Sunday morning he deliberately attacked the evils of the great slavery system and called for its abolition. John G. Whittier said:

"It may well be doubted whether on that Sabbath Day, the angels of God in their wide survey of the universe looked upon a nobler spectacle than that minister of Newport, rising up before his slave-holding congregation and demanding in the name of the Highest, the deliverance of the captive and the opening of the prison doors to those that are bound."

In 1784 the law was passed in Rhode Island forbidding the importation of slaves and declaring all children born of slaves free. Massachusetts became a free state in 1780, New Hampshire in 1784. Among the leaders in the anti-slavery cause were men like Dr. Ezra Stiles, President of Yale College; Jonathan Edwards, Arthur Tappan, Louis Tappan, Joshua Leavitt, Amos A. Phelps, Elizur Wright, Henry Ward Beecher, Ellis Gray Loring, Rev. Samuel J. May, Mrs. Harriet Beecher Stowe.

The record of the opposition of the Congregational churches to slavery is written very definitely in the chapters of the *American Home Missionary*

Magazine in the letters which the pastors send in from the fields. In 1829 one pastor, writing from the state of Missouri, writes as follows:

"I am aware that I have now touched a subject of a very delicate nature. Slavery, perhaps, exists in its mildest form in this state. But it is still a great evil, and one that is most sensibly felt by slave-holders themselves. How is this evil to be removed? Not by denouncing the slave-holder as an unprincipled and unfeeling man. This only tends to aggravate the difficulty. It must be removed by action, and not by declamation. The people at the East must feel that there is a duty devolving upon them in relation to this subject. The evil is attached to us as a nation, and if it is ever removed, we must, as individuals of this nation, contribute our proportion. When an owner of slaves tells me that he feels and knows that slavery is a crying sin, and that he will freely relinquish his slaves, or that he will relinquish one half of their value, on condition that he be compensated for the other half and provision be made for their transportation, I feel that he has made a generous proposal, and I cannot charge him with all the guilt of slavery, though he may continue to be a slave-holder."

But let us not for one moment consider that the Congregational conscience operated unanimously on this great question. Dr. Richard S. Storrs has thus reviewed the conditions in the Congregational Church at that time:

"For the most part certainly the Congregational Ministers of New England, especially throughout the rural districts, were intelligently and consistently hostile to slavery and were ready to take their respective shares of service and sacrifices on behalf of their conviction. The same was widely true of other than the Old School ministers in the Middle West states and yet more widely of those at the West. . . . Repeated effort to induce the American Board of Foreign Missions to take decisive anti-slavery ground while carrying on its work among Cherokees and Chocktaws and other slave-holding peoples, wholly failed of success. Out of which failure came, however, the American Missionary Association."

As one reads the records of the riots and mobs in the New England communities, in which the anti-slavery people were beaten up by respectable citizens in the name of law and order, he is inclined to take a more cheerful view about conditions in the present. In general, however, the Congregational churches seem to have voted right on the slavery question. When we find churches planted by the Congregationalists to keep Kansas a free state, writing into their constitutions "We hereby declare that human slavery is a high crime against God and we refuse to fellowship with any organization countenancing the same," it is evident that there was a widespread religious conviction among Congregationalists that slavery was wrong.

Whatever of hesitancy the Congregational churches may have shown in fighting slavery was atoned for in their splendid efforts to prepare the colored man for his new freedom. We may well be proud of the service rendered by the schools of the American Missionary Association in educating the freed man. In view of the historic attitude of the churches of the Pilgrim faith with respect to African slavery, it becomes incumbent upon us today to bear our testimony in favor of social justice for the people of African descent. Recent outbreaks in this land against the Negro American should serve to remind us of our failure to protect him in the use of that weapon of self-defence we put in his hands — the ballot. Has not the hour come in the evolution of public sentiment when the best interests of the Nation, as a whole, require the enforcement of the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments in every part of the land? This sacred right conferred as a result of the issues of the war of the sixties, has been fairly

earned by the colored citizens through their removal of three-fourths of their illiteracy and the acquisition of a billion dollars in property. All of this within half a century and under adverse circumstances. Besides, they have ever been loyal in war and in peace on this side of the water and on that.

The Church and the Community

As the Congregational Church pioneered into the West, it lost its distinctive opportunity of being the community church. It was forced to enter into competitive relationships with many other churches and no longer had the right-of-way in the community. Although it never lost its original sense that the church was not an end itself but should exist for the sake of the community, the denominational organization of the religious life of the Middle West checked to quite an extent the passion for community service and leadership which existed in the New England Churches.

Summary of the Period

The Congregational churches in this period were interested in the quantitative production of the family church. It was interested in the political and social institutions which had developed in New England and in the virtues of freedom, industry and temperance, which had been the virtues of the pioneer population.

THE SOCIAL OUTREACH OF THE CONGREGATIONAL CHURCHES IN THE PERIOD OF INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT, 1865-1920

Historians and economists may for convenience define the development of a nation by the setting of dates. This is convenient, but never accurate. Lines of development always overlap each other. This is especially true in the economic development of America. But there is a fair accuracy in making the close of the Civil War the beginning of the period known as the Industrial Period in American History. The Industrial revolution in England took place about the middle of the 19th Century and it was late in arriving in other countries. The shift in the way of making a living is always an important change in the life of any people. When the Israelites changed from herdsmen to agriculturists and began to live in cities, it brought a moral and spiritual crisis in Hebrew development. When the American people changed from a nation making its living chiefly by agriculture to a nation where dominant groups were interested in factory production, a great change took place in the economic development, and this change brought with it a crisis in the moral and spiritual development of the country. W. L. Mackenzie King has thus described the change commonly called industrial revolution:

“Under the old domestic system, many a man worked in his own home with his own tools, procured the materials needed for the work and then sold the product. But once production and manufacturing ceased to be for local markets, once the demand was no longer limited, but developed upon an ever-expanding scale, the domestic laborer, in competition with the merchant trader, found himself handicapped in two respects: first, he had no access to the new and large markets, and secondly, he could not procure materials for manufacture in anything like the quantity necessary. When under the spell of invention, machines, vastly outstripping the efficiency of tools, began to be introduced, he was more handicapped than ever. The merchant trader being possessed with capital was able to obtain materials for manufacture, and was able to obtain access to new and distant markets. He was in a position moreover to take advantage and to utilize the new kinds of power, and to substitute machine for hand labor. Thus there gradually arose a capitalistic class commanding the

markets, controlling the sources of production and power, and controlling labor. The domestic system in industry gave way to the factory system, the large-scale organization; a regime of hand tools gave way to a regime of machinery, and there followed the enormous growth of capitalism in Industry and the development of banking, credit, and other financial institutions as they have come to be at the present time."

"Along with the division of industrial processes has gone the change in industrial areas consequent upon the application of new powers and the substitution of new processes. In England, the substitution of coal for wood in the smelting of iron ore, within a brief period led to a transfer of the iron industry from one part of the country to another. It deserted the forest centres for the coal areas. Once the power loom replaced the hand loom, weaving forsook the cottages in rural districts for the banks of rivers and streams. The application of steam brought about yet other distribution of the iron and textile industries. These are commonly cited examples of earlier days. The changes consequent upon the extended use of steam and electrical power are growing about us from day to day. It may be that electricity will yet effect a return of manufacturing to rural areas."

The New Industrial Development and the Congregational Churches

The industrial shift thus described by Mr. King brought chaos into American Protestantism. It swept the village and rural population into the industrial centers. We built great factory cities by bleeding white the rural districts of two continents. This resulted in the depletion of the ranks of the village and country churches and the overwhelming of city churches with miscellaneous populations they were ill-prepared to handle. The type of immigration from Europe was now almost entirely changed and came from sections of the old world lacking in Protestant traditions. The record of Protestantism in meeting the new situation is not the story of a victorious campaign but rather that of a series of successful "drives" by poorly coordinated forces.

The Failure of the Family Church in the Industrial Community

In meeting the needs of the new industrial communities, the church faced a situation in which the type of church of the previous generation did not meet the needs. When people had good homes and could organize in those homes for most of the activities which made up their social and intellectual life, the church could take the home for granted and build its work on the theory of cooperation with the family. But in the new industrial communities, there were thousands of people without an adequate home life; there were children without home training; there were people with practically no social life; there was no family altar around which the children gathered for religious instruction. The Church was compelled to develop in itself many of the resources of home life and to become a center of wholesome interests for the people whom it was trying to reach. In adapting its work to these new situations, many Congregational churches and ministers have made notable contributions to American Protestantism.

The Failure of Christian Ethic in Modern Industry

When industry was simple in the stage of household production for neighborhood consumption, men performed their work inside of circles where it was easy to fix responsibility for bad work and good work was easily rewarded. In these face to face relationships, religion and morality exercised a powerful control. Men felt when they went to their work that they were earning a living and making a life. They were serving their fellow men and serving their God. The arrival of the modern machine production and capitalistic industry changed all this. The employer who

once worked side by side with the man he employed now employs four thousand men, women, girls and boys, not one per cent of whom he could call by name. He lives in luxury on the Avenue, his employees are no longer his neighbors. If they become so he moves further out. In the place of his personal regard for men as men, he often regards them as part of the machinery with which profits are produced for investors. The employee who will deny himself home comforts and work his wife and five children, can afford to work for minimum wages and this multiplies profits. These impersonal relationships between employer and employee have occasioned the decay of the Christian control of the situation. In a similar way, competitive production has caused men to lose sight of the true purpose of production and they have often engaged in a mad scramble for profits rather than in a cooperative venture for human service. As a result of all this, modern industry has stood over against the Christian world as a sort of "no man's land" not yet brought under civilization.

The New Theology and Social Ethics

Congregationalism during the last half century has been experiencing a mighty struggle for inward sincerity and unity in its thought life. This struggle has had real significance for its whole program of social action and has profoundly affected the interpretation of the Christian religion with reference to certain great ideas. It has changed the idea of man's relationships to God from an attitude of passive humility before Divine Providence to one of cooperation with God in the production of a better universe. In the record of the Congregational Home Missionary Society, the Congregational ministers of the last century report a prevalent epidemic of typhoid fever or some other scourge as a Divine Visitation which gave them an opportunity to talk to a more serious people about their soul's salvation. A frost or a drought was a Divine Providence to be accepted in the spirit of humility and often gave an opportunity for the minister to use the calamity as a sign of Divine displeasure over the sinfulness of the people. When one now opens the records of the Home Missionary Society he finds ministers urging their people to find the cause of the disease and to fight it with a divine passion. He sees ministers organizing the community in the digging of irrigation ditches and in the fighting of a frost with well-placed fires and smudge pots. Something has happened in the realm of theological thought which has given its sanction to a new course of social action. In the definitions of human duty there is a wholesome shift from an elaborate catalogue of church chores and of prescribed Sunday activities to a definition of human duty as wide as the field of human action. Salvation is no longer defined in the terms of an escape from the social order. It calls for a very definite participation of man in the social order of which he is a very definite part. In all this change in theory, the Congregational Churches have taken a pronounced leadership. Andover Theological Seminary established a course in Social Ethics in 1887. Hartford prescribed Sociology as necessary for graduation in 1880. Chicago Seminary established an entire department devoted to sociological training in 1890. And Yale established a distinct professorship of Social Ethics in 1894. Iowa College added a department of applied Christianity. Among the foremost specialists in sociology and social economics, a notably large proportion have been Congregational professors and ministers.

Prophets of the New Social Message

Several men stand out in Congregational history, among a large number of men, as prophets of the new social message. Josiah Strong in the year 1885 published a book entitled "Our Country." It was a stirring call put out by the American Home Missionary Society for a new kind of na-

tional self-examination. He called attention to the new industrial America which had arisen. The book was widely read and stirred the people to a new thought about the city and the enormous wealth which under modern capitalism was concentrating in the hands of a few.

Washington Gladden in 1886 published a book entitled "Applied Christianity." The Table of Contents includes the following significant titles: Christianity and Wealth, Is Labor a Commodity?, The Strength and Weakness of Socialism, Is It Peace or War?, The Wage Workers and the Churches, Three Dangers, Christianity and Social Science, Christianity and Popular Amusements, Christianity and Popular Education. As far back as 1875, Dr. Gladden had been suggesting industrial partnerships "by which the work people in the manufacturing establishments are given an interest in the business, and in addition to their wages a stipulated portion of the profits is divided among them at the close of every year in proportion to the amount of their earning." From this early date to the time of his death, Dr. Gladden was an uncompromising advocate of applied Christianity. No better tribute could be paid to him than the lifting of his name into the calendar of the Congregational Year and the making of an annual memorial day held in his honor as a time for the proclamation of the social message in all our Congregational churches.

Dr. Lyman Abbott both in his pulpit and through his widely extended editorial work was a prophet who kept before the American people the thought of a new social order motivated by the Christian ideals. In 1884 Dr. Abbott wrote: "If we can bring about a state in society in which the working man will have a thousand dollars invested in his work, working men will be their own capitalists and their own masters, and the present industrial difficulty growing out of chronic and suppressed conflict between laborers and capitalists will be at an end." He has been an unceasing protagonist of the social message throughout his great career as a publicist and preacher.

In the field of public speakers, few have had a wider influence than Raymond Robins. His rich experience in the field of labor and in the social struggles of a great city has given him the power which comes from experience, and his unusual oratorical powers have made him an effective witness before hundreds of thousands of American people.

In the field of popular story writing, Dr. Charles M. Sheldon has contributed masterly leadership. His books have always sounded the social message and have had a reading far beyond the bounds of the United States.

Dr. Charles R. Brown of Yale Theological Seminary has through his sermons and his Biblical interpretations in books and magazines stimulated the preaching of this generation along social lines.

Dr. E. A. Steiner of Grinnell College has been the leading popular interpreter of the Christian attitude toward the incoming millions who have populated our great industrial centers.

THE SOCIAL POINT OF VIEW IN CONGREGATIONAL MISSIONS

Somewhere in the decade between 1880 and 1890 there came to prevail in the foreign missionary policies of the Congregational churches a point of view which no longer sought to save an individual out of society, but sought to transform the individual and his social order. Dr. Dennis gave brilliant expression to the social aspects of foreign missions in three volumes entitled "Christian Missions and Social Progress." The point of view here represented has become an established policy with our foreign missionary boards. There have been leaders among all the mission boards in the proclamation of a gospel vigorous enough to call for and to help establish a new social order. The modern scope of Christian efforts was thus described at the Edinburgh Conference:

"The evangelization of Africa means something more than the introduction of the gospel into existing forms of social life. It means the introduction of education and letters, of agriculture and industries, of Christian marriage and due recognition of the sanctity of human life and property."

This point of view, which now obtains in all the foreign mission work, was anticipated by the society which represents the Congregational Church in work among the Negroes and Indians. As far back as 1867, there were the beginnings of practical, industrial education in Talladega College. The idea was developed most successfully by a great Congregationalist, General S. C. Armstrong, at Hampton Institute in Virginia. The work which has been so eminently successful at Hampton has now received general acceptance among all the schools of the American Missionary Association. It was begun in 1870 for the Indians at the Industrial Training School at Santee, Nebraska, under the leadership of Dr. A. L. Riggs.

Congregational Social Service Commissions

In 1891 the Congregational Council of Congregational Churches appointed an Industrial Committee to inform and interest the churches in the social and moral phases of industrial conditions and relationships. This action was taken at the suggestion of the standing committee on labor organizations of the Massachusetts General Association. The general purpose of this committee was:

To help toward a better knowledge of industrial conditions and of the spirit of the churches, especially in their own locality.

To come into sympathetic relations as far as possible with labor, organized and unorganized.

To help just and wise movements among workingmen, which means physical, social and moral betterment.

To seek affiliation with humanitarians and religious bodies having similar ends in view.

And to keep the labor committee of the National Council informed as to the conditions found and the efforts made to promote the well-being of the industrial part of the community.

The Social Service Department of the Congregational Churches was built up under the leadership of Henry A. Atkinson, who rendered notable leadership to the denomination in interpreting the practical bearings of Christianity upon the modern industrial world. The investigations conducted by Dr. Atkinson in some of the labor disputes, notably those in Colorado and Michigan, have attracted the attention of people far beyond the limits of the denomination. The Department has been active in the production of literature for educational propaganda purposes.

Congregational social service manifestoes have always voiced the demands of the Christian religion for social justice in all the relationships of life.

Social Settlements

Among social workers there have been a large number of Congregationalists, like Dr. Graham Taylor, who established the Chicago Commons and has maintained an unchallenged leadership in the Congregational Church for a quarter of a century. In a similar way, Robert Woods, in connection with Andover Seminary, established the South End Settlement in Boston. The Open Forum carried on so successfully for many years in Chicago Commons has since become one of the recognized agencies for promoting mutual understanding and good will between different types of men.

The Congregational Churches and Temperance

No expression of the social conscience which has been forming during the last twenty years was more far-reaching than the winning of the fight for

national prohibition. In this battle, which was carried to a final success, largely through the efforts of the Anti-Saloon League, the Congregationalists have a right to feel proud of the leadership of Dr. Howard H. Russell, the founder of the League. He has been a wise statesman and a courageous leader and has given to the world through his leadership a real contribution in the way of political methods in a country where political parties offer the only channel through which the people can take part in government. Other organizations are already adopting the methods of the League and are finding its methods effective in securing a more representative control of political parties.

Summary of this Period

The years from 1865 to 1920 are not a full period. It is but a half period and the process is incomplete. The Church is struggling with forces which have thrown it into chaos and which it only partially understands. In the midst of this struggle, its voice has often been feeble and its control weak. Its efforts have been fragmentary and lacking in coordination but brave souls have been wrestling with the problem and as their forces are better coordinated, there is promise of victory in the new day.

CONGREGATIONALISM AND THE SOCIAL ORDER IN THE FUTURE

Such a lengthy survey of Congregational history can only be justified on the theory that the future of Congregationism will be an extension of the past.

If our survey has been accurate, it shows that like a great tree our churches are deeply rooted in American traditions of freedom. The branches of this tree are widespread and it bears on its rough bark the scars of three hundred years of passing civilization. One naturally turns from the past to the present and the future.

For three hundred years the Congregational churches have had a share in furnishing to a democratic political order an undergirding foundation of spiritual enthusiasm and moral conviction. The churches led into American life an invasion of great ideas about God, salvation, and human duty which furnished with a good conscience those who were making the fight for American political democracy. The close of the world war has left us with a world in turmoil. It is satisfying to know that those principles of freedom and democracy which have been watch-words with us for three centuries are being exalted rather than discredited in the developments of the present time. The Church which has a tradition opposed to autocracy in religion and government ought to face with assurance the day which is to witness the extension of the democratic principle into other realms of human association. Can our churches while perpetuating for the present and the future the values in religion and political government already gained do for an age which is struggling with the problem of democratizing an industrial order what they once did for an age facing political democracy. Our experience in the past ought to give us both courage and wisdom for service in the future.

Democracy's Deepest Motives

The roots of democracy are in certain great spiritual enthusiasms and ethical convictions which are central in the Christian religion. Jesus taught that the extension of the will to dominate into human institutions gave social orders like of that of the Roman Empire and the extension of the will to serve would give a Christian commonwealth. The will to serve was rooted in the character of God the Father. His plan for the redemption of society looked forward to the creation of brotherly men who loved justice enough to be willing to give it first in thought as well as in deed and

to give it even sacrificially where the reward to be had was reaped by those who came after rather than by those who gave justice. It is for the Congregational churches of the present to cooperate in carrying forward that tradition for a right emphasis in religion which shall so link the religious emotions to ethical conduct that their preaching shall bear fruit in lives committed to an appreciation of the great spiritual and moral values which are basic in a democratic social order.

The Church and Vocational Ethics

The most direct approach of the Church to the social order is through the vocational activities of its members. For the same reason the critical opportunity for the Christian to reveal his purpose to do justice is found in the human vocation which comes to him out of the community in which he lives. The crucial test of his Christian ethics is found in his vocational ethics. No man can be good apart from his vocation and no kind of goodness can be offered as a substitute for righteousness in one's earthly vocation. A community is formed by the association of people and its institutions grow out of the give and take process which makes up human life. It is made up of parents, ministers, lawyers, surgeons, merchants, manufacturers, newspaper publishers, laboring men, and the other vocations by which men take part in the common tasks of life. It is of supreme importance that in accepting these vocations, the Christian should see in them opportunities for service. Any other spirit brings disorder and chaos into our common life. We have recognized that the spirit of selfishness is intolerable in some vocations. We must declare it to be intolerable in every vocation. For the Christian, there must be no "secular" vocation.

The Church and the Community

As Christians we have duties as individuals but we also have duties as groups organized in Christian churches. The Church must become conscious of its resources and obligations as a part of a community which is being served by many other institutions. It is safe to predict that the future will call upon the church planting agencies for a better adaptation of the Church to the communities created by the new industrial order. Congregationalism through close cooperation with other Protestant churches and other organized agencies must win back its moral right to a community point of view and to the formulation of programs for community betterment. This can only be secured through cooperation with other denominations which share the community with us. The day of the denominational approach to the social order is in many instances past and it is part of Christian duty to recognize the leadership which has been taken by interchurch and interdenominational agencies. There is, however, a need for the adaptation of the work of our present churches in special communities. It is not too much to say that there are at least seven communities which call for specially adapted churches to meet their needs.

The Rural Community
 The Trade Center
 The Village Community
 The Industrial Community
 The City Community.
 The Suburban Community
 The College Community
 The Resort Community

In all these different communities the functions of the Church are determined by certain social conditions. Its activities of worship, education,

social ministration and philanthropy will vary as the needs of the people in which it is stationed. The future of the church will depend upon its ability to become all things to all men.

Education for a Christian Social Order

A development foretold by the past history of Congregationalism and greatly needed at the present is a readaptation of our system of moral education to the needs of a changed social order. We are called upon to undergird a new social order with a determining foundation of spiritual sentiment and moral conviction. Our fathers trained their children in certain virtues which contributed to the morale in industry when industry was simple. Industry is no longer simple. We are in the midst of a world of high powered production on factory and farm and of distribution through a highly complex system of commerce. People who once supplied simple needs in a local market, now have the opportunity to supply from a worldwide market needs which have been stimulated by all the methods of the promoter and the modern advertiser. The old virtues have not yet been extended and made effective in the new industrial order. We must train our people for living in a modern world. We must take our children and place before them a grain of wheat which we plant in the soil. They must follow it through the different phases of the process of production, of distribution and consumption and come to believe that when they are dealing with any phase of this process, they are dealing with something which is sacred to the welfare of human life, that selfish action by anyone who is partner in this process can only bring punishment in terms of injury to human beings. Religious education must concern itself with the religious significance of the ways in which men make their living. If the Christian vocation is to write the ethical code of the future, the Church must develop a system of schools for religious and ethical education which are worthy of the name of schools and which really train boys and girls for living in a modern world.

The Church and Public Opinion

The free play of an intelligent public opinion is absolutely essential to a democratic social order. For years we have been training an educated citizenship believing that the intelligent man with proper character foundations could meet the issues arising in our national life. We count upon the building of a common conscience through the exercise of American freedom of the press and freedom of speech. But sinister forces are now defeating our hopes in a new way. Freedom of speech and freedom of thought are greatly restricted. Around every crisis in the social and industrial world there goes up a smoke screen of propaganda which prevents the free play of public opinion. Brutal majorities as well as militant minorities are appealing to force rather than to reason because they believe that the public mind has been corrupted until it can no longer be trusted. Christian brotherhood programs are defeated, because the facts which are vital to brotherhood are either inaccessible to Christian people, or the opinions based upon these facts are no longer safe for Christian people to express. Have we not here a new field of service for the Church? Must not the Church develop its own resources for gaining the facts which are vital to human brotherhood? Is it not incumbent upon the Church to encourage freedom of discussion through open forums and forum classes where even the minorities of society may have their day in court? May we not hope that the future will see such a federation of the religious newspapers of Protestantism as will guarantee the resources sufficient to enable the Church to throw off the tyranny of high-powered propaganda and gain a knowledge of the facts which are necessary to its brotherhood programs.

The Militant Church and Social Organization

The first business of the Church is to train people who will want what they ought to want. Its second task is to make it possible for such people to get what they want. If the Church is to train men of ideals for a social order, it must seek to make the world safe for those who accept its ideals. In other words the Church has a fight on its hands. The Church once confined its activities to the securing of signatures for the old individualistic temperance pledge and it left the world outside free to pursue its riotous, liquor consuming course. The Church made life hard for its members without doing anything to make the world safe for those who accepted its principles. It gradually decided to make the world safe for the temperate man. It became a militant organization. It continued to take away from the drunkard his reputation for piety and respectability, but it advanced to the work of outlawing the saloon from good society. It made the saloon keeper an exasperation instead of an idol. The Church recognized that a right social order was necessary for the conservation of its own program of virtue in the individual. The ideals which it advocated for the individual required a social order for their realization. To the promotion of that social order, the Church was committed by the logic of its demands for individual righteousness.

The Church and the Ownership of Property

For the Church the resources of the world are the gift of God and are to be used for the benefit of the people. It recognizes, however, that there is the need for human activity in making these resources available and serviceable for mankind. For the use of those who are engaged in this service society has recognized ownership in property. This is not an absolute right of ownership, but a delegated right and is conditioned on the satisfaction of the original purposes for which it was granted. The Church, therefore, which is interested in social justice refuses to recognize anything but a service right in the holding of property. When property held by individuals ceases to be held for public good, the moral right to its ownership has been forfeited. The justification for granting to individuals the right to hold that which really is the product of the labor of all the people has been found in the service which individuals have thus been able to render to society, when individual initiative has been reinforced with economic power. Most of our industries represent the vision, the organizing power, and the initiative of men who have justified the use of this power in rendering conspicuous service to society. The service thus rendered however, should not blind our eyes to the fact that the right to hold private property has been greatly abused by individuals and by combinations of individuals. The possession of this right has been the occasion of robbing the people of their share and portion in the natural resources of the country, of high-handed robbery of the people of their share and portion in the processes of industry. The beginnings of political democracy were furthered by a recognition that the kingship was not a divine right and could be tolerated only as it became the servant of the people. The beginnings of industrial democracy are rooted in a recognition that there is no divine right to property and that the holding of property is justified only as it becomes the means by which a larger service is rendered to society.

Social Unrest

We are faced at the present time with the fact that large sections of human society are in organized revolt against the social processes and organizations in which society has been organized for the task of securing a living. This spirit of revolt which is so widespread cannot be attributed to the depravity of the human heart. The morale of the workers in the

industrial order has broken down and the army is in revolt and we must cease to look for the cause in the men themselves. The question which confronts us as a people is not a negative one but a positive one. It is not a matter of fighting disloyalty so much as it is a matter of promoting loyalty. How can we do away with social unrest and substitute for it a social loyalty which will represent the enthusiastic devotion of every man to the social order of which he is a part. No social order can have the loyalty of its people to whom it denies a share in its fortune and success. If we are to expect the loyalty of the farmer and the laboring man, we must get rich "with them" and not "off of them." The test as to whether or not a man has a share and portion in community progress is whether or not the community offers to him a chance to enjoy the enduring satisfactions of life. These satisfactions are home life, education for the children, opportunities for social life, health, economic opportunities, and the opportunity for play and for worship. This list does not exhaust the legitimate satisfactions of a man, but it suggests the major satisfactions without which a normal man cannot be happy and contented. The real cause for social discontent at the present time is to be found in the fact that these satisfactions have been the possession of a few and have not been enjoyed by the many.

Democracy in Industry

The development of industry in the western world has been due to the placing of large power close to the opportunity for the exercise of initiative on the part of individuals. Men of ability have had opportunity to work out their visions, and to enlist others with them in the task. At the same time by use of the best which modern science could offer, there has been built up a system of production, distribution and consumption which has provided more of this world's goods for more people than ever before in human history. We need to be careful in any advance which may be proposed that we do not sacrifice that which has been of great value in the past and will be in the future. Those who advocate the extension of democracy into modern industry, do so not with the purpose of defeating this principle of individual initiative but rather with the idea of preserving it by extending the sphere of its application. If the opportunity for the investment of will power, purpose and intelligence releases sources of energy in one man, is it not fair to suppose that the extending of this opportunity will build the morale of all who are engaged in the army of workers? Man desires to invest his whole personality. An order of industry which does not challenge the threefold loyalty of hand and heart and brain, which does not call for the fullest investment of a man, can not satisfy the deepest aspirations of the human spirit. Our Church by the compulsion of a great tradition is committed to this message for our modern social order. We have maintained in the past against an overbearing ecclesiasticism the right of the human individual to think his own thoughts and to invest his own will power, purpose, and intelligence in his ecclesiastical affairs. We have thrown the sanction of religious approval over a political order which has given to man the right of self expression in government. By all these traditions we are committed in the coming days to hold that no industrial order which does not offer to man an opportunity to invest his whole personality can hope to have his abiding loyalty. Amid all the confusing cries of the present, one detects the deep human cry, not for more pay and shorter hours, but for a voice in determining the conditions under which they shall labor thus giving to work more meaning, more spiritual challenge, and to the worker an opportunity not only to make a living but to make a life.

We do not hold as worthy of approval all the efforts of modern men to extend the principles of democracy into industry. Many of their efforts

to democratize Europe and America are characterized by a selfishness as extreme as the worst in the order they seek to supplant. Much of this failure is due to the blind groping of men in search of that which they themselves do not understand. But we would recognize as especially worthy of commendation and as a first expression of the new order, the organization of the workers for collective bargaining and we recognize the great service which has been rendered by them in securing of better conditions under which modern labor is to a large degree now performed. The organization of labor and capital for the past generation has, however, often left these two essential forces in modern production deadlocked in an armed conflict which has been fatal for production and destructive of all that is best in the community. We recognize, therefore, a more advanced stage in industrial democracy in those organizations which have as their purpose the bringing of capital and labor together for mutual conference and common counsel. In the seeking of the ways of peace through reasonable conference we see a higher expression of democracy than in any kind of dictatorship or in conflict between classes. But here again not all of the parties who are interested have had a share and portion in planning that which has to do with their welfare. The steps already taken prophesy a further step where we shall see such a democratization of the process of industry as will give to all parties concerned, capital, labor and the community, a proportionate control in the management and in the rewards of industry.

Rural Welfare

But the Congregational Church is by no means solely an urban church. It recognizes fully its obligation to the rural community, particularly at a time when the rural problem is forcing itself into the category of significant national and international questions. The vast number of people living on farms, the continuing primacy of the agricultural industry, the perpetual contribution of the rural community to urban leadership, and the necessity of preventing at all hazards the substitution of a peasant class for the old American yeoman farmer, — these are all vital reasons why rural welfare must receive adequate attention from the church and from the American people. Not only, however, do these fundamental considerations obtain, but the present revival of agricultural interests makes an immediate call. The rapidly mounting cost of food, the deplorable scarcity of farm labor, the rapid increase of transient tenantry, all menace a satisfactory relationship between the producers and the consumers of food. On the other hand, the rapid increase in business cooperation among farmers, the perfectly marvelous development of agricultural education as exemplified by the work of the county farm bureaus and the extension work of the agricultural colleges and the rapid multiplication of agricultural high schools — these challenge the attention of the church. It is no criticism of the thousands of able and faithful country clergymen in our denomination to say that in the present situation the country church is not generally speaking in a position of leadership. Other agencies and institutions are doing the work of the country side much more fully and completely than is the church, and yet the church is indispensable to the development of an adequate rural civilization. The demands of the present crisis call for new efforts on the part of the church. These efforts should be along the following lines:

1. A country church department should be developed, thoroughly manned, properly supported, and definitely committed to the problem of reorganizing the country church and bringing it to the position of leadership in the community.

2. Suitable methods should be devised for the training of a country church pastorate, a body of men particularly trained for the country field and dedicated to the country parish as a life work.

3. The Congregational churches should take the leadership if necessary in cooperating at every turn in the organization of the movement for the federation of country church efforts, the abolition of superfluous churches, and the hearty cooperation of those that remain.

4. There should be a clear definition of the function of the country church and of its place among other agencies in the rural community, with a clear-cut program of activities suitable to its great mission.

5. A working alliance should be formed with specialized agencies of the church like the Y. M. C. A. and Y. W. C. A. and the Young People's Societies, as well as with the so-called secular institutions, on behalf of a broad, progressive and aggressive community-building program in rural regions.

6. Attention should be called to the relation of the home missionary work of the church to the problem of adequate financial support for the country church as a whole.

Conclusion

Congregationalism has not escaped the influence of the economic development of America. Religion cannot escape economics. Economics ought not to escape the influence of religion. This is an hour of world crisis. The old order based on force and fear was an eternal affront to the Christian conscience. A new order, based on representation, a common basis of right, a total welfare which is greater than that of any one group, and yet which grants to each group however small a share in its progress, is being born. The foundations of this new order must be spiritual. It needs character foundation which the Church must supply. The Church is challenged as never before to render unto society a courageous, self-sacrificing leadership. The task cannot be accomplished except as there is a marshalling of a great social force like the Christian Church whose corporate conscience is rooted in the very being of God and whose outreach is in every province of human society.

Rev. Arthur E. Holt, *Chairman*, Boston, Mass.

Rev. Howard H. Russell, Westerville, Ohio.

Rev. Nicholas Van der Pyl, Oberlin, O.

Rev. H. H. Proctor, Brooklyn, N. Y.

Rev. Hastings H. Hart, New York City.

Rev. H. A. Atkinson, New York City.

Rev. Lucius H. Thayer, Portsmouth, N. H.

Rev. Charles M. Sheldon, New York City.

Rev. Graham Taylor, Chicago, Ill.

Pres. K. L. Butterfield, Amherst, Mass.

Col. Raymond Robins, Chicago, Ill.

Owen R. Lovejoy, New York City.

CONGREGATIONALISM AND UNITY

In submitting its report upon "Congregationalism and Unity" your Commission, representing the Churches of our Faith and Order in the United States, has faced a double opportunity.

On the one hand it has been open to us to review the specific proposals for union with other bodies which our communion has had under recent consideration, and to pass our judgment upon their wisdom and feasibility. And on the other hand, we have found in the present moment an opportunity to review the history and temper of our Congregationalism, to discover, if possible, what signal and distinctive contribution our polity has thus far fitted us and does increasingly fit us to make to the high cause of Christian Unity.

Our present opportunity seems to us to lie clearly in the latter direction. The occasion is historic. We are not seeking in International Council at this time to comment upon particular programs for Unity now before us, no matter how significant and hopeful. We are seeking rather to gather out of the three hundred years and more of our common Congregationalism such of our ancient and hereditary principles as still seem to us valid and significant, to reaffirm these principles where reaffirmation is a glad tribute to the insight of the fathers into permanent elements of religious truth and duty, and fearlessly to revise these principles in so far as a changed world calls for fresh statements and emphasis.

GENERAL HISTORICAL STATEMENT

The history of American Congregationalism falls naturally into three periods: 1. From 1620-1865 — Congregationalism achieving religious liberty. 2. From 1865-1913 — Congregationalism organizing itself for denominational fellowship. 3. 1913 — Congregationalism seeking its place in the Church Universal.

We would preface our general review of these three periods by two quotations: "The problems of Congregationalism are those of democracy generally" — Williston Walker. "Duty is the correlative of right. . . . In point of fact rights rather than duties have been in the mind and on the lips of the champions of popular government. The latter relation is the one which always tends to be forgotten and to drop into the background. Everywhere there has been the same contrast between that which the theory of democracy requires and that which the practice of democracy reveals." — Lord Bryce.

The history of Congregationalism cannot be dissociated from the whole democratic movement of the modern world. We hold our polity to be in spirit a legitimate inference from the original gospel of Jesus, and in form to be one of the earliest expressions of the nascent democracy of the Reformation. Our past history, our present problems, and our future fortunes are bound up in the bundle of life with the whole democratic idea. Radical modifications of democratic theory and practice in modern states will be reflected in the life of our own communion. Failures in the democratic experiment will be defeats for our polity, as the victories of democracy will give us fresh faith in the principles of our communion.

1. The first period of our history, covering nearly two and a half centuries, is the record of our struggle to vindicate our religious rights and liberties. In this respect these years run true to democratic form, since all democracies have their origin in the quest for rights. Congregationalism began its life as a movement of protest, nonconformity and separatism. It follows, therefore, that the idea of rights to be claimed, won and

made historically inalienable bulked large in the faith and practice of the fathers. The single independent church gathering a company of like-minded believers was the goal of early Congregational effort. The history of this struggle in its first stages in this country was not without its unhappy by-product of intolerance and persecution. But in the due process of time, the liberties of the individual believer and the individual church were vindicated and enjoyed in the fulness of a freedom which learned also the later lesson of religious toleration. Congregationalism, together with other communions subsequently organized on the same polity, has made good the principle of Christian democracy in the life of the Church.

It is imperative that we should realize at this time that our vindication of the democratic idea is not confined to our own communion or to communions similarly organized. Our long struggle for the liberties of independency has contemplated unconsciously the whole company of Christ's followers. Our achievements in history, being a substantial part of the whole democratic movement, have been reflected in the changing practice of all other Christian bodies. In vindicating the "Liberty of the Christian Man" we have not merely won a denominational victory, we have done far more than that, we have helped to democratize the Church Universal. The history of our first clear period, when we were struggling to make good the religious rights of the individual and the local church, is not confined, then, to our own communion, but is written into the record of the growing recognition of the democratic principle in all modern communions. Thus, even in dissent and schism, the Church Universal has never been beyond our horizon, and by the contagion of the democratic spirit we have helped to lay the foundations for the whole modern movement looking toward Christian Unity. Your Commission records, with profound gratitude, the increasingly democratic spirit manifest today in all Protestant Communions, and finds in this fact an independent vindication, if not an immediate result of our initial principle of Christian democracy, which alone offers substantial basis and hope for any working unity of the Churches. The recognition and acceptance of the democratic nature of Christianity must be the point of departure toward the Church Unity of the future, and is the contribution which the first period of our history makes to that Unity, a contribution not always present to the mind, but always latent in the facts as a logical outcome of the struggles of the fathers.

2. The second period of our history begins with the organization of our National Council at Boston, at the close of the Civil War in the summer of 1865, at a time when the duties of the reconstruction era and the need of Congregational fellowship were imperatively felt. The period ends with the adoption of the present Constitution of the National Council at its Fifteenth Triennial Meeting at Kansas City in 1913. During these years the principle of individual liberty of thought was settled beyond further controversy. This period marks the conscious effort of Congregationalism to make good the principle of fellowship, which from the first had been theoretically stated as the correlative of its initial principle of independence. There is much cause for denominational heartening as we review this period of our history. This was the time when many of our strongest and most effective benevolent societies were developing their programs and winning the confidence and support of the churches. These societies, some of them long antedating the Civil War, others born out of the War and the Reconstruction Era which followed it, have all served as the media for missionary and philanthropic effort for a constituency wider than that of the Congregational Churches. While the burden of the maintenance of these societies both as to men and money has rested primarily upon the Churches of our own communion, we should not ignore the fact that in years before the modern Church Unity movement had taken definite form these societies, drawing

often very freely from non-Congregational sources for their support, served as points of Christian contact with other communions. We would also record with deep appreciation the pioneering work which our missionary agencies in co-operation with other mission boards have done on the mission fields both abroad and at home, to advance the cause of Christian Unity. We humbly recognize the fact that in this whole matter the mission boards and the missions on the field have been far in advance of the home churches and we acknowledge the moral debt which we owe to these agencies for their practical demonstration of Christian co-operation in the occupation of new territory. During this middle period our benevolent societies did much to prepare the way for the Church Unity movement of the present day.

Within our own body the principle of fellowship won full conciliar recognition in the action of the Kansas City Council. The principle of fellowship to be expressed in a deepened recognition and acceptance of the wider duties common to all the churches at that time was formally recognized as of equal validity with the initial principle of independence.

Your Commission, however, must record its conviction that many of our Churches have not fully appreciated and entered into the meanings of the action then taken. Everywhere there are still to be found Congregational Churches which give occasion in some degree to that disappointment which Lord Bryce says has attended all democratic movements — a failure to make the idea of corporate duties to be done march abreast the idea of rights to be enjoyed. The older and stronger churches are still tempted to perpetuate, perhaps unconsciously, the hereditary individualism of our polity. It is not so much that they withhold their generous financial support from our wider work. It is rather, that the older type of Congregational Church finds it hard to visualize the "Church Universal," and to sense its place and part in the worship and counsel of the wider group. It is equally true that the younger churches, of more limited resources in men, money and prestige, often fail to claim the privilege of this full fellowship and are content to live without assuming their just and fair share in the matters of common concern. Everywhere among us, there is still opportunity for making good in this deepened sense of fellowship, the formal actions of the Council of 1913. Your Commission would record its conviction that our Congregational Churches will not be in a position to make any substantial contribution to the cause of Christian Unity so long as the independence of the local church persists as the only important principle in our religious consciousness. We regard this point of view, unmodified and unfulfilled by the later emphasis upon fellowship, not merely as a liability for our own communion, but as a still greater liability for the cause of Church Unity. We would urge upon all Congregational ministers, who bear the cause of Christian Unity upon their heart, the initial task of making good in the local church the full implications of the formal professions of common concern made at the Kansas City Council. The Congregational minister and the Congregational church, more jealous for their private rights than for their duties defined in fellowship with our churches as a whole, are not only an anachronism in twentieth century Congregationalism, they are stumbling blocks in the highways of the Church Universal. The time has come for us to realize that the greater part of the principle of rights has historically been made good, and that our world waits for churches which feel the claim of patent and common Christian duties, that we share together with all other historic communions. Congregationalism then, together with every form of modern democracy, needs to remedy this lingering discrepancy between that which its theory promises and that which its practice reveals. Our problem during this period has been how to achieve an effective fellowship without ceding the liberty of the Churches to central authority. We have been experimenting, here, with the most difficult practical problem which

democracy has to face and solve. We do not claim for our experiment a fully achieved success. But we would stress the identity of our task with that of our age as a whole. We should not cease to find deep cause for gratitude in our spiritual liberty and our freedom from ecclesiastical control, but we must preach also our duties, church to church within our communion, and our churches as a whole to the larger Christian democracy of which we form a part. This means, in substance, a change of emphasis, if not an actual conversion of the hereditary Congregational point of view.

3. The third period of our history is only opening before us. The War, having vindicated the ultimate efficiency of democracies in mutual fellowship on a common field of action and duty, should hearten our faith in the practicability of our polity. Our world has been tempted to lose faith, more than once, in the democratic principle in action. It has been unfavorably compared with more centralized, and supposedly more efficient, forms of life. That fear has been proved unfounded. And there remains to us not only the heartening memory of military victory, but what is more important, a deepened and vindicated faith in the strength of democracy in action. And, likewise, our minds should have been disabused of the myth of isolation and a self-sufficient independency anywhere in the modern world. He who fiddles in his Congregational church today the single well-worn string of independency can play no part in the heroic symphony of contemporary Protestantism. The task of the future is the blending of the strains distinctive of Congregationalism — Independency and Fellowship, Rights and Duties — in the whole life and task of modern Christianity. Nothing less than this can satisfy the deepest purposes and passions of earnest souls today.

SPECIFIC UTTERANCES AND ACHIEVEMENTS OF CONGREGATIONALISM LOOKING TO CHURCH UNITY

In reviewing the concrete utterances and achievements of Congregationalism your Commission has been much heartened to find that the best mind of our communion has never lost sight of the vision of Christian Unity, and that at times it has contemplated it with almost a single eye. Forced at the outset into positions of schism and dissent, our communion has steadily made its contribution to this common cause of all Christendom, and in recent years has taken a position of leadership, not only in theory but also in practice, entirely disproportionate to its relative strength and prominence as compared with other and larger communions.

In our heritage of three hundred years and more, the following semi-official and official utterances of Congregationalism represent our witness upon the subject under consideration.

John Robinson's Farewell Address, 1620, bade the departing Pilgrims "By all means to endeavor to close with the godly party of the Kingdom of England and rather to study union than division; viz., how near we might possibly, without sin, close with them, than in the least measure to affect division and separation from them."

The Cambridge Platform, 1648, closes with these words: "Surely, either the Lord will so clear up his own will to us, and so frame and subdue us all to one mind and way (Ez. 43 : 10, 11,) or else we shall have to bear one another's burdens. It will then doubtless be far from us so to attest the discipline of Christ, as to detest the disciples of Christ; so to contend for the seamless coat of Christ as to crucify the living members of Christ; so to divide ourselves about Church communion, as through breaches to open wide a gap for a deluge of anti-Christian and profane malignity to swallow up both Church and State. . . . Hath the Lord left us to such hardness of heart that Church government shall become a snare to Zion . . . that we cannot leave contesting and contending about it until the kingdom be destroyed? Did not the Lord Jesus, when he dedicated his suf-

ferings to his Church and also to his Father, make it his earnest and only prayer for us in this world that we all might be one in Him? And is it possible that He (whom the Father heard always) should not have his last and solemn prayer answered? "

The Savoy Confession, 1658, says: " We have endeavored throughout to hold such truths in this our Confession as are more properly termed matters of faith; and what is of Church-order we dispose in certain propositions by itself. . . . There being nothing that tends more to heighten dissension among brethren than to determine and adopt the matter of their difference under so high a title as to be an article of our Faith."

The National Council of 1865 devoted a great part of the "Burial Hill Confession" to the felt need for Christian Unity in the face of the problems of Reconstruction. The Call for the Council states that the churches of our faith and order ought " To inquire what is their duty in this vast and solemn crisis, such as comes only once in ages, and what new efforts, measures and policies they may owe to this condition of affairs — this new genesis of nations." The "Burial Hill Confession" announces that it is " A distinctive excellence of our Congregational system that it exalts that which is more above that which is less important, and, by the simplicity of its organization, facilitates in communities where the population is limited the union of all true believers in one Christian Church; and that the divisions of such communities into several weak and jealous societies, holding the same common faith, is a sin against the unity of the body of Christ, and at once the shame and scandal of Christendom. We rejoice that through the influence of our free system of apostolic order, we can hold fellowship with all who acknowledge Christ, and act efficiently in the work of restoring unity to the divided church, and of bringing back harmony and peace among all who 'love our Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity.' Thus recognizing the unity of the church of Christ in all the world, and knowing that we are but one branch of Christ's people, while adhering to our peculiar faith and order, we extend to all believers the hand of Christian fellowship upon the basis of those great fundamental truths in which all Christians should agree. . . . Affirming now our belief that those who thus hold 'one faith, one Lord, one baptism' together constitute the one catholic church, the several households of which, though called by different names, are the one body of Christ, and that these members of His body are sacredly bound to keep 'the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace,' we declare that we will co-operate with all those who hold these truths."

The National Council of 1874 appointed a committee to make advances to other ecclesiastical bodies that general committees on comity might be called into being.

The National Council of 1886 appointed a committee of eight to confer with the Free Baptist body of Churches, with a view to union, and also " to seek to promote fellowship or union with any kindred bodies of Christians." The same Council advised the general establishment of committees on comity by State Conferences, Associations and other local bodies. This Council further appointed a committee of eleven to confer with other communions and to secure agreement with such other communions to prevent needless duplication of churches in the occupation of new territory.

The National Council of 1889 passed resolutions deploring over-churching and denominational rivalry in smaller communities, and appointed a committee to communicate these resolutions " in earnest and respectful terms " to other ecclesiastical bodies, and to request action to remedy these abuses.

The National Council of 1895 instructed its Committee on Union with other Denominations " to attempt specific union with any particular denomination where it may seem wise " ; also, to confer with the Christian Quadrennial Convention " with a view to closer co-operative union, and if it seem feasible, organic union," also to confer further with the Free Baptists. The Council expressed itself of the opinion that any proposed

unity must grant to the parties concerned "their conscientious varieties of faith and order," such union to conserve the liberty of all concerned.

The National Council of 1898 appointed a committee to further fraternal relations with the Canadian Congregationalists. The same committee was authorized to represent the Council at a forthcoming conference on Unity at Washington, and was instructed "to do all in its power to secure the object in view," while "not acting in the initiative." The same Committee was further instructed to urge on our own churches and associations full participation in programs of local federations, etc.

The National Council of 1901 instructed its committee on Unity to provide that proposals for federation be made to other denominations in this country.

The National Council of 1904 approved the plan for a National Federation of Churches, and appointed delegates to represent Congregationalism at a meeting for organization. This Council, however, advocated delaying action upon the proposal concerning the Methodist Protestant and United Brethren Churches.

The National Council of 1907 approved the organization of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, and recommended the denomination to assume its just share of financial support.

The National Council of 1910 voted to continue negotiations with the Methodist Protestant and United Brethren bodies, and expressed regret that favorable action had been delayed. It also passed a resolution expressing its "appreciation of the spirit and its concurrence in the purpose of the Lambeth Conference," and voiced "its earnest hope for closer fellowship with the Episcopal Church in Christian work and worship." This utterance was prefaced by the statement that "We on our part would seek, as much as lieth in us, for the unity and peace of the whole household of faith, and forgetting not that our own forefathers, whose orderly ministry was our inheritance, were not willingly separatists, we would loyally contribute the precious things of which we as Congregationalists are stewards, to the church of the future." A committee was appointed to receive any overtures that might be made by the Protestant Episcopal Church.

The National Council of 1917 reviewed the overtures which had been made by the Disciples body, and proposed the following resolutions: "We would confess and put from us any aloofness, unteachableness, or divisive sinfulness which renders churches inefficient, and would leave them incapable of answering the providential call of the age about to come. . . . We hold ourselves ready to put behind us whatever in co-operation with other communions may prevent or hinder the organizing for utmost efficiency the religious forces of the United States in the name of Christ for the World." Approval was expressed of the work of the Federal Council and all other agencies seeking to overcome divisive forces. All committees and commissions were urgently instructed "to seek the peace of the churches, and to do whatever they may find occasion to do in order that the many churches of our own country may become a Christian power to overcome the world."

The National Council of 1919 in receiving the report of its Committee on Comity, Federation and Unity took unanimously favorable action upon overtures from the Presbyterian body looking toward organic union, and passed by a considerable majority the proposal to appoint a Committee to meet with a similar Committee from the Protestant Episcopal Church to discuss a "Concordat" seeking closer inter-communion between these two bodies. This "Concordat," looking primarily to the giving of Episcopal ordination to non-Episcopal ministers, had been independently suggested to these two communions by individual members of both bodies acting on their own initiative. These overtures, by the action of the Council of 1919, were put within the realm of formal denominational pro-

cedure and will be presented for further consideration and action at the next meeting of the National Council in 1921.

In February of the present year our Commission represented us at the Inter-Church Council on Organic Union convened at Philadelphia at the call of the Presbyterian body. Tentative proposals reached at that conference anticipate (1) An inclusive name, "The United Churches of Christ in America," the name of each particular church to be added thereto. (2) Each Church to remain autonomous in purely denominational affairs. (3) A council of the constituent churches to direct, administer, control and unify the missionary and church extension work of the United Churches. (4) The plan to go into effect when six denominations through their supreme governing bodies shall have ratified the plan. (5) The plan holds steadily in view as a further goal to be achieved that complete unity of the Church toward which its framers believe the spirit of God is leading the churches. Fifty delegates representing seventeen denominations drafted these proposals.

LOCAL FEDERATION

In addition to these formal overtures made to, and received from, other communions in behalf of comity and organic unity, there has been going on in this country in recent years the process of local federation.

Your Commission would stress the importance of these specific and concrete experiments after unity in the local field. We believe the method to be historically sound and suggestive. Great church movements have all had just such modest beginnings. New principles have established themselves in church history by reaching from single experiments outward and upward, rather than by communication from ecclesiastical headquarters abroad and downward.

While the "federated churches" of recent years are still numerically negligible when compared with the vast total of Protestant churches in our land, their importance for the future is out of all proportion to their present numbers. They effectively demonstrate in specific instances the practicability of the Church Unity program, which as yet waits fuller demonstration by denominations as a whole.

It is significant for the purposes and bearings of this report that Congregational Churches seem to figure more largely than any other communions in these achieved ventures after local church unity. Our happy disproportionate prominence in this field is a direct result of the polity of our communion which leaves the local church a free agent, not forced to tarry for official sanctions from without. In this respect the independence of the local church is an asset for the program of Church Unity rather than a liability. What we lose in efficiency of corporate denominational action, we gain on the local field, when faced with a concrete problem of federation involving two or more churches in the same community.

Thus, of twenty recently federated churches, reported to the Federal Council, Congregationalists figure in 16 out of a possible 20, Methodists in 14, Baptists in 8.

Of thirty recently federated churches in Massachusetts, the direct result of the work of the Massachusetts Federation of Churches, Congregationalists are found in 26 out of 30, Methodists in 17, Baptists in 13, Unitarians and Universalists in 4.

Of 18 recent local federations in Connecticut, Congregationalists are represented in 15; in Vermont, by 27 out of 34. These figures, which would be borne out by wider testimony, indicate the particular adaptability of our Congregational order for the happy solution of the problem of unity as it arises in the local field.

Your Commission would also record with gratitude the active part which members of our communion, individually, have played in the formation of such significant and signally successful organizations as the Young

People's Society of Christian Endeavor, the Young Men's and Young Woman's Christian Associations, the Evangelical Alliance and the like.

In certain conspicuous instances members of our own communion have been the inspirers and organizers of these movements. In all of them Congregationalists have figured conspicuously. These great interdenominational agencies with their distinctive fields of labor, while not contemplating formal union, have served now for a generation as a tremendous leaven working toward a common understanding among all churches. The Congregational churches record with gratitude both the contribution which their own members have made in men and money toward the establishment and growth of these agencies, and the return contribution which these organizations have made in providing for Christians of different forms of faith and practice a meeting-ground for mutual understanding and common service.

DEDUCTIONS FROM THESE PRINCIPLES AND FACTS

Reviewing the witness of historic Congregationalism, the official utterances of our National Council, and facts from the local fields, your Commission draws the following deductions regarding the part which Congregationalism has thus far played in the movement looking toward Church Unity. These facts, we believe, furnish a valid basis for action in the future.

1. It was not of their own desire that our fathers were forced into schism and independency. Congregationalism has always desired, and still desires, to remain an integral part of the historic household of Christian faith.

2. There never has been and there is not at present within our own communion any tendency to challenge the validity of the initial principle of Congregational polity, the religious independence of the local church. That church must remain for our communion, apparently indefinitely, the final seat of religious authority in church life. No program for church Unity which would return that authority to an external and centralized seat of control can hope to win the consent and co-operation of our churches as a whole. In so far as our communion is to enter into movements looking to federation, comity, or organic union, we believe that our historic vindication of the full democratic principle in the Christian Church is chief among "the precious things" which, in the fulfilment of our stewardship, we have to "contribute to the Church of the future."

3. On the other hand the lessons of historic democracy have not been lost upon the churches of our faith and order. We recognize that the common weal, in a world becoming daily wider and more and more complex, cannot be realized without adequate means for the expression of the corporate will. The authority of the individual church often must find expression through delegated representatives and officers. In so far as the democratic Church Universal of the future must be so administered, the churches of our faith and order would welcome the utilization of any of the historic and tried forms of Church administration which can be perpetuated naturally in a democracy. There is nothing in our polity which prevents our participation in any of the historic forms of Church administration, so long as these historic forms do not perpetuate autocratic theories of Church government, but incarnate under the conditions of present day life and thought the delegated authority of the individual church. To this degree we still stand with those of the fathers who sought to subordinate all matters pertaining to church orders to the general community of Christian experience.

4. The characteristic standard for membership in a Congregationally-ordered church, the Covenant instead of its creed or articles of belief, has been prophetic of the increasing tendency of all Protestantism to define itself in the terms of will and purpose, rather than of achievement, intel-

lectual or moral. It is on the "covenant" basis of an expressed common purpose that all of the recent signal advances of Church Federation have been made. This basis for membership in the Congregationally-ordered church would seem to be capable of indefinite extension, as a basis for communion with other churches, granting, as it does to all concerned, liberty of conscience while seeking the common good in worship and work. If Church Unity is to be achieved in the near future, it cannot be on the basis of any single intellectual statement of belief, but may be achieved by some expression of common consecration and Christian purpose as is embodied in the traditional "covenant" of Congregationalism.

5. Our traditional principle of the independence of the local church, which has unquestionably hampered the realization of internal denominational efficiency, has, at the same time, lent itself in signal manner to the cause of Christian unity. The very lack of centralized authority in our communion, and the recognition of liberty fulfilling itself in democratic fellowship, has fitted, and still fits, us to make a signal contribution to the furtherance of all democratic programs for Church Unity.

6. Further, the Federal Council, the State and local federations have all demonstrated the effectiveness and practicability of the general 'federated' program. These programs have drawn together, nationally and locally, on the basis of the wider task or the narrower need, individual communions which are, as yet, unable to meet on the basis of common articles of belief and a common polity. Each constituent member has been allowed full and uninterrupted part in the life of its own body, and yet for the practical purposes of Christian worship and service the several constituents have been enabled to see their task in the nation or in the local community as a single task. If these adventures in Federation are to lead on naturally to a still more vital Organic Union, your Commission would regard such a consummation both as historically natural and religiously desirable.

7. Meanwhile, awaiting the consummation of these plans, the prominent place which our churches hold in the achievement of federation on the local field indicates one of the immediate and plainest lines of service open to any and all of our churches in this whole field of Christian concern. As once we felt the need of coming out "without tarrying for any," so today we may lead the way on to the Church Universal, church by church, "without tarrying for any."

CONCLUSIONS

Your Commission would conclude its review of this history, and its deductions from this history, with certain considerations which have to bear upon the future, and which indicate the part which Congregationalism is to take in the realization of this vision of a United Church.

American Congregationalism first saw this vision, and felt this need most clearly, at the close of the Civil War, in an age of Reconstruction. This is the burden of one of the historic documents of our heritage, the "Burial Hill Confession of Faith." What was then felt as a national problem, and a national need, is now felt as a world problem and a world need.

In a time of greater perplexity and larger opportunity, we have but one desire, that of a double portion of the spirit which animated those, who fifty-five years ago committed our communion, not to an intensive conception of its heritage, but to a catholic vision of its duty. We would allow no denominational programs so to occupy the foreground of our concern that we lose the perspective, or forget the teaching reaped from the stern experience of the latter years, the vision of our communion serving, interpreting, and aiding to achieve that United Church which alone can face unafraid and grapple hopefully with the vast duties now confronting the Church Universal.

We would urge upon all the churches of our faith and order at this time,

when historical retrospect may tend to make of them "communities of memory," their major duty of becoming "communities of hope." We would face the churches of our communion forward, ready and willing to accept the full implications of their three hundred years of independency seeking fellowship, not by striving to save these principles distinctively for Congregationalism, but by contributing them freely to the wider life of the Church Universal.

In so far as proposals for Union have already brought or in the future may bring our churches into direct negotiations with other communions your Commission would merely record its conviction as to the general principle upon which these negotiations may be hopefully conducted. We cannot believe that the history of the Christian Church in the large justifies any single communion, our own or another, in laying claim to spiritual graces and virtues supposed to be withheld from the rest of the Church Universal. We believe that such a claim, tacit or avowed, is historically false, resting upon a partisan reading of the facts, and is lacking in the large catholicity which we hold to be a pledge of the presence of the holy and reconciling Spirit of God.

We recognize the fact that certain communions stand nearer than others to the historic usages of Christianity as a whole in the matters of church orders, sacraments and the like. We recognize the fact that some communions are more jealous than others that these values shall be formally safeguarded and the polity of the church expressed through an orderly decency. We recognize the fact that the several church polities reflect different degrees of adaptation to the environing need of the world. To all these facts your Commission believes that the churches of our faith and order should give humble and generous consideration.

But your Commission can only record its ultimate conviction that the problem of ecclesiastical ways and means is always the lesser problem and the full and free recognition of One God, One Lord, and One Spirit manifested in these diversities of administration the major religious obligation. Mechanical readjustments of varying Church polities will serve the cause of Unity little or not at all if full Christian candor and confidence be withheld.

Holding ourselves ready, both as a matter of historical judgment and spiritual disposition, to recognize the full validity of the orders, sacraments and usages of the other communions of Christendom and believing that such a disposition is the absolutely necessary premise for all negotiations looking to true Christian Unity, the churches of our faith and order anticipate pledges of the same spirit from other communions. We have no remotest thought or wish that any other Christian communion should invalidate its own past or present for the sake of a purely formal affiliation with Congregational faith and practice. But, conversely, we cannot recommend the churches of our own communion to accept programs for Unity which propose either tacitly or avowedly to confer upon our churches and our ministry spiritual grace supposed to be now withheld from us by virtue of our history and polity. We take it to be an axiom for the truly Christian conduct of all these negotiations that no church is asked to deny or disallow the presence of the Spirit of God in its own corporate experience. Your Commission would plead, in this matter, for the utmost candor on all sides. We regard the religious premise involved to be more important than the subsequent problem of ecclesiastical ways and means.

The only reservation which the Congregational churches must in conscience make upon this whole subject is a reservation which seeks, as it would also give, full mutual recognition of the effective spiritual validity of the several existing Christian polities, orders and sacraments, which have manifested the fruits of the Christian life. Only such candor and charity can lead the way into the One Church of the future. In so far as this premise is generally accepted there are no lengths,

to which the Congregational churches may not go to share in the long-treasured usages of other communions, and we hold ourselves humbly and gladly ready to enrich our own experience by sharing in the gathered faith and practice of all our brethren in Christ. We hold these convictions for ourselves not so much as a sectarian loyalty to our own past, but as a prophetic loyalty to the future. This attitude which we deeply desire for ourselves we anticipate from our fellow Christians. This spirit we believe to be the genius of all truly democratic Christianity, and the sustainer and inspirer of all permanent achievements in the fashioning of Christ's One Church on earth.

Your Commission views with hopeful sympathy, also, the present movements looking to a more comprehensive Unity.

We hold it to be, however, an axiom of this larger plan that Organic Union shall give the fullest recognition to the existing diversity of intellectual attainment, æsthetic development and temperamental inclination, which today bulk far larger than all formal differences of creed or polity in determining the alignment of the several denominations.

The history of sectarianism is filled with the unhappy record of prejudice, bigotry and self-interest. From these charges no communion stands entirely free. The memory of these tempers in the past, if not the consciousness of them in the present, is a burden upon the corporate Christian conscience of our time.

But your Commission would also record its conviction that the very profusion and diversity of our sectarian life has in it certain pledges of the inherent vitality of the gospel of Christ. If life be continued adaptation to environment, the very multiplicity of the forms of Christian faith and practice is, in some measure, the sign of a living principle which seeks to become all things to all men if by any means it may save some, rather than to impose a wooden and lifeless uniformity upon all sorts and conditions of men. The history of the communions as a whole is one of unhappy rivalry, but it is also one of amazing vitality and of unlimited capacity for adaptation to circumstance as wide and varied as human life itself.

Your Commission cannot look hopefully upon those proposals for Organic Union, if there be any such remaining, which hope to reduce this richness of Christian thought and experience to some lowest single common denominator of faith and practice. These original common denominators of Christian belief and life remain as the heritage of all Christian communions, but if we hold that the Spirit of Christ is leading his Church by divers and often diverse ways into all truth, the Church Universal of the future will be one which seeks not to return to a remote and undivided past, nor to compromise the divergences of the present, but to comprehend this total rich experience in a corporate whole.

As in the Apostolic Church, so in the Churches of today, there is a wide diversity of gifts. We have severally a special fitness for effective service in some particular area in the wide field of the world. Each communion has made its contribution to the felt needs of widely different types of human character and circumstance. This diversity of human need and character will persist. The One Church of the future must be as well fitted to meet the varied needs of the world as are the scattered communions of the present time. We believe that our farther hope of being able to save the world lies not in minimizing or ignoring our several Christian gifts as churches, but in stirring up the gifts which have been entrusted to us, in behalf of the One Church of Christ which sees its field and does its work with an eye on the total need and the total Christian resources. The United Church of the future, if it is to mature normally out of the historic present, must perpetuate and express alike the silent spirit of the Friend's meeting and the aspirations of the High Church ritual. It must allow fully for the trained mind, the warm heart and the humanitarian will.

We would urge upon the churches of our faith and order the Christian

duty of sharing to the full, in so far as their resources and circumstances allow, in all programs for united worship and service in the world which bring Christians together for common ends. Experience has already taught us that the way to the final healing of our differences lies in the mission field, in the slums of cities, in the arena of political and industrial reform. Common service in the face of the common problem holds the key to the future of Church Unity. "*Solvitur Ambulando.*" Our problem is to be answered serving side by side. We do not anticipate in the near future any formal acceptance of a single creed or polity to the exclusion of all others. We hold it to be doubtful whether Christian experience will lead permanently in this direction. We are content to leave the formal theological restatement of the Christianity common to us all to the mature experience of the future. We hold that the logic of Christ is true to life when it says that those who do the will shall finally know the doctrine.

We believe that the will of God made known and to be made known to all Christians contemplates a present world of men in great ignorance of the simple story of Jesus, and in great indifference to his way of life. In the telling of this story and the witnessing to this way we believe there is absolutely no place for sectarian competition. We hold with that significant group of men who have recently spoken to us on "Religion Among American Men," that "America is not a Christian nation in any strictly religious sense; it is a mission field."

Since the bolder plans for organic union contemplate the conservation of the richness of Christian life now manifested in our several communions, and contemplate the field of the nation and the world and the total task of the Church as one field and one task, your Commission urges the full and free participation of our communion in any and all such programs for our common life and work. Nor would your Commission limit its vision of Organic Union to the communions already in conference, but would contemplate with great desire the time when all who have named the name of Christ as their best name should be gathered into his One Church.

Toward this final City of God on earth, and this true Church of the heavenly places come at last to tabernacle among men, our hope is set. And of this farther vision of a Holy Church Universal every pilgrim soul in Christendom must devoutly say,

"I go to prove my soul,
I see my way, as birds their trackless way.
In some time, his good time, I shall arrive;
He guides me and the bird. In his good time."

Rev. Willard L. Sperry, Boston, Mass., *Chairman.*

Rev. Howard A. Bridgman, Boston, Mass.

Rev. H. H. Walker, Chicago, Ill.

Rev. J. Edgar Park, West Newton, Mass.

Rev. H. A. Stimson, New York City.

Rev. John Gardner, Chicago, Ill.

Rev. E. Tallmadge Root, Boston, Mass.

Rev. Newman Smyth, New Haven, Conn.

Rev. Harry E. Peabody, Appleton, Wis.

Rev. Arthur H. Bradford, Providence, R. I.

Rev. E. B. Sanford, Rockfall, Conn.

Rev. L. D. Rathbone, San Francisco, Cal.

Rev. T. W. Davidson, Montreal, Que.

CONGREGATIONALISM AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

I

THE PILGRIMS AND THE MODERN WORLD

It is not to be forgotten that Englishmen settled on this continent in Virginia and Maryland before the Pilgrims came to Plymouth in 1620. Nor would it be right to ignore the invaluable contributions which their descendants made to the foundations and characteristics of the United States of America. But it remains true that certain of the vital elements which have made the Republic what it is and which in turn it has contributed to the life of other nations were directly derived from the spirit and principles of the original New England colonies. Since these elements of civic life, according to the universal opinion of historians, were themselves derived from the religious convictions and the ecclesiastical methods of those colonies, it is right that they should be briefly described at the outset of this Report.

1. When the Pilgrims came to Plymouth in 1620 they were determined to maintain those principles for which their leaders had at first emigrated to the Netherlands and which their experience in that country had deepened. They were plain and unlearned men, not versed in theology of the Schools, but deeply concerned with the practical theology of personal experience and with the questions of Church government. On these matters they had learned to rely wholly on the Scriptures and on the presence and power of the Holy Spirit for the interpretation and application of the Word of God.

The chief dread, as they settled at New Plymouth, was lest the English Government should pursue them with its direct authority. If this were done they knew that the ecclesiastical authorities would claim jurisdiction over them. Hence they bent their ingenuity to the task of establishing a community which in order to escape ecclesiastical control from London should maintain its self-government in civic affairs. They resolved to establish themselves as "a body politic." In the proceedings of that "body politic" the whole community had a direct share. That was natural and inevitable. The same people, and they were practically all the people, except that women did not take part in formal civic affairs, acted in the affairs of religious worship and of government. The Church and the State were one; but the Church was primary in idea and in fact, and it gave birth to the form of the State in its fundamental features. The direction of public affairs rested in men who were appointed from their own number by the recognized citizens of the community.

This arrangement of civil government was not conceived of as a theory of government. In its actual working it contained inconsistencies which abstract theorists would have deemed intolerable. Nor was it in open rebellion against King and Parliament. It was established not as an end but as a means to an end, as an incidental method for securing that religious liberty which was the true end of their existence as an exiled community. They said as little as possible about their civil administration in order to avoid the interference of the supreme authorities in London, and so to preserve their freedom in matters of religion.

Nevertheless these plain men, innocent of all speculation about theories of civil government, had adopted into their community a principle which contained vast power. They did not realize that for the future history of a continent and a great nation the major principle lay there in their

secondary interest, namely, their unostentatious claim to self-determination in civil affairs. This, which was adopted only in order to make their supreme religious interests secure, became the creative principle of the development of the American people. The Separatist religious doctrines which were in the foreground of their thought and devotion, and which alone gave them the passion and the energy to cross the Atlantic and risk all on an inhospitable coast, gradually withered away. These two organizing forces, alike in religion and government, namely their dependence upon the written word of God as illuminated by the Holy Spirit, on which they acted without full theoretical explication, and their practical independence of King and Parliament, which they adopted in order to secure religious freedom, these were the sources both of the religious and the political history of New England.

2. Between 1620 and 1640 no less than twenty thousand English people settled in New England. Encouraged at first by the practical success of the wild venture made by the Pilgrims, and beginning in 1627, thousands of Puritans left their native land every year to set up free communities in America. The Puritans in the Massachusetts Bay Colony included in their number not only a majority of plain folk, but many of good birth and of wealth, and many university men of sound learning and great ability. But at first even they did not see clearly what the new political order which they established really involved. That discovery was made by those who, partly because of the disputed and unclear situation in and around Boston, moved on into Connecticut. There it was that democratic government was first clearly defined and securely established.

In Connecticut the inhabitants of three towns, or rather plantations met at Hartford and proceeded in January, 1639, to enact certain "Fundamental Orders," which, though not technically a "Constitution," yet, because they were fundamental, came to be described as a Constitution. It has been said with truth that they were "the first written constitution known to history that created a government." Some of the principal features of this historic document were expounded in advance in a sermon by Thomas Hooker, the Pastor of the Church at Hartford. In this famous discourse, which he delivered in May, 1638, Hooker took as his text Deut. 1 : 13, "Take you wise men, and understanding, and known among your tribes, and I will make them rulers over you." On a theological basis he laid down the two fundamental principles of all truly representative government: "The foundation of authority is laid firstly in the full consent of the people"; and, "They who have power to appoint officers and magistrates, it is in their power, also to set the bounds of the power and place unto which they call them." It was on this plan that these little settlements, made up of middle class and lower class Englishmen, resolved to create a government for themselves.

One writer has said of this remarkable transaction: "Historians concede that the first written constitution of representative government, ordained by men, was agreed on by the inhabitants of the three towns of Windsor, Hartford and Wethersfield, 250 years ago. There had been before, agreements for the future organization of a body politic, like that signed on board the *Mayflower*, in Plymouth Bay; there had been constitutional forms in the old world, rising gradually and successively into life; there had been speculative plans for Utopian republics, framed by philosophers; but never had a company of men deliberately met to frame a social compact, constituting a new and independent commonwealth, with definite officers, executive and legislative, and prescribed rules and modes of government, until the first planters, of Connecticut came together for their great work on January 14th, 1638-39.

"They claimed no warrant from human authority. We, they say, 'well knowing where a people are gathered together, the word of God requires that to mayntayne the peace and union of such a people, there should be

an orderly and decent Government established according to God, to order and dispose of the affayres of the people at all seasons as occasion shall require; do therefore assotiate and conioyne ourselves to be as one Public State or Commonwealth.'"—(S. E. Baldwin, *New Haven Colony Historical Society Papers*, V. 180).

3. Among these crude communities it was that the principles of Independence produced their natural fruit in the creation of a form of government which we know as representative democracy. The same principles continued at work in England, also, under different political and ecclesiastical conditions in Scotland, and in those sister lands they contributed more than any other social forces, though not apart from them, to the production of that type of the modern State which is characteristic of the English-speaking dominions of the British Empire. But in the homeland these principles worked more slowly and laboriously, against the enormous inertia of hostile tradition. On this continent they revealed themselves in free operation only twenty years after the landing of the Pilgrims at New Plymouth.

The sphere within which they worked themselves into history was at first narrow and apparently insignificant. But these colonial communities were creative. Along with the southern colonies, where a form of representative government was also established, they were unconsciously laying the foundations of an entirely new type of national life, such as the world had not seen. And the two principles laid down by Thomas Hooker at the foundation of the State of Connecticut became the moulding forces of the Constitution of the United States.

While their full significance, the sweep of their power in the life of governments, was not perceived at first, it must be remembered that these principles had been deliberately adopted by the Independent Churches as Divine, biblically revealed laws for the organization of the Church of Christ. The Pilgrims and Puritans believed that in the Word of God, as that was made clear to them by the illumination of the Holy Spirit, the organization of the Church was established, and that organization, as they saw and revived it for modern times, became the basis of State organization in New England.

Further it must be realized that the colonies of America from the first maintained living relations with the English Government. They did not disown their status as Englishmen, nor their allegiance to the crown. But, and here was the crux of the situation, their relations with the home government were maintained and developed upon a new basis, on the fundamental principles of a truly representative and self-determining democracy on this side of the Atlantic. As they grew in numbers, wealth and power they felt increasingly the inner discord between their principles and methods and the effort of the Crown to continue its rule over them on the traditional lines. They felt irritated by the apparent assumption that they existed as colonies for benefit of the Crown and were in any part of their life under dominance of wills and policies which sought to mould their destinies from without. Long before the Revolution the principal members of this group of colonies had begun to deal with international relations. These included of course their interactions with one another, which were not free from difficulty. They were also constantly aware of the presence of French and Spanish and Dutch settlements on this continent, and of the dangers which arose from those sources. But when English dominion was established at sea and those dangers were removed, the colonies were left with a sense of security to deal with their relations to the Crown. As a matter of history it is now clear that those relations had to be interpreted not in terms which the autocratic tendencies of George III tried to impose, but on those principles of self-government which had been worked out among the colonies, and which had become the ideal of a growing mass of people in the homeland.

When at length the Republic of the United States was established, its advent on the world stage set a new element into the life of all nations. From the beginning of their independent history leaders of these States had, if we may put it so, a world-consciousness. This appears with what, in the life of that day, was a startling emphasis and clearness in the opening words of the Declaration of Independence: "When, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bonds which have connected them with another, and to assume, among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and of nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation." Of these words President Woodrow Wilson has said, "I think the sentence in American history that I myself am proudest of is that in the introductory sentences of the Declaration of Independence when the writers say that a due respect for the opinion of mankind demands that they state their reasons for what they are about to do."

From the beginning of her history the American Republic has been conscious of a mission to mankind. She has deliberately sought to encourage the reproduction of her own form of government in all parts of the world. Every new republic has been most promptly "recognized" by her. She has used the Monroe doctrine primarily as a means of defense of republicanism in the Western hemisphere. She has protested against and prevented the dismemberment of China. Even when territorial aggrandizement has been achieved, as it was at the cost of Mexico, and westward even to the Philippines, the new territories have either been promptly absorbed into the republic itself or treated as regions that are in preparation for independent self-government. The institution of slavery was undoubtedly a crime against humanity, but it was inherited from an age when it was condemned by few and was wiped out by the blood of the Civil War.

These things have been said here, not for the glorification of America, but simply to illustrate the world-wide issues of that religious movement which created the New England self-governing colonies. The modern American dislike of territorial aggrandizement, its love of open diplomacy, is all traceable in large and real measure to those town meetings in New England where free men dealt with their affairs openly and in the light of the word of God.

And if today the United States has contributed to the new atmosphere of international relations anything distinct and powerful, it is in name of an inherited spirit, of a certain way of regarding mankind, and the sacred rights of all people, of all races, which came to her not lately from politics or commerce or imperialistic ambitions or national vainglory, but originally from those spiritual principles on which her earliest communities both north and south were founded, and especially from their vigorous and rigorous application in regulating the Pilgrim and Puritan settlements of New England.

II

INTERNATIONAL LAW AND THE SOCIETY OF NATIONS

A brief statement must be made in respect to that great element in the development of modern international relations which is known as international law.

1. It is a well-known fact that the Romans who made such marvelous contributions to the history of municipal law found no place in their outlook on life for international law. If there were faint beginnings of that system involved in the foreign relations of the Republic, the rise of the Empire completely submerged them. Where an autocracy conquered and absorbed one people after another, and continued to treat those be-

yond its borders as enemies and possible subjects there was no scope for consideration of those principles of universal justice and liberty which are inherent in the very idea of international law.

In the Middle Ages the Church made many efforts to regulate relations among the peoples of Europe, to prevent wars, and to mitigate the horrors of war. It implanted and nourished those principles of chivalry which contributed so largely to the amelioration of the relations among belligerents. But beyond the declaration of ideals and the successful imposition of some minor rules the Church was unable fully to develop the conception of rules of international conduct. That only became possible when nations had become distinctly organized and permanently established.

In fact it is only with the development of the modern system of national life in Europe that it was possible to conceive of international law as a distinct field where the conditions of human conduct must be directly considered and their qualities defined. This development of national life began after the Reformation, and had not proceeded far when the great jurists began to deal with this new and great field of action and of thought. Grotius of Holland had his predecessors, but is recognized as having laid more securely and successfully than any other man the foundations of that vast system of informal legislation and international action which falls within the scope of the term, international law.

The growth of national systems in Europe was coincident with the discovery of the Western hemisphere, and the wider extension of commerce with the far East. The European nations were therefore brought to deal with each other not merely as near neighbors concerned with each other's frontiers and with the encouragement of trade amongst themselves; they had to face each other all over the world and consider their own interests and each other's rights in relation to vast new territories and the enormously enlarged scope of navigation and commerce which the opening of all the seas had created. Every form of mutual relationship between these nations was therefore deepened and multiplied. Not only old problems of war on land had to be considered in the light of a conscience now released from some forms of bondage, in the presence of ideals which hitherto had been rendered obscure and confused. They were now concerned with the laws of war at sea, with the problem of the control of ocean areas, with the rights of neutral vessels in time of war, and with all the other innumerable situations which the enlarged world had set in a new light. With the extension of mutual relations the subject of treaties and their sanctity became more important.

In view of all these new elements in the total situation of the world, and in the absence of a central authority, authorized to promulgate legislation and able to enforce it, the nations had to rest for the security of international law upon several different principles. In the first place there was an appeal to the ancient law of nature which Roman jurists had found to underlie the entire structure of legislation, an appeal to the sense of right, the sense of humanity, the sense of justice. It was felt to be no insecure foundation for a recognized system of conduct, especially among Christian nations whose conscience was on the whole at one on these fundamental principles.

In the second place nations came to accept the decisions of the judicial courts among the leading peoples when these dealt with legal controversies either between governments or between the nationals of one people and the government of another. Where these decisions were rendered by great jurists on grounds that were seen to be objective and true to moral ideals they were accepted as guides to future conduct, and became the bases of further decisions in similar situations.

Further, when nations embodied in their treaties or less formal agreements certain forms of procedure, which recommended themselves to the general conscience of Europe, these too entered into the ever-growing

system of international law. Cases are not unknown where certain rules of conduct have been recognized as having validity in international relations although they were in fact originally promulgated by great jurists individually or by groups and associations of lawyers of various nationality whose consultations led them to important conclusions on hypothetical situations.

2. An entirely new element in the history of international relations began to appear with the famous Congress of Vienna (1815). That Congress did much more than merely determine boundaries of States and lead to the formation of the Holy Alliance. It also took cognizance of many subjects bearing upon the future conduct of European peoples. That Congress has been followed by others which have contributed powerfully to the definition of the laws of war, and with attempts to regulate international conduct in times of peace. The Conferences of Paris (1856), of Geneva (1864), and that concerning the Congo (1884) belonged to this class. They all led up to the most important international Conferences in the history of the world, namely those which gathered at the Hague in 1899 and 1907. It is not necessary here to survey the vast field of international conduct with which these two Conferences dealt. The main facts are that the Conferences were composed of chosen representatives from practically all the nations of the world. They concerned themselves not merely with a complete revisal and extension of the laws pertaining to the conduct of war on land and sea, but they also dealt with the comparatively new and enormously important subject of arbitration. It is true that there had been many cases of arbitration throughout the nineteenth century. No less than 177 cases are said to have been settled between 1794 and 1900. But the effort was now made to develop the system of arbitration in such a fashion as not only more closely to define its conditions, but more firmly to bind the nations to its use.

Further, these Conferences endeavored to secure the consent of nations to the observance of certain rules concerning the declaration of war. One of their most important efforts was to obtain an agreement concerning progressive disarmament, an effort which, while welcomed most cordially by the vast majority of peoples, met with hostility on the part of some, and especially of the German Government.

Finally, the Hague Conferences sought to secure the establishment of a permanent and effective International Court to be composed of jurists of great authority, before whom cases of international difficulty, particularly in respect of trade and the observance of treaties might be taken for settlement.

Down to August, 1914, it may be said with confidence that the labors of nearly three centuries had resulted in the erection of a majestic edifice of international law which was no mere idealist scheme but the actual creation, through practice, of the nations.

This edifice was looked upon as being the concern of the whole world: and that not merely of civilized nations, for primitive peoples had come within the scope of consideration by statesmen and jurists concerned in its erection. There was in fact now taking shape a Society of Nations which included all the people of the earth. They were moving slowly, cautiously, towards the desired consummation of a true Confederation of the World. It seemed that war might actually and forever be kept within narrow limits, confined to definite corners of the earth.

Then the World War broke out, and the edifice seemed to many to be laid in ruins. It is safe to say that almost every rule of war defined and accepted by the nations of Europe at Geneva and at the Hague was defied and broken by one or more of the participants in that great struggle.

Yet it remains true that the idea of international law was not utterly destroyed. Probably there never was a great war when more activity was shown by the chief participants to justify their action before the

conscience of mankind. Germany sought every means to clear herself and seeks it still. France and Belgium had less trouble than any to prove that they fought for their very existence. Great Britain would justify herself fully and most convincingly only when the international treaty in which she was pledged to the defence of Belgium was broken by her invasion. America endured wrong after wrong and only plunged in when crimes against her citizens and her rights had been multiplied to an intolerable extreme. Moreover Germany justified her ruthless warfare on land and sea by the argument that the conditions of war had so changed as to make the ancient rules impossible. And her enemies retorted that her breach of those rules assoilzied them for the use of destructive gases, the assault of cities from the air, and other forms of reprisal. Thus international law, as such, remained attested, even in the midst of terrific deeds which defied many of its particular prescriptions.

Two facts of almost immeasurable importance come to view as we survey the situation thus created.

In the first place the ancient rules of war, even those with which The Hague was concerned, were based upon a conception of war which had almost imperceptibly disappeared from the face of the earth. In former times war took place in the names of monarchs and reigning dynasties, for the extension of territory, the maintenance of trade, and the so-called defence of honor. It had become clear that when war was thus conceived and conducted there could not be the slightest justice in making the general population of an invaded territory suffer. If they were destroyed, the conquering army won nothing. If invaded territories were spared from unnecessary destruction of human life and of possessions the victorious armies could yet secure the ends for which the war had been begun.

But with the rise in Europe of conscript armies, with the vast developments of modern science in its application to the arts of war, a complete change has taken place. Now warfare is not confined to so-called military forces. It is indeed impossible to discriminate clearly between those who are combatants and those who are non-combatants. Every woman in a munition factory is technically an active participant in war, every Y. M. C. A. worker who is helping to refresh the jaded spirit and raise the morale of the soldiers is engaged in the war. Even the extension of medical science, with its power to return seventy-five per cent of the wounded within a few weeks to the front, is an active participant in the war, and hospitals are not merely havens of mercy to sufferers but institutions for the restoration of strong men to battle. The logic of the situation is irrefutable. The practical conclusions are inevitable. No nation can henceforth make war against another nation without involving all the people alike in liability to war service, and therefore in liability to attack. However our hearts shrink from the fearful conclusion, there is no escape to be found except in the determination of all the nations to combine in a world-wide covenant for making the only kind of war which can now be waged between civilized nations henceforth impossible.

It is clear that the inherent logic of war deliberately cultivated under the conditions of modern civilization and as a necessity of human nature is to sanctify the utmost possible exercise of the will to conquer. This in turn sanctifies all the means, even the most inhuman and the most bestial, which promise to secure that end. The prospect for mankind is hideous. The worst of its features are hidden from our imagination by our very dread. Every effort must be made, every nation must make every sacrifice which is necessary, that war among civilized peoples under the new conditions may be made impossible.

The methods of modern warfare with all that they entail have laid in ruins the labors of several generations of high-souled men and women. They tried to establish as international laws various plans for the modification of its horrors, for the restraint of the cruelties and passions of ruth-

less hosts of men. The prescriptions on which they agreed at successive conventions and conferences were received with hope by all people of ordinary intelligence and of decent habits of mind. But the bare fact is that henceforth they do not exist. Either there will be no war, in which case they cease to be of practical value; or if two or more leading nations of the civilized world engage in conflict these prescriptions will be ignored. The events of the past four years have uncovered many facts which custom and self-interest had hidden from the view of all but the wisest. For instance, we see in a most lurid light the fact that the original instincts of men maintain their character and direction unchanged. Civilization has not remade human nature. The original instincts of acquisition and hate have made all the wars of history, and the greatest of all wars. The instinct of acquisition appears in the grasp of a baby's hand, and comes to fullest exercise in the aggressions made by ruthless empires. The second of these instincts appears in a child's recoil before a threat, and is fully developed in hymns of hate and sermons of hate and national acts of hate.

Another fact uncovered by the war is the capacity of civilized man for cruelty, and the fell determination with which he will now use all the resources of civilization to produce on masses of human beings the results which primitive weapons of clubs and knives and poisoned arrows and fire were laboriously employed to produce on individuals.

The second fact which the great war has uncovered is this, that the will to acquire and to hate and to destroy is inherent in the very being of an autocratic government. This is true even when the imperial throne is occupied by a man who is personally just and merciful. The system is against him and mightier than his will. It would be going too far to say it has been finally proved that democracies are incapable of nourishing the aggressive instincts, of pursuing greed and hate and cruelty. But in the meantime it seems reasonable to say that the dangers of making these effective in a war of aggression are infinitely lessened by the change from autocratic to democratic forms of government. In any case it does stand proved beyond a shadow of doubt that the vital tendency of autocracy is towards a continued self-aggrandizement, and this at the cost of those liberties in other countries which such a government withholds from its own people.

If autocracies persist, international law is constantly menaced. It is apt to be consistently treated as a tentative arrangement between governments and as a mere system of expediciencies in national policy, not as the expression of eternal principles of righteousness established in the character of nations. It is no longer looked upon as expressive of the human mind, as grounded in reason, as based on the law of nature and the inviolable teachings of religion. It is looked upon simply as an instrument of convenience for smoothing the conditions of intercourse during those pauses called peace, while the real will to acquire and to conquer is preparing for the next display of its power.

And if autocracies persist, it seems probable that recurring wars will tend inevitably to lay the whole convenient and utilitarian scheme of international law in ruins.

In the summer of 1914, before the world was aware of the impending doom of its dreams of progress, humanity seemed to many even of the best informed and to all of enthusiastic temperament, to be making steady progress towards a condition of permanent peace. A Society of Nations seemed to be growing up before the eyes of men in which good fellowship between government and government was occasionally disturbed by frictions over minor matters of boundaries and tariffs and racial riots and so forth. It seemed as if the extension of Christianity, the spread over the world of the principles of religious and political freedom which the Pilgrims and their fellow-colonists south and north established on this continent had allured the world into an age of universal brotherhood. It seemed as if

civilized governments and learned jurists, by their discussions of law and of the tender mercies to be exercised by warriors, and by means of treaties of all kinds, including many treaties of arbitration, had combined to produce an actual Association of Nations in mutual confidence and mutual esteem.

It is in an entirely new day that we live. The optimists are not so sure, even while they still refuse to accept the cynical conclusions of the pessimists. The world must go on. The nations of human beings must deal with each other in terms of those instincts and those ideals which are at once the perplexity and the means of life for human nature. What shall the nations make of themselves?

III

THE SOCIETY OF NATIONS AFTER THE WAR

It is no exaggeration to say that up to August, 1914, there had been steadily emerging, and in a sense there actually existed, a Society of Nations. The nations of the whole world were in constant intercourse with one another on the basis of the mutual benefits yielded by commerce and travel, through innumerable treaties and the observance of those understandings of international conduct which were known as International Law. Intercourse amongst the nations on honorable and peaceful terms was becoming steadily more complex and more full of rich experiences.

And this continuous and increasing contact of life among the nations, making them interdependent in a hundred ways, had produced a profound change in the relation of the States through which they function politically. There cannot be a real interpenetration of national life which does not create a corresponding inter-organization of the governments of the nations concerned. The theory of the State as an isolated, sovereign entity, which regarded other states always as potential enemies, could not long survive after the peoples which those States represented and for whose total interests they acted had ceased to be isolated and had created a continuous mutual life across their political borders. The fact is that the nations had created a new world of which their merely traditional politicians and militaristic rulers had no real understanding.

Undoubtedly we must number in the forces which were promoting an ever-clearer advance of the brotherhood of man the work of the Christian churches, especially through their foreign missionary enterprises. The Hague Conferences to which reference has been made, awoke the most intense interest over the whole world. The establishment of a permanent international judiciary was secured. Such progress seemed to bring above the horizon into something like actual operation a Society of Nations which was becoming deliberately organized.

Under the conditions then obtaining no one was afraid that the new Society of Nations threatened to submerge or imperil true internationalism. It has been well said that "there is a great difference between a Cosmopolitan and an Internationalized ideal. The cosmopolitan regards national feeling as pure prejudice, and looks forward to a world-commonwealth in which all national distinctions and patriotisms shall have passed away. The internationalist believes that these add to the riches of human life, but spiritualized in a higher unity." (*The Army and Religion*, D. S. Cairns, Macmillan & Company, p. 389).

A distinct step forward seemed to many to be taken with the establishment in the United States, under the auspices of many men of great influence, of the League to Enforce Peace. The new and impressive element in their program was the open acceptance of the principle, which had been advocated several years before with characteristic energy by Theodore Roosevelt, that if a Society of Nations were to be permanently organized with the definite purpose of preventing war, it must, if and when necessary, exert the force of all its nation members to prevent war.

The promulgation of this proposal marked a most important stage in the discussion, and indeed in the development of a League of Nations. The outbreak of the World War, its progress through one form of horror to another, its destruction of material, its moral debasements, which filled the hearts of all men with horror, really threw a lurid form of illumination upon the principle adopted by the League to Enforce Peace. Many thoughtful leaders came to believe for the first time that all nations must exert their utmost power to prevent the recurrence of such a war. But, it was held, they do not exert their utmost power if they do not exert that form of power, which, in every organized national life, is the last resort of righteousness and the ultimate security for peace. Nations can only prevent each other from appealing to force against each other by using the combined force of all nations for that end. One authority on International Law has summed up what he calls the four needs of civilized mankind in the creation of a new and better international order as follows: "First, the provision of Arbitral Courts to deal with cases susceptible of judicial treatment; secondly, the establishment of Conciliation Committees for the settlement of cases not capable of legal adjustment; thirdly, the organization of an international force to be used in the last resort for the purpose of compelling recalcitrant States to submit to the decisions of these Courts and Committees; and fourthly, the proportional and simultaneous disarmament of all civilized powers saving only the forces necessary to safeguard the social fabric." (*The Society of Nations*, J. T. Lawrence, p. 186, Oxford University Press).

On the other hand it must, in justice, be remembered that there were and still are those who deprecate the doctrine of the use of force to secure peace. They believe that in the firm establishment of an international court and in the agreement of all nations to lay their disputes before it for argument and decision, the road to peace will be opened up. Recalcitrant nations would, in the opinion of these leaders and writers, be sufficiently dealt with by means of the pacific blockade and suspension of intercourse with other nations.

At the close of the World War victorious nations were confronted with certain decisions of an unparalleled nature. The vastness of the war made necessary arrangements for peace on a vast scale. The minds of all men were concerned with two matters, namely, first, the conditions under which Germany should be compelled to accept peace and reenter the Society of Nations; and second, the question whether and how a true League should be established that would secure the world against war.

The Council at Paris assembled to deal with both questions. It is well known that the practical politicians of France were convinced that the only real security for peace in Europe was to be found in the establishment of treaties of mutual defense between the Allied and Associated Nations. The proposal to revive the pre-war system of "Balance of Power" in Europe and to bring in the United States on one side of a permanent division of European nations into two hostile coalitions was one which no government of the United States could possibly have accepted. The only alternatives to that proposal were that the United States should make a separate peace with Germany and Austria, or that a Covenant among the victorious nations should be at once created. That Covenant would have to be of an expansive nature, establishing conditions into which all the nations of the world should be invited to enter. It was essential to the complete ideal that the constitution of this Society of Nations should be such as to keep the door open for the entrance of the enemy nations in due time. Yet it was a Frenchman, M. Leon Bourgeois, who said distinctly that the choice must be between the Balance of Power (*la politique d'équilibre*) and the appeal to the right (*la politique du droit*). The former, he maintains, is a system which is always unstable and ends in favor of the more prolific and the more brutal races. There can be no

politique du droit without a Society of Nations. (*Le Pact de 1919*, etc., pp. 18-19.)

Through many variations of feeling and ideals, especially of feeling, the leaders gathered at Paris finally agreed that the Treaty of Peace could not be carried through in its completeness and over a long term of years without the immediate establishment of a League of Nations. They became convinced that only in that way the enforcement of proper terms of peace could be secured under the necessary conditions. And the result of their deliberations took the form of that large volume known as the Treaty of Peace, the very foundation of which is the organization of a League of Nations. In spite of the vast amount of criticism which has been expended upon this method of dealing with the world situation, no one has proved the superiority of any other method. The critics of the present Covenant of the League of Nations, its terms and its terminology, have had of course their right, and their due influence. But no one who has said there shall be no League of Nations has offered any substitute for it that has commanded the approval of those who at present are in control of the leading powers.

So far as the situation has developed there are three great opponents of the League of Nations. The present *de facto* government in Russia has its own world program which it is seeking to enforce by the sword and the gun. The militarist party in Germany would still seek if it could to destroy the Treaty, to break up the League, to reestablish the balance of power system and go back to the history which they made down to November 11, 1918. The third great opponent of the League is the narrow majority in the Senate of the United States. And that majority appears, if one can get any light on their motives from their published arguments, to found its objection mainly upon Article X, the Article which pledges the nations of the world to combine to enforce peace in any part of the world.

There are many individuals in all countries who believe that the scheme is impracticable and who object that it presents too many novel features in the history of international law. It is of course deeply to be regretted that in more than one country the discussion of its merits has become entangled with internal party politics. But it must be recognized that in a plan so far-reaching and so suddenly submitted for the acceptance of all nations there is ample room for divergent opinions among men of good will, who desire only peace and the cordial cooperation of all nations.

But at present this Report must state that practically all of the nineteen nations of the world which have been invited to become members of the League have done so. Amid circumstances of the most perplexing kind the League is in fact operating. No institution was ever born in our world under more trying circumstances, or with a greater task. That its constitution will be altered and its operation made more certain, clear and powerful as time goes on, every intelligent person will assume. In the meantime it is not too much to say that certain basic principles have been embodied in that constitution and are being pursued in its operation without which no such League could have any life at all.

It is quite evident that the establishment of an organized Society of Nations must rest upon certain fundamental principles, and that certain primary forms of international conduct must be secured by that Society, substantially as follows:

1. No such Society can be securely established unless the principle of democratic or constitutional government is adopted throughout the world. It has been demonstrated conclusively that the system of government known as autocracy cannot find a permanent place in any real League such as we have under contemplation. Whether the autocracy take the form of German imperialism or of the Bolshevik oligarchy, or of the Turkish sultanate, an autocratic government must be treated as

entirely of the past. So far as we can see it has no place in the future development of human experience.

2. The Society of Nations must aim at securing the conditions of a permanent peace. The desire for peace which at present is so intense throughout the world must be retained as a devotion of the spirit of man, and this desire must be associated intimately with all the conditions of organization and the entire policy adopted by the nations of the world in the constitution of their Society. One of the necessary pre-suppositions of peace is the will to secure international justice. A condition must be created in which nations shall be bound over to abstain from all actions upon each other which aim at robbing any people of territory or of the means for their general economic and social development. Nations must win their way henceforth by the full exertion of skill and character, by the use of the resources and commercial opportunities which their geographical situation and their accepted boundaries have set within their own life and being. But the definite aim must be steadily pursued of preventing any nation from using military force to push its national interests at the cost of any other nation.

3. This involves the principle that the organized Society of Nations must provide for a progressive disarmament with the view that ultimately no military establishment shall exist anywhere except for the purpose of maintaining internal peace, and of contributing to the total force of the world which is to be used by the nations cooperatively in securing the justice which has been described above. There is otherwise no security for peace and civilization.

4. In the fourth place a distinct problem is presented to the world by the vast difference between the conditions of life possessed by primitive peoples and by the great nations of the world with their highly elaborated forms of government. The Society of Nations cannot possibly ignore hard facts in this reference. If it take no account of the circumstances in which primitive races are at present placed, the latter will become the prey of adventurers, who have never shown themselves anything but ruthless and cruel in their treatment of such peoples. The world's conscience will not allow this condition to continue indefinitely, and hence it has produced the new policy of Mandates.

No doubt this plan can only be applied partially and with great difficulty. It is impossible to avoid the division of Africa and other regions among the civilized peoples. It is impossible for the nascent Society to insist that these civilized nations shall at once surrender rights which they have already obtained to the control of large portions of the uncivilized world. But the conscience of the world undoubtedly approves of the principle that the administration of government among these backward races shall be conducted henceforth primarily for their own benefit, that the controlling powers shall not sacrifice the real interests, material, social, intellectual and spiritual, of these races for their own material aggrandizement. Henceforth the government of these races must be of a kind that can justify itself before the moral scrutiny of the whole civilized world. The Mandatory system which has been proposed and in part accepted is simply an effort to define this new moral situation and to create the atmosphere within which the relations of peoples and races thus situated shall be regulated on the high levels of righteousness, justice, and even of generosity.

5. The principle needs little exposition and no defense that in a Society of Nations truly constituted what is known as Secret Diplomacy will naturally and inevitably perish. That international negotiations on many subjects must proceed, and that preliminary steps in these negotiations must, as in all business affairs, be confidential, goes without saying. But it is equally evident that conclusive agreements as to international conduct must be immediately published so that all nations shall know where they stand in their dealings with one another, and so that no nation shall be

committed by its government to arrangements and responsibilities which that nation would not knowingly permit.

6. Peculiar importance has been attached in the negotiations for the establishment of a League of Nations to the situation of the Labor world. It is recognized that the economic status of each nation has a vital importance for the rest and an intimate bearing upon international conduct.

It is clear that the vast majority of mankind must be always employed in the work of producing the material things which are necessary for the life of man. These producers are at work on the farms and in the factories of the world. Until comparatively recent days, their lot was determined for them by those who held the reins of power; and their lack of intelligence prevented them from exercising a direct influence upon the conditions of their labor. But the spread of education has profoundly altered the situation. In all civilized lands the active producers have become more or less educated persons. The very nature of their work requires not only that they read and write and use at least the elements of mathematics, but that an increasing proportion of them shall be well educated. Out of this mass of working men and women, thoroughly trained minds, of rich intelligence, of fearless thought, of keen insight have arisen who are able to deal not only with the direct problems of their trade, but with the whole conditions under which they live, industrial, social and political. Thus a new order of society is being created under our very eyes.

It is only natural that there should have grown up during the last century, in connection with this spread of intelligence among the productive classes, a form of consciousness which we must speak of as "the labor consciousness." For good or ill the economic situation in Europe and America has created a state of mind among wage-earners which has brought them into sympathy with each other across all national boundary lines. The effort of the workers in Europe to establish an international brotherhood perished with the outbreak of war. But the movement was so strong and so significant that the governments of the world in organizing a Society of Nations cannot ignore that aspect of the situation. They must establish such forms of intercourse on this subject as shall satisfy the demands of the labor consciousness, give it adequate means of self-expression, and opportunities for discovering what those conditions of justice are amidst which the rights of all workers in all lands may be progressively secured.

On the other hand, it must be remembered that the labor movement has, both in national and in international affairs, too often defined itself as a purely selfish movement. In the name of the "rights of labor" many labor leaders have promoted legislation in the matter of tariffs and in the important matter of the regulation of immigration which has tended rather to create friction between nations and races than to uncover the conditions of harmonious cooperation and the intelligent prosperity of all men everywhere.

Before the war, as noticed above, the leaders of the so-called labor movement had begun to see that they could not in any one country establish the best conditions without entering into active relations with workers of other lands. On the surface this may have appeared to some as a mere device for promoting the interests of a class, or for securing the success of a particular and selfish movement. But its real roots lay far deeper, in the ever-widening and ever-deepening international relations created by the inevitable growth of industry and commerce.

Since the war the most significant event in this regard is the attempt made in Russia to establish a new order of society whose basis shall be the complete control of all the functions of government by the mass of productive workers in farm and factory.

The vast experiment is being carried on by the use of force, and by an irresponsible and tyrannous oligarchy. Much violent injustice has been inflicted upon whole classes of their fellow citizens by a small group of able,

determined and merciless leaders. The experiment will probably be carried through. Many of its features will prove unworkable. Its fundamental errors of theory and its unscrupulous use of power will be subjected to the criticism of experience and the correction of the public conscience. But history can never be turned backward. The changes have been too vast to allow of a recurrence to any earlier form of organization in Russia. The discovery of the right, the just and the true must be made in and through the present situation, and the Russian people will pass on to a more sane order, to a true form of democratic government. But a heavy price must be paid for the violent measures and gross wrongs of recent days.

One of the most striking and in a sense most portentous features of the Russian experiment is its devotion to internationalism. While the new order has not fully revealed its nature, while it is still mixed up of the most atrocious and evil methods with professions of a lofty idealism, it is, with unbridled audacity, attempting to spread both its ideals and methods into other lands. Wherever it goes this system or movement aims at putting the complete control of national life into the hands of the laborers, and everywhere it avows its readiness to use every means without stint or ruth to secure its aims. For this purpose the leaders and their emissaries lean upon the great principle that humanity is one, and that the ideal organization of society can be secured in no one portion of the world in separation from the rest. Thus internationalism is of the very breath of life for this strange phase of democratic development.

In view of these facts it was a far-seeing wisdom which led the Peace Conference at Paris to make arrangements for the calling of an international Labor Conference to counteract the energy of the new *de facto* Russian Government. For the Russian situation cannot be clarified and its malign efforts in other lands cannot be truly and rightly met except in the name of an international brotherhood which is wiser, and more deeply based on the principle of universal justice.

The fact is that throughout modern civilization wherever education has been widely effective there the labor leadership is composed increasingly of wise, earnest, able and powerful men. Vast responsibilities rest upon their shoulders, and they are proving themselves on the whole to be as unselfish, as intelligent, as far seeing, as loyal to society and nation as many of those who are bitterly opposed to them. Their errors of judgment and especially their misuse of the strike method for securing their ends have laid them open to criticism. But the faculty for misjudging situations and for adopting forcible measures to secure their ends, while deplorable, is not peculiar to labor leaders. They are now in the new world situation confronting international problems with a new feeling and under a new compulsion. They too recognize that labor conditions in their own lands cannot be divorced from the labor conditions of other lands. The wages paid and the cruelties administered to gangs of semi-slaves in far off rubber forests are related to the rubber works of Europe and America. The new slums of factory centers in Japan have a bearing upon the sweatshops of the United States. And the marvellous Tata Steel Works of India have created a steel city which has a definite meaning for the steel workers of Gary, Indiana.

If then it is clear that in the advanced nations the productive laborers are learning to take a great and in some cases the major share of the responsibilities of Government, it is no less clear that their sympathies, their convictions, their interests, will lead them to bring all their influence to bear upon those international situations which are most directly affected by the labor conditions of the world.

7. Beyond the problems which we have described there lies that which in some ways may become the most important of all, as at present to some minds it seems the most intractable. We refer to the problem of the races. We need not here attempt to discuss the roots and nature of race preju-

dice, but simply to take count of the fact that it exists, and that it influences conduct in many most important ways. There are many degrees of this prejudice, some of them being slight, due to superficial and removable causes, while there are others which arise from conditions that are permanent and of far-reaching significance. Among the former we may name those prejudices which arise between races allied by blood, through differences of language, custom and religion. Among the latter we must name primarily that of color, and only in a secondary sense those wide differences of language, custom and religion which do not appear to be irremovable obstacles between the East and the West.

Race prejudice can be reduced, or modified, or even overcome where peoples are thrown together geographically and economically and where they come to share consciously in the great intellectual life of modern times. Business almost ignores racial differences. The culture which has arisen from the spread of modern science must eventually extend to all peoples of all colors. In course of time it may be that one or two languages may become the common property of the educated classes throughout the world. When Christianity has become the universal spiritual law of the human race, the prejudice of race will be unable to base itself upon any fundamental differences of religion. It is not impossible to imagine an era when an end has been put to extensive race movements from one region of the world to another. In that event masses of mankind that are homogeneous will have discovered the region where their own life can be most securely and continuously maintained. Only on the fringes of contact amongst the races is there likely to be any extensive mixture of the blood of the races. When such a condition has been created, and when all the forces making for cooperation have been more fully developed, prejudice will be reduced to a minor form of emotion which moulds conduct and holds it more securely within universally recognized limits. Unity will be maintained on the basis of all those interests which the races have in common, and in the presence of those moral principles on which international and interracial conduct shall have been at last securely established.

It is impossible here or anywhere else for our imagination to picture a final condition of the world of races, a final organization of the nations. But it is within reason to believe that on the lines described the nations of the world may meet the constantly recurring problem of international and interracial conduct. Thus only can the destiny of mankind be worked out, on the basis of a conscience which everywhere acknowledges the same laws and a spirit which produces the same fundamental forms of conduct.

IV

THE VITAL FUNCTION OF THE CHURCH IN THE SOCIETY OF NATIONS

Can we, in view of this brief survey of the international situation, attempt to summarize the influence which the Church must seek to exert upon it? This must be done if our Report is to be relevant to the occasion which produced it, in the light of the experience of the churches which are here assembled in this International Congregational Council.

1. First we may take the risk of speaking still in the outer court by emphasizing the fact that the churches here assembled in council belong almost entirely to the English-speaking countries and to those peoples which have been most affected by the missionary movements of those countries.

It has often been said lately that the steady growth of a Society of Nations depends upon the cooperation of the English speaking peoples more than upon any one national or racial force. Even though it be citizens of these nations who have said this most often and most emphatically, citizens of other countries have confessed its truth. It is no mere

exaggeration of national or racial pride that expresses itself in that fashion. It is rather the confession of a solemn responsibility in the presence of broad and indubitable facts.

On this side of the Atlantic we have a nation pledged from her origin and throughout her history to defend and everywhere to support and encourage democratic forms of government. The nation has often avowed, through messages of her presidents and of her leading statesmen, that she cherished the desire to be a guide and to act as a servant and friend of humanity. Of this she has given sincere evidence in many ways, such as her use of the Monroe Doctrine, her treatment of Cuba, and in recent years her patient and generous policy towards Mexico. She has steadily protested on entirely unselfish grounds against the dismemberment of China, and her use of the indemnity paid to her for injuries done to her citizens by the Boxer uprising in China was most consistent with her whole history and policy. America has avowed her constant desire to train the Philipinos for ultimate self-government and nationhood, and she has pursued that aim rapidly. It is a recent English writer who says, "Wherever the United States have added their strength to an international movement it has been more strictly in the interests of humanity and of peace than the action of any other power." (F. S. Marvin, "The Century of Hope," p. 287.) That she has made mistakes and that there are blots upon her past actions towards certain other peoples her wisest citizens freely confess; but on the whole what fair minds may discern in the history of this English speaking nation of a hundred million souls is a new and hitherto unrecognized state of conscience as well as of practice, especially in her relations with weaker and less developed peoples.

As to Great Britain, what shall we say? The wisest sons of the British Empire will confess that there have been many blots and mistakes in her international relations. There have been many inconsistencies of conduct and waverings of purpose. Yet before the whole world stands the mighty fact which we call the British Empire, which also has made noble moral contributions to the life of the race. The origin of her constitutional government lies far back in her history. The slow laborious method of its development has established it the more firmly in the life of all the peoples gathered under her flag. The progress of purely and thoroughly representative government in Great Britain itself was largely prompted and sustained, especially since the beginning of the seventeenth century, by the same elements which created it outright and almost immediately in America.

As we have seen, the modern ideal of international relations is and must be based on a world-wide system of constitutional national governments, or to use a briefer term, democracies. It is hardly necessary to point out that the original and main source of that system in modern times is to be found in the parliamentary system which has so long been established in England and has been spread throughout the world. "The Mother of Parliaments" is one of the greatest titles in history. The French Republic, all the Republics of the West and the limited monarchies of Europe, are its lineal descendants in the history of ideals and institutions. It is in the steady development of these that the autocratic governments saw during the last hundred years their supreme foe, and in them apprehended their own doom. From the Congress of Vienna onwards, the development of autocratic ideals and policies in Europe has been conditioned by the consciousness of Czars, Kaisers and Sultans that the true parliamentary system, if it were not stemmed by force of their armies, must overthrow them by the force of ideas.

Moreover, it is among and between representative democracies that wars have practically ceased from the face of the earth. It is a most remarkable fact, and for our discussion it is of supreme meaning, that not for

a hundred years except on the South American continent have any two fully developed democracies drawn the sword against each other.

Today the British Empire, in spite of its inconsistent elements consists mainly of a free brotherhood of self-governing democracies. Their unity is based upon many fundamental facts which need not here be recounted. It has been expressed gloriously in the great war. It is likely to persist for an indefinite period by the free choice of all its principal members. And thus it presents to the world as it were a picture of that League of Nations towards which the whole world is moving.

To return to our thesis. It is clear that if America and the countries composing the great commonwealth of British dominions set themselves, in spite of their mutual differences and even their healthy rivalries, to promote as a common aim the establishment of peace throughout the world, the providing of true sanctions for international law, the promotion of the principles of justice in all the dealings of nation with nation, and especially of strong nations with the weak and wholly dependent tribes of the earth, this unity of spirit and this practical cooperation will make peace secure. It will help more than any other earthly power to control those conditions under which all races and people shall unfold their own inherent powers and reach the highest measures of character and wealth and culture which are possible to them.

2. It is a familiar fact that as the result of a partial and unspiritual doctrine of evolution a widespread conviction exists among some thinkers that we must trace the development of human experience back to what is called natural law. The function of the Church is made to appear as merely incidental and much less powerful than Christian believers have been led to suppose. What religious people call the spiritualizing of life has been treated as merely the gradual evolution of principles which are inherent in human nature itself and which presumably might have come into operation without the superstitions, as they would now be called, of the religious world.

This view we may call the illusion of natural development, and it can be easily accounted for. When spiritual powers and moral ideals have taken hold of human nature the very results which they produce as they become more widespread, more influential, appear to be merely natural. It was Christianity which produced democracy, and today the principles of democracy seem "natural." It was Christianity which produced the ideal of and today sustains the effort after universal education, but to the eyes of multitudes it seems to have no connection with religion and to be merely "natural." It was Christianity which first seriously investigated the treatment of criminals, and now their more humanitarian treatment is by many persons assumed to be simply "natural." It was Christianity that stimulated the investigation of the rights of labor, and Christianity alone can point the way to that mutual justice and humanity which will create the ideal conditions. When they have been created in any measure, and that measure has become constant over a wide surface of humanity, they will seem "natural."

No careful thinker will be satisfied with this use of the word "natural," or with the assumption, which partly promotes and partly results from it, that the Christian system can be dispensed with, when these arrangements of human society appear to have been securely established. On the contrary we must and do maintain that the persistence of the Christian spirit alone can guarantee the permanence of all these conditions. For they are founded not on the "natural" or animal view of mankind, but on the spiritual, on the ethical, on principles derived from another source than the study of nature and the laws of nature.

The instability of all human institutions arises partly from the movements of population and changes in the supply of commercial products,

and partly in the growth of science which tends to alter the means and conditions of production suddenly from one region to another. But this instability arises mainly from the persistent power of the original self-regarding instincts of the individual and their equally powerful derivatives. It is these which tend always to bring back in new forms the aggrandisement of the individual family or the defined class, or the self-conscious nation. No appeals to the laws of nature can exercise a sufficiently counter-active force or even yield sufficient illumination to restrain the explosive nature of individual self-interest. Man is being lifted not by a *vis a tergo*, not by the operation of the powers in his animal nature. These only tend to drag him downwards. He is being lifted always by what we call the ideal, which is never discoverable by the mere study of what we call nature.

We may picture the relative powers exerted on man's motives by regarding the relations of the individual as starting from himself at the center, where his purely self-regarding instincts cooperate. Around him is the innermost circle, the family, with certain ideals involved in its existence which check or limit the profuse and indiscriminate action of his appetites and motives. Around that, in a wider circle, there are various neighborhoods, each of which in turn puts a limit to the self-interest of family impulse and ambition. Around these are the wider circles of life, of which the nation has hitherto seemed to be the widest. The existence of that widest circle of positive relationship again sets up standards of action for all the inner circles, and makes demands upon the individual.

Today we are realizing the existence of a still wider circle called the Society of Nations. The term Humanity is no longer an abstract ideal such as Comte set up as his deity. History has reduced it to concrete terms. It is now a describable, almost measurable, reality. To speak of humanity today is to speak of all the peoples of the world in their mutual contacts and in respect of the motives which prompt them, the purposes which allure them, and the laws which must control them.

Each of these wider circles is in a very real sense weaker and more vague than the inner one. But they all find their ultimate difficulty in the complete control of the individual himself, in the subordination of all his purely personal and self-regarding instincts and desires to the interests of each in turn of these wider circles within which he lives. With all of them he has direct relations, and all of them impose upon him as what he calls "ideals" the very laws of their existence, the very forms upon which their reality depends.

It is in religion that we are brought within sight of another circle, another form of organization, wider even than that of all the nations of the world as they exist at any one time. Dimly the human spirit has always felt that from some other and higher region moral ideals, laws of God, principles of conduct, may become known which take precedence of all others, which have an authority superior to that of each of these concentric circles that gather around the life of every individual. Where is the source of these ideals, the true base of these presumably most powerful of all principles of human conduct? The history which we have surveyed in part yields the answer.

It is not a system of laws imposed *ab extra* by a sovereign God as a form of life alien to the nature of men, a mere restriction and contradiction of human nature in its "natural" tendencies and workings. It is the revelation of an organized society, the Kingdom of God, in which these laws inhere as the "natural" conditions of human relationship. Jesus legislated for human society upon the earth in name of an actual society which he called the Kingdom of Heaven. For him that Kingdom was no unrealized fact: it existed. Human nature is to be brought within the sweep of that Kingdom. He created a community upon this earth in which that Society, the Kingdom of Heaven, was manifested under earthly conditions,

and he taught men to think of their mutual relations, duties and affairs in terms of the great principle which he expressed in the phrase "as in heaven, so on earth." In his community we find men and women who consciously belong to an actual divine eternal Kingdom and who are already at the fountain heads of their personal history, pledged to the fulfilment of its laws. "Our citizenship is in heaven" was no mere dream, no prophetic assertion of the great apostle. For his mind the citizenship, the vast society of living beings of which the risen Christ is the ruling head, was a reality, the fundamental reality with which all the passing events of time and all the earthly interests of men must be brought into living relation.

As a matter of history that society astonished and perplexed and at last permeated the Roman Empire. The Church of the Middle Ages strove along a certain line to realize that Kingdom and its laws by imitating the earthly modes of government. It sought to make the government of Christ effectual, and it failed. The monarchical and ecclesiastical ideals of the Church of Hildebrand and his successors not only failed to realize the Kingdom of Heaven upon earth, but failed also to restrict the development of the autocratic and imperialistic spirit among the rulers and peoples of Europe. Rather did an autocratic Church stimulate autocratic ambitions among the rising nations of that continent. Like Church, like world.

In modern history we have seen that it was the Christian community discovering its democratic basis which recreated the national ideal. We have seen how modern democracy has spread from one center to another until the whole world is brought within the scope of its fundamental principles. And everywhere its main origin and the power sustaining its development is the democratic organization of the evangelical churches. Like Church, like world.

If today we face the possibility of bringing all the nations into a conscious unity of life it is for us no wild assertion but a sober conviction that this unity cannot maintain its life as a merely "natural" order. It is from the fountain head of religion, of the Christian religion, from the presence in our world of this leaven of the Christian community, that we must expect to see those influences exerted which shall not merely suggest and secure, but permanently maintain the harmony of the world. It is from the presence within this community of the consciousness of its unity with God in Jesus Christ that the world receives and shall receive the ideals and the inspiration of a true international covenant.

But how shall a Church itself disharmonized produce harmony, itself broken into pieces produce this ideal cooperation of the peoples of the world? Manifestly it is only as the Church realizes, maintains and illustrates what it is, to be of one heart and one mind in the great affairs of life, that it can persuade the world of the same. One Church, one world.

And the Congregational Church, which had a share in the production of modern democracy and which has exercised so powerful an influence in modifying monarchical and aristocratic methods of church government, which everywhere has always sought to realize fellowship with all who name the name of Christ, is called upon still to maintain its testimony and to reveal this spirit of unity. Thus will it contribute not merely in direct political influence but in the deeper affairs of spiritual life to the development of that true internationalism wherein all human beings shall find not their differences but their one humanity as it flows from the creative hands of God identified, realized, and made glorious.

Rev. W. Douglas Mackenzie, Hartford, Conn., *Chairman.*
Rev. George Adam, Montreal, Quebec.
Hon. Simeon E. Baldwin, New Haven, Conn.
Rev. Wm. Horace Day, Bridgeport, Conn.
Dr. Sidney L. Gulick, New York City.
Professor A. B. Hart, Cambridge, Mass.
Hamilton Holt, New York City.
Rev. Frederick Lynch, New York City.
Rev. Oscar E. Maurer, New Haven, Conn.
Rev. C. S. Mills, Montclair, N. J.
Rev. C. S. Patton, Los Angeles, Cal.
Herbert Knox Smith, Farmington, Conn.
Arthur L. Shipman, Hartford, Conn.

COMMISSION ON CONGREGATIONALISM AND ITS YOUNG PEOPLE

I. A PAGE OF HISTORY

American Congregationalism may well be proud of its contribution to the fundamental task of Christian nurture. Horace Bushnell's name is still one with which to conjure and his classic monograph is an indispensable tool for all good workmen today. A later generation justly reveres the name of Francis E. Clark for the existence of a world-wide organization whose service has been of inestimable value and a stimulus to all other denominations in training their young people. What Robert Raikes did for the Sunday school movement, and more, Dr. Clark has done for young people's work in America and the world. The history of that work in the last forty years cannot be written without devoting a long chapter to the Christian Endeavor movement, out of which have sprung others of great vitality and service.

The past fifteen years have constituted an era of transition and development. The organization of the Religious Education Association is one phase of that progress. It has influenced our churches, Sunday-schools, young people's organizations and all processes of education within the administration or influence of the church. The advance of psychological and pedagogical knowledge and its application to the work of the home, the church school, and all other agencies, religious and secular, has modified certain methods and activities which were common and fruitful in the early training of the present generation. The expression of a religious life, the amusements deemed proper for Christians, and the forms for the expression of our common faith have all undergone revision. We are now living in an era of unprecedented activity in religious education. With the resulting changes which have come in the home life, in the curricula and equipment of the public school and the church school, and in the attitude of our young people, it is not strange that our young people's organizations should be changing too. The renaissance has been one of awakened interest, increased knowledge, the production of a vast literature, and the devotion of uncounted lives to Christian service.

II. THE NATIONAL COUNCIL AND OUR YOUTH

The National Council of Congregational Churches in the United States has repeatedly created Commissions on young people's work. It is not the purpose of this International Commission to cover *in detail* matters which our National Commissions have presented. A résumé, however, of recent steps, is essential to an understanding of our present situation. In 1915 the Commission prepared a program of religious instruction and training in the local church which is available for study today. At the Council meeting in 1917, the young people's gathering framed vigorous resolutions calling for a forward movement by and for the young people, appealing for encouragement and supervision, commending the Christian Endeavor Society, suggesting the coordination of all young people's organizations and work, and particularly asking for the appointment of a secretary to devote all of his time to young people's organizations and work. The Council appointed a Commission to study the situation and they have recently reported plans for federation and principles of work. The summary of their findings and principles forms a natural introduction to the present report.

1. There is a general conviction that clearer ideals and better organized effort are necessary to develop the personal Christian life of our young people and to provide ways for the expression of that life in church, community and world service.

2. The conviction is equally clear that such organizations should be closely coordinated and be expressive of a unified religious education program in the local church.

3. Although young people's organizations have rendered a large service to the young people of our churches, and have a warm place in the affections of many, only about half of our churches have such societies, and many of these are in an unsatisfactory condition through lack of adequate leadership and through failure of adjustment to local needs and conditions.

4. It is evident that the needed organization must have the utmost elasticity in order to meet the various needs and conditions in our churches.

5. Young people want something real and worth while to do, not something devised to keep them busy or to give them educative exercise. The church must call them to activity. For them, as for all, older and younger, the church's program must be threefold, including worship, instruction and service, but at this age especially the opportunity to serve must be emphasized.

6. Young people want the opportunity to exercise initiative, use discretion and bear responsibility in the tasks which are assigned to them or which they undertake.

7. The church should, therefore, invite its young people to share in its general program of service to the community and the world, and to assume responsibility for definite aspects or areas of that program. It should make these young people feel that it regards them not primarily as a field to be cultivated or developed, but as a force to be enlisted.

8. With this in view, careful inquiry should be made as to what phases of the church work can be done best by young people. On the basis of this inquiry the program of the young people should be constructed.

III. THE SITUATION TODAY

In the questionnaire sent out by the 1917 Commission, it was discovered that 50 per cent of our American Congregational churches have Christian Endeavor Societies. The other 50 per cent have a variety of organizations *or no organization at all*. Many of these organizations have suffered from lack of oversight and encouragement in the churches of which they are a part. They are themselves a reflection of unsatisfactory conditions in church life. There is a strange persistence of inattention on the part of our churches individually, and of some denominations as a whole, to giving adequate shepherding to the young people. Even recently, in one of the great denominations, when the working outline of its forward movement was presented, there was no mention of religious education and its diagrams of organization contained no recognition of either the Sunday school or the young people's society.

There are approximately 30,000,000 young people in the United States under twenty years of age. If they devote their lives to Jesus Christ and the extension of His Kingdom, the vast majority of them must be influenced before they are twenty years of age. In his book on "Western Civilization," Benjamin Kidd has an interesting discussion of what he calls "projected efficiency." He contends that all civilization is under the unconscious compulsion of the struggle for the life of posterity, the instinctive demand of all life to live after itself in the lives of others. It is by this "projected efficiency" down the stream of time that all institutions and organizations are tested. The whole structure of our denominational,

civic, national and international life is involved. If we fail in our work with our young people, we shall fail everywhere. It will be impossible to lay hold of that great law of encouragement which Bushnell enunciated, "the out-populating power of the Christian stock," unless we adequately train and securely hold our young people.

IV. THE OPEN ROAD TO PROGRESS

In facing the future, we record certain convictions, all of which in varying degrees appear to us fundamental.

1. *Leadership*

It is critically necessary that we encourage our churches to furnish adequate leadership for their young people. We cannot afford to turn over the direction of our youth to national secular organizations, however helpful their plans. Unless there is sympathetic church supervision there will be failure. National or regional secretarial oversight is imperative. We believe this leadership may naturally be centered in our National Education Society. All our national denominational machinery must be so adjusted as to function in a unified manner. The Sunday school together with our educational and missionary organizations must plan their programs together and our Mission boards make their approach according to definitely coordinated plans. A national secretary who shall give his whole time to the young people's work is urgently needed.

When our national work is thus coordinated, it will be easier to secure federation of work in the local church. The latter must have its director of young people's work if possible, certainly its committee on young people's work and such a unification in plans and administration as will lay hold of every group. The best plan in some cases will be to have a Board or Council of Religious Education, with authority to co-ordinate worship, instruction and all forms of activity. The report of the National Council Commission for 1917 is a step in the right direction and is to be interpreted as friendly to existing organizations, [and their adaptation to enlarged programs,] while open-minded to the new.

2. *Plans for Special Groups*

The church must take account of all the groups of young people to be served. We must have a broader vision and a more aggressive campaign to reach the boys and girls outside the Sunday school or any other church organizations. For every child of school age in the Sunday school today in the United States, there is another one outside! What have we to offer which will interest and train him? How can we reach *all* of the boys and girls in a given parish, train them to be Christians and give direction to their service?

The church must have a clear idea of the stages and crises of the adolescent period so that it can plan wisely for all groups. In particular, it must relate itself helpfully to the high school group. These young people can learn leadership, under adult supervision, by actually leading in all the Sunday school and church activities. This will mean less of a program superimposed by teachers and superintendent and more of one suggested and carried out by the young people themselves. That they will need sympathetic guidance in all their endeavors at self-expression is axiomatic, yet the self-determination of young people is at once a great hope and an imperative necessity.

Probably no group is so much in danger of being left out or alienated as the multitude of young people who early leave school and go to work. The high school group can easily become very supercilious in relation to them and the college group equally arrogant. In their formative years, the church must bring these equally important groups together in sym-

pathy and cooperation. Young people who have been compelled to go to work have high ideals. Many of them are still in connection with the home church and school. They are still hungry for training and willing in service. Out of this group often come those who are recruits for specialized forms of Christian service. They feel the need of Bible and mission study training. What is being done for them?

The home church has long neglected its young people who have gone to college. We are undoubtedly losing some of our very best material because there is not enough sympathy established between the work and life of the church and the work and life and educative process which the young people are going through while in college. Many churches might well have a special committee to look after their college young people. This committee could establish a bureau of information furnishing facts concerning the young people away at college; could send them church bulletins and other information of interest; could receive from the college Christian organizations information and bulletins in return; could be of service in inducing other young people to enter upon college training.

Various denominations are now seeking to shepherd their young people in colleges and universities through church houses and centers now in process of development. The burden which is put upon the local church in a college community must be shared by the other churches in the state and nation. This will involve financial as well as moral support. But the home church will still have its task. Account must be taken of that splendid group of Christian colleges in which are to be found nearly one-half of all the students in higher institutions in America today; colleges whose affiliation with the church has been close and sympathetic, yet without control; colleges whose emphasis upon Christian education has been steady and significant and which have done for the young people who come from our churches what no other institutions of learning not avowedly Christian have ever been able to do.

Our Canadian Congregational Churches report the adoption of a suggestive "Standard Efficiency" program for boys and girls. It is used co-operatively by the Protestant churches and the Boys' Division of the Y. M. C. A. and provides a special course of training in Christian citizenship. Based upon the character and personality of Jesus, it follows the four-fold line of development—intellectual, physical, devotional, social—and is the result of years of work and experience of leaders in Sunday school and Y. M. C. A. service. The Sunday school class is used as the unit of organization. A similar course is provided for girls. Charting the boys and girls according to the four-fold division above reveals to them what an "all round" development necessitates.

8. The Teaching Program of the Church

Reports of commissions in Great Britain and America upon the religious conditions discovered among the soldiers agree in emphasizing the fact that the church has failed to teach its own young people. They do not know as much as they ought about things fundamental. With the possible exception of certain denominations which stress this type of work, it is true by and large that young people grow up without adequate and clear-cut ideas of religious truth. Our churches can inaugurate and co-operate in weekday religious education, plans for which are being wrought out successfully in many communities. The daily vacation Bible schools are also becoming a vital factor in reaching many outside the Sunday school, as well as those now members.

The teaching program of the church is carried out mainly through the Church school, but here it is possible to broaden the teaching through graded work. Mission and other study classes can be organized. Our

Education Society can provide special courses for the study of social questions and the application of this study to the religious life. The courses of Sunday school lessons on such themes should be specially utilized. They should be furnished in pamphlet form by our publication society for convenient use by class groups of high school age. Some system of doctrinal and church discipline should also be provided for periodic study, not simply that used for pastors' training classes, but an enlargement of this material. Here also is an opportunity for the development of ideals of worship among our young people.

An increasing number of churches are conducting profitable Institutes which have for their purpose intensive religious study and the development of the social life and service of young people. Courses of study are provided for children and youth and there are sectional classes for adults. World citizenship, religious education, social service, Christian doctrine and other themes are presented. Groups of churches in one denomination, or interdenominational groups in a given community, are conducting these Institutes to train teachers and develop clear-cut religious thinking and service. Definite utilization of the opportunities afforded in summer schools and conferences is also open to wide-awake pastors and churches. Our churches can inaugurate and cooperate in weekday religious education, plans for which are being wrought out successfully in many communities. The daily vacation Bible schools are also a vital factor in reaching many outside the Sunday school, as well as those now members.

4. The Church School

At no point is there greater encouragement for the church than in the rapid development of the Sunday school. It was in November, 1783, that Robert Raikes first published his editorial on the Sunday school. There followed nearly one hundred years of isolated experiment and development. Out of many lesson schemes there came the uniform lesson system in 1873. Since then there have been forty-five years of expansion and organization, of which the last fifteen years have been an era of unprecedented development in methods, literature, ideals and enrolment. Because the public school does not reach all of the children, nor hold its pupils for a long time, nor give them adequate and systematic moral training, the Sunday school becomes far and away the most important and influential factor, next to the home, in developing the nation's character. It still remains true that a hostile church means a dead school, an indifferent church means an inefficient school, an officious church means a chaotic school. Only cooperative and sympathetic leadership can make an effective Sunday school.

The church is requiring trained leadership for this great task. Religious education is not a fad but the most fruitful force at our disposal. We are calling the Sunday school the Church school today, in order to emphasize its purpose to provide an all-week, all-year, comprehensive program including worship, instruction and service. We must learn still more about grading our scholars, our material and our teachers. If the Bible is to be our chief text book, as it has been in the past, we must have a much more intelligent knowledge of its teachings and the way they were given to the world than many of our teachers now possess. We must lay hold of every fact and law which pedagogy and psychology can offer us. That great mine of information regarding the adolescent period which patient investigators have dug out after years of endeavor and observation must be in the background of our thought and planning. Organizations for our young people in the Sunday school and outside of it must be coordinated and adapted to the facts and laws now known. The organization of classes must include something more than the election of a group of officers, the development of certain social functions or even direction in wholesome service. All these can be made more fruitful if we understand the particular age-group with which we deal.

5. *The Possibilities of the Christian Endeavor Society*

The possibilities of the Christian Endeavor Society have not yet been fully realized in many quarters nor exhausted in others. That the organization needs wise adaptations is conceded by all. That it has certain great values which ought not to be overlooked is likewise true. Continued friendly discussion of our common problems by our young people's leaders and those charged with the direction of the Christian Endeavor movement will undoubtedly prove profitable. For the denominational group in which Christian Endeavor was cradled, and which it has so loyally served, to neglect this outstanding present agency of service, and the undergirding sympathy of its countless alumni in our churches would be as unreasonable as it is perilous. The Society must likewise eagerly relate itself to the increased knowledge and changed demands of the new day. Some churches are successfully correlating the Endeavor Society and the Church School so that the former provides the specific social and religious activities needed by various classes in the School.

6. *The Call to Christian Service*

It is the function of the church to sound the call to its young people to enter upon some one of the many forms of Christian service now open. Religious education, the ministry, the direction of young people's work, missionary service at home and abroad, the wide-open door for the nurse, the doctor, the teacher, the business specialist — all these things must be made known to our young people. The call to Christian service and leadership as life work should be periodically, persistently, patiently, prayerfully presented. Series of addresses by Christian men and women in the various occupations can profitably be given. The church is under the strongest obligation to give its young people a chance to choose their life work under the best influences, supplemented by home advice and cooperation. The opportunities for Christian leadership in the new day should be clearly envisaged. Interdenominational organizations have been doing this work in the past and will continue to do so, but parents, ministers and the church itself must do it more efficiently than ever.

Every church of every denomination had its service flag during the momentous days of the war. We have done well to emphasize thus the cause for which our young men offered their lives and to show our appreciation of their service. Why should we not objectify and honor in the same way the spirit and service of those who go out into the specialized forms of Christian work? Why should not every church have a flag upon which there is a star for each one of its members who has gone into the ministry, or into missionary service, or into some form of outstanding Christian activity? Will not the young people of the church feel the influence of such a recognition just as they have felt the silent force of the service flag with its stars of blue and gold?

When we have Acknowledgment or Decision Day in the Sunday school, let it be accompanied there and in the church with a presentation of the opportunities for Christian leadership. It is the minister's privilege to lead in this matter and to voice the call. Even if the ministers and other Christian workers are underpaid in money, they get the amplest reward in the joys of service and in the fruit which comes from their labor. A little church in Maine has just celebrated its one hundredth anniversary. At no time in its history has it had more than one hundred members. Yet it has sent into the ministry twenty of its sons while many others have taken up special forms of unselfish service. What church, large or small, rich or poor, can equal this record? If we had a national service flag for the churches of our denominations, there ought to be a specially large star upon it for this little church in Maine!

7. *The Cultivation of the International Spirit*

Internationalism is essentially a Christian ideal. It is but another term for the missionary spirit which characterized Jesus Christ. The extension of international brotherhood through socialism, through organizations of labor, through commercial relationships, through governmental action, have thus far proved insufficient to prevent war and the spread of militarism. In the long run, there is no agency equal to the church for drawing the world together in ties of brotherhood and true neighborliness. Romain Rolland has truly said: "If human civilization is still to be safe, it can only be through the energetic awakening and alliance of the young people of the world." If the young people of the churches of one generation are taught and will practice and preach international friendliness, based upon the teachings of Jesus Christ, we can remake the world.

Let us have an Anglo-American Sunday adopted by churches on both sides of the Atlantic in which our young people are taught the ideals and implications of internationalism. Let us thereby seek to put war on the scrap heap where it belongs. Let us uncover, denounce and deride the Junker spirit wherever found. Let us seek to have our young people understand the essential unity of all races and the needs of our common humanity. Let us away with racial and national arrogance, hatred and pride and exalt the ideals of Christian brotherhood upon which alone world peace and international goodwill and service can be secured.

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Group II: "Religious Education in the Family," by Henry F. Cope, published by University of Chicago Press, \$1.25. "The Girl in Her Teens," by Margaret Slattery, published by Pilgrim Press, 60 cents. "The Boy and the Church," by Eugene C. Foster, published by the Sunday School Times Press, 75 cents. "Ice-Breakers, Games and Stunts," by Edna Geister, Woman's Press, \$1.35. "Graded Social Service in the Sunday School," by W. N. Hutchins, published by University of Chicago Press, 75 cents.

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Additional Helpful Books

Group I: "Intermediate Manual," by Robt. P. Anderson, \$1.00. "Christian Endeavor Manual," by Francis E. Clark, \$1.25. "Young People's Pastor" by Amos R. Wells, 75 cents. All published by United Society Christian Endeavor. "Childhood and Character," by Hartshorne: Pilgrim Press. "Training the Devotional Life," Weigle-Tweedy.

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Rev. Ernest Bourner Allen, Oak Park, Ill., *Chairman.*

William Shaw, Boston, Mass.

Rev. Von Ogden Vogt, Chicago, Ill.

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Sidney A. Weston, Boston, Mass.

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Mrs. Henry W. Hunter, Oak Park, Ill.

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REPORTS OF BRITISH COMMISSIONS

REPORT OF COMMISSION "TO REVIEW THE HISTORY OF CONGREGATIONAL POLITY, TO APPRAISE ITS PRESENT FEATURES, AND TO MAKE A FORECAST OF THE DEVELOP- MENTS YET TO COME"

INTRODUCTORY

Any discussion of Congregational polity must needs begin with the reminder that for Congregationalism polity is not a mere matter of organization or form. If a church is local or territorial, comprising all the people who live round the building in which it worships, then the relation of such people to each other, to the church's officers, and to the state, may be simply a matter of arrangement and form; but such is not the case with a church whose principle of constitution is specifically religious. When a church is formed solely of those who love One Lord and Master, and desire to serve Him, its polity is fundamentally spiritual. For Congregationalists, matters of order — laws, canons, injunctions, articles, creeds, advertisements, — are powerless to make a church; only Christian men and women can do that, and they are kings and priests unto God, exercising their functions only as they stand in relation to Him. Christ is in the midst of such a church — its supreme Lord and Governor — and its members come together to live under His sole authority, and be independent, ultimately, of every other. "The Church's one foundation is Jesus Christ her Lord," and the presence and power of the Living Christ in the church make Congregational polity from the very beginning a matter of life rather than of form. Even when the call to separation had to be put in its least positive aspect, "Come out from among them, and be ye separate, and touch not the unclean thing," it was always associated with the continuation of the text, and thus linked with doctrine: "And I will be a Father unto you, and ye shall be my sons and daughters, saith the Lord Almighty."

It is, therefore, a serious mistake for Congregationalists to think of polity as if it were simply a more or less mechanical question of the appointment and duties of various officers in the church, and the hundred and one details connected therewith. The fundamental principle of the Congregational faith is essentially religious — the Living Christ is present when and where those who love Him gather in His name. For us polity is not a matter of mere order, but of spirit and life, and that should be the predominant feeling when its history has to be written and its future forecasted.

THE BIRTH OF CONGREGATIONALISM

In 1883, Dr. Fairbairn, in an address from the Chair of the Congregational Union, spoke of the "marvelous first century after Christ." With that splendid rhetoric — so characteristic of him, and so rarely echoed in public assemblies today — he outlined "what Christianity was in the century of its birth, what it then achieved, and what differences it wrought." It was to that century that the fathers of English Congregationalism turned for their guiding principles; it is there that the history of Congregational polity begins.

It is now widely, almost generally, admitted that the polity of Apostolic Christianity was Congregational. The churches were gathered as a result of the preaching of the Gospel, and they consisted solely of those who accepted Jesus as Lord; to such converted men there were added day by day "those who were being saved." The churches thus formed were not mere clubs or associations of like-minded people, societies of men and women with common opinions, habits, or interests, joined together for mutual advantage or comfort; they stood for the possession and confession of a supernatural life, derived through faith in Christ as Saviour and Lord, and realized in the power of redeeming grace and in brotherly love and service for the Kingdom of God. The principle that such assemblies showed forth was the sufficiency of the Living Christ, alike for social and individual purposes, for those who had committed themselves to Him; by faith in the one Lord the churches were constituted. Such churches were not independent and separate as are grains of sand or filings of iron; rather were they in organic union, members of a living Body, branches of a living Vine. Individual as local entities, dependent on the Spirit of Christ alone for the life that quickens and inspires and sanctifies, they were nevertheless catholic, as being organic parts or local embodiments of the Church Universal. So we have the remarkable fact that while Apostolic Christianity was organized essentially and almost exclusively in local churches, with no regular or organized provision for the expression of its total and collective unity, yet its feeling of the reality of the fellowship of the whole body, the Church Catholic, was most intense — perhaps more intense than at any time since. If Dr. Fairbairn's words¹ have been true of the Church at any time, they were true then:

"The Church is the body of Christ; and the churches, into which the Church is not divided, but distributed, ought to be, as it were, incarnations of His Spirit, organs by which His beneficent activity is maintained and exercised on earth."

It is often overlooked that in the New Testament the idea of the Church Universal precedes and determines the character of the local churches. The whole is the "New Israel,"² and the local churches are its members, in each of whom dwells the essence and life of the whole. As Dr. Oman³ says:

"Wherever two or three were gathered together in Christ's name, there the Church was in all its power and dignity, in all the promise of the Kingdom of God, and the possession of the blessings of that Kingdom."

The answer to the question: "Is there one Church or many?" is thus suggested. To the mind of Christ the Church was One,⁴ and every local church in the Apostolic days was not self-contained, but included spiritually all Christians everywhere. To use Dr. Forsyth's phrase, "the local Church was the *outcrop* there of the total and continuous Church, one everywhere." Indeed so pertinent and cogent are the sentences used in Dr. Forsyth's exposition of this idea that we quote them at length:

¹ *Studies in Religion and Theology*, p. 3.

² Cf. Hort's suggested translation, "My Israel."

³ Art. "Church" in *Encyc. of Rel. and Ethics*.

⁴ Cf. Dr. Huckel's very suggestive paper: "The Catholic and Evangelical Ideas of the Church." (Proceedings of the Third International Congregational Council, pp. 196-210.)

"*The Church and the Sacraments*," pp. 60-1. Cf. Sohni (Quoted by Oman, Art. *ut sup.*) "The faith of the Christian sees in every Christian Assembly gathered in the Spirit, the whole of Christianity, the people of God, the total community. On that ground every assembly of Christians, whether small or great, which met in the name of the Lord, was called *ecclesia*, a national assembly of the New Testament Israel."

"The total Church was not made up by adding the local Churches together, but the local Church was made a Church by representing there and then the total Church. It was just where the total Church looked out at one point. . . . The local gathering, therefore, was not a Church, but *the* Church, seen as God sees it, Who sees all in one, and the end in the beginning. . . . '*Ubi tres, ibi ecclesia*,' it was said. What did that mean? Not that three believing people make up a Church, but that where there are such a three there is the Church, that three with Christ draw thither spiritually the whole Church. . . . And faith saw in each community not a distinct and self-contained Church, but the whole Church, the people of God, the new spiritual Israel, as our Ambassador's house abroad is part of England, yea, is all England, if need and crisis bring all England to that spot."

In Apostolic times, that is to say, there was felt to be no antagonism or cleavage between what moderns call the "Catholic" and "Independent" ideas of the Church, because in the New Testament there are not many churches, but the One Church in many places. The Apostles did not establish churches in various cities in such a way that the churches had to attempt to link up with each other and join together; they established the One Church in this place and in that; "the great Church was not organized *out* of the small ones, but *into* them." Each church was independent of external control, whether of other churches, synods, or governments; but each was absolutely dependent on Christ, the Lord of all, and the whole Church was the Spirit-bearing body of Christ.

THE PROBLEM OF DEVELOPMENT

In the past, as has been said, it has often been shown that Congregational polity is primitive and Apostolic. So it is, and the fact is not unimportant. What has often been forgotten, however, is that just at the time when Congregationalism was the only form of Church organization, there was the deepest and most sensitive consciousness of the reality of the One Church, Holy and Catholic, and of Jesus Christ as its Lord.⁵ It is, therefore, necessary for us to remember that it is not sufficient for us to show that the churches of the first century were independent; what is primitive may not be the form most fitted for a world that is not primitive; "Independency" — like Episcopacy — may have been of the "*bene esse*" of the Church at one time, but that does not make it of its "*esse*" for all time.

If, however, it can be shown that there is in Congregational polity that which expresses a fundamental fact of religion, and is the most convenient vehicle for the religion for which the churches came into being, it will be of the utmost significance. It will then be clear, to use Dr. Dale's words, that the Congregational idea is "permanently rooted in the central truths of the Christian revelation, and that the Congregational polity is at once the highest and most natural organization of the Christian Church."

⁵ Interesting testimony to this aspect of Congregationalism is borne by the Rev. A. E. J. Rawlinson, in the volume of essays by Anglican Churchmen entitled "Foundations," pp. 393-4:

"It is in a sense no small paradox that the point of view which in one way most nearly approaches that of Catholicism, though in another it differs from it most widely, is that of Congregational Independency. Both are at one in conceiving the Church as primarily a mystical and religious entity, eternal in the heavens, a spiritual communion of the elect people of God which is of a higher order than space and time; and both agree in conceiving the assemblage of Christian people for worship as a manifestation visibly upon earth of this invisible or ideal Church — *ubi tres ibi ecclesia*."

The two lines on which such proof can be afforded are the following:

- (1) In the churches of the New Testament there is at one and the same time independence and the keenest appreciation of the Church Catholic. It is the harmonization of these conceptions that has been the problem of the Church for two thousand years; it can only be by the return to the spirit of New Testament Christianity that the synthesis can take place.
- (2) The Church that is to live must be able to do the work of Christ in and for the age in which it lives, must be able to readjust itself to new conditions, and adapt itself to changing environment. Has the Congregational polity shown itself flexible enough to be the medium through which Christ can speak to the 20th century as to the first? Is it so alive that it can continually change its form and presentation to meet changing needs?⁶

DEVELOPMENT TO THE REFORMATION

Without recognizing it, the Church, from the end of the first century onward to the Reformation, sacrificed more of its primitive form than was needful for the end in view; the endeavor to produce a Catholic organization resulted in the acceptance of the theory that "where the *bishop* was (and not two or three Christians in their Master's name), there was the Church." Inter-congregational and super-congregational organization was so developed that congregational life was enfeebled and its spirit and character largely changed. Thus the very necessary moral and spiritual education of the Christian in responsible religious life, under the immediate leadership of Christ, the Head of each and all, was immensely impaired. Not only so, but the virtue of the local brotherhood as a moral leaven in society was proportionately diminished, and the leavening function of the Church as a whole became weak and rudimentary. Dr. Sanday,⁷ admitting that this is "within its limits really degeneration," holds that it was "only the inevitable price that has to be paid for enlargement and expansion." If so, it simply means that these centuries left unsolved the problem of harmonizing the principles of local and Catholic forms of organization, of local autonomy and spiritual initiative on the one hand, and of collective unity and co-operation on the other. The Church endeavored to adapt itself to the rapid changes in its position from a despised and outcast sect of poor and lowly people to a patronized and established religion of the rich and mighty; and in the endeavor it stifled its life by the organization — meant to manifest its greatness — that it created. So real Christian religion decayed, freedom disappeared, and corruptions multiplied.

THE REBIRTH OF CONGREGATIONALISM

With the Reformation, the Scriptures came to replace the Church as the practical authority in all religious concerns, and it was therefore inevitable that the rediscovery of the Congregational principles contained in the New Testament should take place. Even before Robert Browne, there were those in this country who gathered together in churches formed on the Apostolic model; but it was Browne and those who came immediately after him who set before their countrymen their conception of the Church as found in the Scriptures. The Bible alone was to be their guide; the Apostolic faith and practice therein described was as "the pattern set before them in the Mount"; to establish the real visible church, there must

⁶ Cf. the able paper of Dr. Williston Walker (Proc'dgs. Third International Council, pp. 293-300).

⁷ The Primitive Church and Reunion, p. 101.

be before them "a true description out of the Word of God" (Barrowe). Every detail of worship and organization, every form and ceremony, must be exactly as the Scriptures set forth.

With such rigid principles, the Elizabethan Separatists delivered their witness; and in so doing they re-emphasized for Christendom three great testimonies regarding the Church.⁸

1. The immediate and present Lordship of Christ.

Where Christians were assembled, there Christ was, Lord of the individual soul and Ruler of the Church so gathered. The insistence on this principle carried with it as a corollary the independence of each such assembly from outside control by any authority whatsoever, synod or bishop, pope or prince. How the Separatists thus stood for religious freedom may be illustrated by the familiar words of the Presbyterian Andrew Melville,⁹ who told King James that he was but "God's silly vassal" and went on:

"And therefore, Sir, as divers times before, so now again, I must tell you, there are two Kings and two kingdoms in Scotland. There is Christ Jesus the King, and his Kingdom the Kirk, whose subject King James the Sixth is, and of whose kingdom not a king nor a lord, nor a head, but a member!"

Compare the equally bold utterance¹⁰ of an unknown member of a Separatist Church in London about 1567:

"Nevertheless, this is out of doubt, that the Queen's highness hath not authority to compel any man to believe anything contrary to God's Word, neither may the subject give her grace the obedience: in case he do, his soul is lost for ever without repentance. Our bodies, goods, and lives be at her commandment, and she shall have them as of true subjects. But the soul of man for religion is bound to none but unto God and His Holy Word."

2. The necessity of Christian character and discipleship for Church members.

Churches were not of "whole parishes, but rather of the worthiest"; they were "communions of saints" consisting of the "elect."

3. The essential democracy of the Christian fellowship.

In the Church all had equal rights: even Elizabeth and James could be but members. "One is your Master, and all ye are brethren."

Viewed from these three standpoints the Church is a *monarchy* ruled by Christ, an *aristocracy* of character (not aristocratic "in respect of the Presbytery" as the Cambridge Platform has it) and a *democracy* of members.

WHERE THE EARLY SEPARATISTS FAILED

Rendering such conspicuous service to the cause of truth and freedom, why did the fathers of Congregationalism fail? Simply mentioning the fact that they were not far ahead of their generation as regards toleration, it must again be pointed out that they altogether failed to realize that Christianity in the Apostolic age was not organized with a view to the conditions through which it had had to live during the centuries, or with a view to the conditions in Elizabethan England. The Apostles only contemplated the existence of Church life for a generation or so, and therefore they concerned themselves solely with the immediate need. But the

⁸ Cf. again Dr. Williston Walker's paper.

⁹ Autobiography and Diary of Mr. James Melville, pp. 370-1.

¹⁰ Peel. The Seconde Parte of a Register, 158.

Church had to live on when the Apostles were no more, to spread through the Roman Empire and through the world, and, as has been suggested, its continued life was contingent on its power to adapt itself to the varying situations in which it was placed. Even the Gospel itself had to be subject to the law of development, had (to take but one instance) to be re-expressed in terms other than those of a speedy Parousia. And so with the Church. The story of that re-adjustment of organization, of that adaptation to changed environment, is the history of polity in the past, and the problem — still unsolved for our generation, and necessarily remaining to be solved by every generation in its turn — for the present and future.

DEVELOPMENT TO THE PRESENT

Browne and Barrowe, then, did not recognize the need for any adaptation at all; for them the Scriptures were the sole and sufficient rule, and every deviation from Apostolic practice as set forth in the Word was sinful and antichristian. One of the few points on which the modern mind supports the Elizabethan bishops in their discussions with Puritans and Separatists is just here. What was good for Geneva was not necessarily good for England; and it was not essential that Apostolic injunctions to the churches of Corinth and Ephesus should be carried out in detail by the churches in London and Norwich, or the organization of the church at Thessalonica accurately reproduced at Colchester. It was only, however, with the greatest difficulty that the Separatists relinquished the notion that the Bible must for all time be the absolute rule, and be scrupulously followed. Even as late as 1648, the Cambridge Platform ¹¹ sets out:

"The parts of Church Government are all of them exactly described in the Word of God, being parts or means of Instituted worship according to the second Commandment: and therefore *to continue one and the same* unto the appearing of our Lord Jesus Christ, as a kingdom that cannot be shaken, until he shall deliver it up unto God, even the Father. *So that it is not left in the power of men, officers, Churches, or any state in the world, to add, or diminish, or alter, anything in the least measure therein.*"

Gradually, however, the needs of the times, and rapidly changing social and political conditions, brought about a greater readiness to change. Even in the Savoy Declaration a new spirit is evident, for Par. 7 of the chapter "Of the Holy Scriptures," after saying that the Bible contains the whole counsel of God, and nothing is to be added thereto, has the significant statement: ¹²

"Nevertheless we acknowledge the inward illumination of the Spirit of God to be necessary for the saving understanding of such things as are revealed in the Word; and that there are some circumstances concerning the worship of God and Government of the Church, common to humane actions and societies, which are to be ordered by the Light of Nature and Christian prudence, according to the general rules of the Word, which are always to be observed."

Independents who had lived under Laud, the Long Parliament, Cromwell and Charles II's alternating persecutions and indulgences could not but react somewhat, by way of greater flexibility of church theory, to the varying attitudes of the authorities. These rapid changes tended to destroy the old rigidity, and the influx into Congregationalism, especially

¹¹ Walker. *The Creeds and Platforms of Congregationalism*, p. 203. Italics the present writer's.

¹² *Ibid.*, pp. 368-9.

during the Commonwealth, of many men of parts and culture greatly accelerated development in the direction of freer and wider views. The increase in general knowledge (especially the rise of Biblical criticism) on the one hand, and the emergence of a multiplicity of sects with all manner of beliefs on the other, helped to loosen still further the dead hand of traditionalism and literalism. The fact that Congregationalism has been able throughout these years, and subsequently, to accept this development alike in matters of doctrine and discipline, faith and order — the churches throughout preserving the power of moral initiative — is the best evidence of the real religious life the denomination has possessed.

Before illustrating the continual adaptation and readjustment that have marked the period from the Commonwealth to the present, it may be well to outline the history and development of Congregationalism in that period.

Until 1641, Brownism — the name hitherto most frequently used for it by its foes — appealed to comparatively few individuals, and those mostly lowly and uneducated folks: "not many wise, not many mighty, not many noble, were called," the Church of 1st century being mirrored in this respect as in others. Indeed, it seems that up to this time the tenets of Congregationalism were nothing like so widely-known as is generally assumed. Richard Baxter,¹⁸ of all people, says:

"Till Mr. Burton published his *Protestation Protested*, I never thought what Presbytery or Independency were, nor ever spake with a man that seemed to know it. And that was in 1641, when the War was brewing."

The outbreak of the Civil War, the rise of a large party of men who wished to be independent of Episcopalian and Presbyterian alike — the "political Independents" they may perhaps be called — and especially the able witness of the "Five Dissenting Brethren" in the Westminster Assembly, brought many thoughtful men into association with Congregationalism, a fact for which Baillie, the Scotch Commissioner, offers abundant evidence.

Prominent notes in the Congregational witness at this time can be seen in the names commonly employed, Congregationalism and Independency. The former is positive, suggesting by its very etymology the essential constitutive principle of a true church as "gathered" round the Master from the world; the latter is negative, asserting that the church is *not* dependent on, or under the authority of, Bishop or Priest, State or King, or even of any Committee, Council, Presbytery, Union, Convocation, or Parliament. The brief reign of Cromwell, with its approach to toleration, and its quasi-establishment of Congregationalism in some places, left little permanent result; but the Act of Uniformity strengthened Independency in a considerable degree, making, as it did, the principle of voluntaryism in the support of ministers an absolute necessity. The alternation of persecution and indulgence under Charles II, however, greatly tended to the slackening of fibre among Dissenters generally, and prepared the way for the "decay of the dissenting interest" which accompanied the general decline of religion in the 18th century.

The erection of buildings for worship after the Toleration Act was far from compensating for that decay, which was to be accounted for primarily, according to a writer in 1730, by "ignorance of their own principles." It does seem true that during the greater part of the 18th century the Congregational Churches seem to have forgotten the fundamental ideas for which they stood; they neither realized the presence and power of Christ in their midst, making their acts His acts and their decisions His decisions, nor did they know the joy and gladness of communion with Him and fel-

¹⁸ True History of Councils, p. 90.

lowship with one another in the Spirit. Persecution and semi-toleration alike tended to make for narrowness, and a self-regarding spirit, with strict scrutiny of the conduct and opinions of fellow-believers, did not make for religious progress. Salvation came by way of two channels:

- (a) The rise of the Missionary movement had a very wholesome influence, and served as a corrective to the selfishness of individualist Independency.
- (b) The Evangelical Revival.

It must be noted, however, that even this great awakening at first weakened, rather than assisted, the peculiar witness of Congregationalism; for while it quickened the life of the churches, and in a measure transformed their theology and broadened their views, it did not advance the specifically Congregational view of the Church. Men came to worship conducted by a Congregationalist pastor because he preached a Gospel that helped them, and proclaimed a Saviour they needed, not because they had distinct "views" about a "gathered Church" with Christ in the midst. Many converts were altogether unconscious of the Congregational theory when they received the baptism of the Spirit, and they never obtained a real understanding of it as the years passed by. And it is doubtful how far Congregationalism in the 19th century would have remembered the pit from which it was dugged, and the rock from which it was hewn, and become conscious once again of its *raison d'être* had it not been for the untiring witness of such lovers of early Congregationalism as Dale of Birmingham, "the highest of High Churchmen." Congregationalists then were putting forth great efforts to secure religious freedom, and break, one by one, the shackles still left on from the past; and that work was very necessary. They were also turning their thoughts to the establishment of a denominational organization; to home, foreign, and colonial missions; to the training of the ministry, and to many other tasks that demanded great energy and vigor. It is therefore to the eternal credit of Dale and those who thought with him, that amid all this activity they were able to turn the minds of their fellow-members to the true idea of the Church.

With this summary in mind it is possible to look over the years from Browne's time to the present, and see the continual struggle for supremacy between the "Catholic" and "Independent" ideas of the Church.

1. *This can be seen first in the relation of the Congregationalist Churches to each other.*

A certain antagonism on the part of the early Congregationalists to the conception of the Church as catholic and universal is seen — even as late as 1658 — in the categorical statement of the Savoy Confession.¹⁴ "Besides these particular Churches, there is not instituted by Christ any Church more extensive or Catholic *entrusted with power for the administration of His Ordinances*, or the execution of any authority in His name."

For a considerable period it was the sole aim of Congregationalists rigidly to safeguard the independence of each church. Although Browne, in his "Book which sheweth the life and manners of all true Christians,"¹⁵ recognized the holding of synods for the helping of weaker churches, and "for deciding or redressing of matters"; and although the Confession of the Amsterdam Church in 1596 suggested¹⁶ that churches should take "counsel and help one of another," there was much suspicion of united

¹⁴ Walker. *Creeds and Platforms*, p. 404. The words in italics shew the aspect of the Church here in mind.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 21.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 71.

action or even conference. Indeed it is doubtful whether Congregationalism in Britain has to this day reached the degree of co-operation between its churches that American Congregationalists had secured by their councils and consociations by the end of the 17th century. Although the Congregational Fund Board, which sprang out of the short-lived "Happy Union" between Presbyterians and Independents in 1691, was an incipient Church Aid Society; yet it was not until the end of the 18th century that district and county associations of ministers began to be formed, and it was 1832 before the Congregational Union of England and Wales was constituted. That Union has had a long struggle against the firm conviction of many that "a church that cannot stand alone has no right to be," as also against the traditionalism and inertia of many more, to whom Independency was isolation and each church a body that lived (or died) to itself. Nevertheless the Union has earned its right to live by its constantly increasing usefulness, and especially by the help it can transfer from stronger churches to weaker ones. Indeed, since 1832, there has been a steady trend, sometimes checked for a time, but then again proceeding, in the direction of co-operation and organization. While in the early days every church was constituted by a covenant of its own form and making, now there is an almost uniform practice in the admission of church members, and, perhaps more remarkable still, there is a model "Trust Deed" which new churches, almost without exception, adopt. All churches are now joined to local, county, and national organizations, and many acts the denomination performs as a whole. It provides a hymn-book for its churches, influences the training and supply of ministers by a College Board, and compiles a list of duly accredited ministers. In connection with the ministry we find one of the most significant divergencies from early practice. In the 16th and early 17th centuries a minister, having been elected by the congregation, was ordained *by the election*, and by the prayers and laying on of hands *of the electing congregation*.¹⁷ Pastors of other congregations were there simply as witnesses, and it was only gradually that they came to take part in ordination services, as representing the denomination at large, in the Presbyterian manner, i.e., as is usual in Congregational churches today. The fact that a modern ordination service can be conducted entirely by theological professors who are not pastors of churches, shows how far the churches have moved from the days of the Commonwealth: the professors represent a "Church Catholic" in the sense in which the compilers of the Savoy Confession did not believe. Similarly it then followed, since there was no Church, but only local churches, that if a pastor left his charge, he was no longer a minister: he only resumed that office when "called" by another Church. Thus there was no pastor without a flock, a state of affairs which was, at least, logical.

Now a man, once set apart to the pastoral calling, is regarded as permanently enrolled in the ministerial ranks. When this change actually took place is not clear; but it is a witness to the fact that Congregationalists no longer hold that "besides these particular churches . . . there is not . . . any Church more extensive or Catholic."

2. A similar revolution has been effected in *the attitude of Congregationalists to Christians of other churches*. To the early Congregationalists, parish churches were antichristian, and therefore men were called to separate from them. Such being the case, communion with them was idolatrous, and co-operation impossible, and that, although the Separatists were in absolute agreement with the doctrinal standard of those churches. There were not lacking, however, even as early

¹⁷ The whole subject of Ordination is treated with great care and thoroughness by the Rev. T. G. Crippen in an article (Trans. Cong. Hist. Soc. VII, pp. 330-43) which deserves careful study.

as the time of John Robinson,¹⁸ indications of a broader view, which tended to recognize all churches where Christ was Lord as Christian churches, and to communicate with all that was good in such; John Owen, as was pointed out in discussion at the last Council,¹⁹ was very emphatic in the same direction; and they simply anticipated the modern view, which recognizes that no Church has had any long-continued vitality but in virtue of some truth it has emphasized (and no doubt exaggerated), which would probably have been overlooked without its witness. Today Christians of all denominations are recognizing that only a United Church, in which competitive and divisive aspects and functions are changed into co-operative and supplementary ones, can be sufficient for the task assigned to it by God.²⁰ The challenge of modern civilization is so clear that men in all churches recognize that only together can they be as salt in society, and as the light of the world, the prime agency by which the whole world is leavened and its kingdoms made the kingdom of Christ. Slowly during the last three centuries have Congregationalists become aware of this; and now they are ready to make needful sacrifices of narrow and personal preferences in Church organization, to give up the exclusive and sectarian standpoint, and adopt the inclusive and catholic one, esteeming no historic type of polity as "common or unclean," but all as bearing in a measure — and only in a measure — the tokens of Divine blessing and approval, in that they have helped various temperaments to realize the filial relationship through Christ and to live in a measure of Christian fellowship.

THE IMMEDIATE FUTURE

This brings us to the work immediately to our hand: for Congregationalism is faced today with the old problem — now again pressing urgently for solution — of how to associate freedom and fellowship, independence and unity, and so secure the largest possibility of fellowship compatible with essential individual liberties, the largest degree of local autonomy consistent with Catholic unity. This problem — the making effective of Dr. Allon's motto²¹: "Needless dissent in no case, but dissent the most strenuous where individual prerogatives are imperilled" — alike within the denomination and throughout the whole Church of Christ, is not easy. Is it possible to discern the signs of the times, and discover how the attempt at solution will be made? An attempted forecast must follow the same lines as the division above.

1. *Within Congregationalism* will the prevailing tendency of the last century be continued? Surveying the churches at the present moment, it is hard to say. On the one hand there is a real longing for unification and more efficient organization, especially as it touches the ministry. Not only are we losing ministers to more connectional denominations, especially to Presbyterianism, every year, but the vast majority of those remaining desire a more closely knit organization that will save them from isolation and give them more real fellowship, as well as provide a Sustentation Fund, and save them from harassing care concerning themselves and their families in sickness and old age, as from the fear of penury when "out of charge." It is the restlessness that results from this widespread feeling that has allowed such a significant innovation in Congregationalism as the "Moderator"

¹⁸ Though in him it seems to exist only as a tendency, and was not carried through to the extent described in the text.

¹⁹ By Dr. W. L. Walker (Proc'dgs. p. 300).

²⁰ For suggestive illustrations see Forsyth, 'The Church and The Sacraments,' pp. 45-7.

²¹ Address from the Chair of the Cong. Union of England and Wales, 1882.

scheme to go through the Assembly almost unchallenged, in the hope that it will do something to solve the problem of the ministry, and provide much-needed machinery to facilitate ministerial settlements and removals.

On the other hand, there is still strong — perhaps especially so in the North of England — the old "Independent" spirit, which dislikes centralization and the delegation of powers to the committees and councils of a central authority, and fears most of all anything that savors of bureaucracy. Whether the future is regarded from the standpoint of the denomination as a whole, or say, from that of County Union administration, the same difficulty appears. What should a County Union do with a small church to which it is accustomed to give a grant when it persists in some step that, in the eyes of experienced officials, is obviously unwise? Should the grant be continued on the ground that the church has a right to manage its own affairs, or withheld in the hope that financial pressure will produce acquiescence? To develop organization, increase efficiency, and yet preserve freedom and autonomy, is still a largely unsolved problem, and while we believe the tendency to consolidation will be continued — and wisely so — it would be well that those who lead it should proceed with caution and the utmost regard for "tender consciences," for it is impossible for the training of centuries to be eradicated in a decade.

2. Our immediate duty with regard to *other branches of the Church of Christ* is perhaps somewhat plainer; and it is a duty that cannot be evaded, for it is the object for which our churches came into being. To witness for civil and religious liberty, is important, and our churches will be no more backward in that struggle in the future than they have been in the past. But to witness for Christ as the immediate and living Lord of His Church, the "one foundation" on which the Church can be built, and built of the common people like those who "heard Him gladly" — that is the specific witness that Congregationalism holds in trust for the whole of Christendom; and that witness must be maintained at all costs, until the time comes when it is safeguarded in a more comprehensive polity than any existing, in which all representative types may find their fulfilment in a fuller and richer harmony of Church life. Maintaining that witness, the Congregational churches are, as has already been suggested, ready to make their sacrifices that the Church of Christ may be one; they have learnt to subordinate the things that divide to the things that unite "all who love the Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity"; and they long for the time when High Anglicans will have learned the corresponding lesson of intellectual and devotional charity, so that the united Christian witness on individual and corporate life may be multiplied by the frank mutual recognition and intercommunion of Episcopal and non-episcopal Churches. In the meantime we can but give our testimony, shewing our readiness for union by learning from every other polity, and incorporating in our organization such things in them as will help to increase our efficiency in the Master's service. That we have learnt from the Episcopal Church has recently been manifest, and there are points, alike in the practice of Churches so different as the Presbyterian and the Society of Friends, that could be adopted by us with advantage, without in the least invalidating our peculiar witness.

CONCLUSION

Facing the future, we are convinced that Congregationalism can only live, and go from strength to strength, as it is faithful to those fundamental principles that gave it life. Where two or three are gathered together in Christ's name, there is He in the midst, and there is the Church in its essential power and glory. Only by returning to that conception will those features that are so discouraging in our churches at present disappear; only so will church membership become a reality, and the church meeting be in practice that which it is in theory;²² only so will the officers of a Church be as Christ would have them be, instead of being, as they so often are now, a board of directors, with a pastor as salaried manager to make the business pay; and finally, only so will the churches become such homes of brotherhood that they will attract increasingly men of all sorts and conditions in our economically and socially divided national life, too many of whom today, in their dim quest for true fellowship, give us the go-by as having nothing of the kind to offer. Dr. Powicke's words,²³ if they do paint the picture in colors altogether too dark, are full of challenge and warning: —

"Have our churches become, or are they becoming, as salt without savor, because without confidence in their constitutive principle or appreciation of its value, or even, in some cases, recognition of its existence? This, for me, is the question of questions. And the answer to it which I seem forced to give is not encouraging. Why are our churches and ministers so consumed by restlessness? Why do they so often have recourse to methods for removal and settlement which are utterly unworthy? Why do they cherish false standards of success, and commit themselves to sordid ways of raising money, and fall into mean ways of regarding it? Why is the spirit of holy moral discipline, which instinctively separates the chaff from the wheat and distinguishes the Church from the world, so conspicuous by its absence? Why are we failing so markedly in ability to win, or to hold, those whose craving is for clear moral guidance or for spiritual uplift? Why do our colleges mourn the lack of men in whom high gifts of intellect are combined with a passion for the highest service? Why is the minister's right to 'live by the Gospel' so frequently ignored, or reduced to a charity, or resented as an undeserved claim? Well, the answer to me is clear. Such evils are the inevitable consequences of hypocrisy; for it is hypocrisy to announce, as we do, in books and sermons, and platform speeches and prayers, loyalty to a principle which we practically deny, or think of as too good for use. My reverence for that principle, the origin and indefeasible principle of the Church — if the New Testament is an authority — was never greater than now. My conviction of its necessity as the secret of inspiration in the churches, unity between the churches and power with the world, was never more deep. But to me there seems no real hope for our churches unless they can be persuaded to realize what they stand for — and to stand for it. We may live on, and even multiply, as respectable social clubs, or preaching stations, or centers of activity more or less philanthropic. We may succeed in reviving and intensifying a vigorous denominational sentiment. We may belaud our ancestors, and build their tombs, and repeat their watchwords. But if we do not regain the essence of their faith, and grasp it as the main-spring of our life, and apply it with undoubting sincerity in the

²² Cf. Dale "The Evangelizing Power of a Spiritual Fellowship," in Macfadyen's "Constructive Congregational Ideals," p. 136.

²³ Memorandum to the British Commission.

practice of our churches both individually and collectively — when we come together in church meeting or in congregational assembly — we have lost our *raison d'être*. We shall continue to exist under a false pretence, and shall, as churches, incur the doom of the unfit."

Many will consider those words too despondent, and an exaggeration of features in our church life that are generally deplored, but they contain a much needed message, and they are, in a measure, confirmed by Dr. Williston Walker,²⁴ than whom no person has more right to speak:

"There can be no doubt that early Congregationalism felt a mystical conviction, *not now characteristic of it*,²⁵ that Christ is in so real and true a sense the head of each Church of His disciples, and they are so one with Him by covenant, that the acts of such a Church, though those of human agents, are in vital reality His acts, whether in the admittance of members, the choice of officers, or the administration of discipline."

To recover this conviction; to get back that blessedness our fathers knew; so to quicken the spiritual life of individual members that there will be renewed in each one that sense of direct communion with the Master that first gathered him from the world, and as a consequence so to deepen the sense of fellowship that, when assembled together, the One Presence really felt shall be that of the Christ in all His power — that is the work to which we must set our whole souls.

If congregationalism can accomplish this, it need not fear for the future. With the Risen Lord as its Life, it will not fail to adapt itself to every new situation, to solve every problem, and accomplish its Divine mission. It will be able to absorb the female sex into the full service of Him in Whom is neither male nor female; it will be able to create the atmosphere in which pressing social and economic problems can best find solution; it will, while continuing its task of revealing and realizing the true idea of the Church, yet contribute to that union of the Churches that is to be; in a word, it will continue to live, and yet, living, it will exist for no other end but to extend its Master's Kingdom.

²⁴ Art. "Congregationalism" in Ency. of Relig. and Ethics.

²⁵ Italics the present writer's.

Rev. J. V. Bartlett
Rev. T. G. Crippen
Rev. B. Nightingale
Rev. A. Peel
Rev. F. J. Powicke
Rev. G. L. Turner

THE CONTRIBUTION OF CONGREGATIONALISM TO CIVIL AND RELIGIOUS LIBERTY

This report embodies valuable contributions from all the members of the Commission. Dr. Massie and the Rev. E. S. Kiek, M.A., B.D., undertook to provide material for the opening section on the influence of Congregationalism on the rise of Democracy. Dr. Griffith Jones sent some important suggestions on the character of the Congregational Ideal of Liberty and the mode by which the transition was effected from the religious to the civic sphere. He also is responsible for the final chapter on "The present position and outlook of Congregationalism." The Rev. D. Caird traced the gradual embodiment of the ideal in successive acts of Legislation. Dr. A. J. Grieve worked out the application of the principle in the history of Scotland and the Rev. D. L. Roberts at the last moment (taking the place of the Rev. H. M. Hughes of Cardiff) very kindly and with great promptitude produced the section on Wales.

It has not been possible to keep these contributions as separate entities (except in the case of Scotland and Wales) and in all cases some modifications have been necessarily introduced in order to give the Report as uniform an appearance as possible.

The report consists of the following chapters —

- I. Congregationalism and the rise of Modern Democracy.
- II. Congregationalism and the ideal of Religious liberty.
- III. The story of the struggle for civil and religious liberty in England.
- IV. The struggle in Scotland.
- V. The influence of Congregationalism on the development of Liberty in Wales.
- VI. Present position and outlook of Congregationalism.

While the substance of the Report represents the opinion of the Commission as a whole, no individual member must be held responsible for particular statements and opinions made or expressed in it.

CONGREGATIONALISM AND THE RISE OF MODERN DEMOCRACY

"Modern democracy," writes M. Borgeaud, the eminent Swiss Jurist, "is the child of the Reformation, not of the Reformers." This is only another way of saying that it is the creation of the Free Churches, and the dictum of Borgeaud is borne out by the facts.

It is not entirely true to say with Guizot "that the Reformation was a vast effort made by the human race to secure its freedom: it was a new-born desire to think and judge freely and independently of ideas and opinions, which till then Europe received or considered itself bound to receive from the hands of antiquity. It was a great endeavor to emancipate the human reason and to call things by their right names. It was an insurrection of the human mind against the absolute power of the Spiritual Order." The Reformation was the revolt not of the natural man but of the spiritual man and it was inspired throughout by the rediscovery of the fundamental truths of the Gospel. Guizot is quite wrong in assuming that liberty won its way in spite of the "Spiritual Order" — It was the new "Spiritual

Order" created by the Reformation that was the real matrix out of which Liberty was born. The doctrine of Luther created a new sense of the value of personality. It enunciated, as a primary axiom of religion, the fundamental principle that all men stand on the same footing in the sight of God and that there is only one strait gate that leads to the way of life and through that strait gate all alike must pass if they would enter into the Kingdom of Heaven. "All Christians," said Luther, "are truly of the Spiritual Estate and there is no difference between them save of office alone." The universal priesthood of all believers, when carried to its logical result, abolishes all distinctions within the pale of the Church, and what is equally important, it gives to each and every member of the Church a birthright of Spiritual freedom.

But the early Reformers failed to recognise all that was involved in their position. The full significance of the doctrine of the Universal Priesthood of all believers was not realised at first. Luther, as Troeltsch remarks, "shrank from putting the principle into effect." Even in the Church constitution of Calvin, it was not allowed full play. The English Independents were the first to grasp the real meaning and logical consequences of the new idea and to translate it into a Church polity. They were the first to see that, if the doctrine of Universal Priesthood was to be fully carried out, all authority in Church matters must be vested in the whole body of Church members and every Christian must have the privilege and duty of sharing in the government and administration of the Church. And when this point was reached the application of the same principle to civil and political affairs was only a question of time. The spiritually free will inevitably establish a state of the politically free. The early Independents learned the meaning of citizenship first of all in the Church, and having learned the value of freedom there could be content with nothing less in the civic and national life. The old Nonconformist Churches were the school in which the modern world was taught the privilege of liberty and the art of government. "Religious liberty," as Schaff puts it, "is the mother of civil liberty. The Universal Priesthood of Christians leads legitimately to the universal kingship of free, self-governing citizens, whether under a Monarchy or under a Republic."

Robert Browne,¹ the founder of Independency, as Dexter says, "had no idea of being a democrat, or that he was teaching democracy. His conception of Church government, it is clear, was of the absolute monarchy of Christ over the Church. But then he conceived of Christ the King as reigning through as many agents as there are individual subjects in His Kingdom." And when he reached this point, he had (though probably perfectly unconsciously) laid the foundations of a Spiritual democracy. From the Church the democratic idea passed slowly and almost imperceptibly into the State. Even Robert Browne himself seems to have felt that the rules, which he formulated for the government of the Church, ought *mutatis mutandis* to be applied to civil affairs. In his treatise—*A Booke concerning true Christians*, after describing the regulation of Church Government, he adds the significant words — "We give these definitions so generall that they may be applied also to the civill state."

Two illustrations have fortunately been preserved of the way in which the early Independents attempted to transfer their spiritual ideas to the life of the "body politic." The first is to be found in the remarkable compact signed by the Pilgrim Fathers in the cabin of the *Mayflower*, in which the principles of democracy are formulated as a basis for the government of the New Colony.

"In the name of God Amen — we whose names are underwritten, the Loyal subjects of our dread Sovereign Lord King James by the Grace of

¹ Quoted from an article by H. T. Andrews on the Social principles and effects of the Reformation in "Christ and Civilization."

God, of Great Britain, France and Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith, etc., having undertaken for the glory of God, and the advancement of the Christian Faith, and honour of our King and Country, a voyage to plant the first Colony in the Northern parts of Virginia, do by these *presents solemnly and mutually in the presence of God and of one another covenant and combine ourselves together into a civil body politic, for our better ordering and preservation and furtherance of the ends aforesaid: and by virtue hereof to enact constitute and frame such just and equal laws, ordinances, acts, constitutions and offices from time to time, as shall be thought most meete and convenient for the general good of the Colony unto which we promise all due submission and obedience.* In witness thereof we have hereunder subscribed our names at Cape Codd the 11th of November in the year of the reign of our Sovereign Lord, King James of England, France and Ireland the eighteenth and of Scotland the fifty-fourth Anno Domini 1620."

This document is a clear proof that the Independents took the first opportunity that presented itself of declaring that their Church principles ought to be applied to civic life and when so applied, inevitably resulted in the establishment of democracy. This compact was not merely a Church covenant made by members of the same Christian fellowship. The Pilgrims were not all Independents. Certain emigrants had joined the *Mayflower* at Southampton, who had no religious ties with the majority of the passengers. To these strangers the Pilgrims naturally and in accordance with their religious principles extended the rights of civil freedom. Well has it been said that this compact represents "the birth of popular constitutional liberty" and that "in the cabin of the *Mayflower* humanity recovered its rights and instituted government on the basis of equal laws and for the general good." This first covenant was supplemented by what was afterwards called a Plantation covenant or civil contract which, as Borgeaud points out, was "if not the model, at any rate the first of a series of acts which have exercised a decisive and incontestable influence on the constitutional law of America," and we may add indirectly too on the development of democracy in England. The second document which embodies the political ideals of the early Independents is entitled "*An Agreement of the People of England*," and contained a manifesto which was published in the year 1648, demanding the establishment of a complete democracy in England. It claims that its provisions² are based "upon grounds of common right, freedom and safety" and states that its purpose is "to avoid the danger of returning to a slavish condition." Its main clauses enforce the following principles —

- (1) The recognition of the absolute sovereignty of the people.
- (2) The supreme power was to be vested in a single legislative assembly, which is to elect its own Executive Council.
- (3) Parliament was to be elected biennially that its legislature might never be out of touch with public opinion.
- (4) The Franchise was to be extended to all citizens of full age with the exception of hired servants, and those who were in receipt of Poor Relief.
- (5) The Church was to be reformed but not disestablished — and all forms of Christianity were to be tolerated. "Nevertheless it is not intended to be hereby provided that this liberty shall necessarily extend to Popery or Prelacy."
- (6) The powers of Parliament were to be limited by fundamental laws and embodied in the constitution especially in respect to the civil liberties guaranteed to citizens.

² See S. R. Gardiner — Constitutional Documents of the Puritan Revolution — p. 271.

It will be observed from the foregoing statement that there were two serious limitations in the conception of liberty and democracy, as set forth in the Agreement. It severely restricted the franchise by enacting that "no servants to and receiving wages from any particular person" should have the right of voting. The effect of this was to shut out the mass of the laboring classes and set up a middle-class democracy. This is a serious blot upon what was otherwise an enlightened scheme and shows that at this time the fundamental principles of civil and political liberty had not been worked out to their logical conclusion. The second defect in the Agreement is its refusal to allow toleration to Roman Catholicism. These defects were due to the peculiar conditions of the period. The Independents could not possibly work out their principles in practice since after all they were a minority of the nation. Both these limitations were afterwards cancelled when the later Independents fought for Catholic Emancipation and the extension of the franchise to the mass of the people.

Another interesting point about the Agreement is its insistence upon the fact that there are certain inherent rights belonging to the individual which the State has no right to invade or destroy. Parliament, for instance, was not to be empowered to "impress or constrain any person to serve in foreign war nor any military service within the Kingdom." Nor could Parliament make void or invalid any securities given by the public faith of the Nation: nor could it exempt from the scope of its legislation any individual or any class of individuals. And finally it was forbidden "to take away any of the foundations of common right, liberty and safety contained in the Agreement, nor level men's estates, destroy property or make all things common."

We have quoted this agreement at some length because it is the first great statement, as far as England is concerned, of the ideal of political liberty, that grew up out of the new faith which produced the Reformation and created the Nonconformist Churches.

Throughout its history, Independency has been true to this Ideal. Time after time, it has fought for the vindication of these great principles — and largely through its untiring and unrelenting championship most of them have now been embodied in the British Constitution. It is difficult to conceive of the development of modern democracy without the driving force, which came from the faith of the Puritans. As a matter of fact the first effect of the Reformation was to strengthen Monarchical rule in Europe. There can be no doubt that in weakening the power of the Pope it enhanced for the moment the authority of secular rulers and increased their despotism. Henry VIII, for instance, became a much worse autocrat after he had supplanted the Pope as head of the English Church — and Luther gave to the doctrines of passive obedience an unction, which it had not possessed for ages. Lord Acton in his *History of Freedom* asserts — and there is much truth in the assertion — that "the direct political influence of the Reformation affected less than has been supposed . . . when the last of the Reformers died, religion instead of emancipating the nations had become an excuse for the criminal art of despots. Calvin preached and Bellarmine lectured, but Machiavelli reigned." It was the rise of Puritanism and especially of Independency that turned the course of the Reformation into an entirely new channel and completely reversed the first effects. By publicly challenging the tyranny of the Stuart kings and evolving the ideal of political liberty, it set in motion forces, which were inevitably bound sooner or later to result in the establishment of democracy.

It is not too much to say that under the Leadership of Puritanism, the Christian Church nobly avenged the wrong which had been done to it by the State in the early ages. In ancient times, the Roman Empire gave to the Church an organisation and a constitution which crippled its freedom and destroyed its spirituality. In modern times, the Church rejuvenated by the Reformation and purified by the ideals of the Puritans and Inde-

pendents, gave to the Nation principles of Government, which enabled it to regain its liberty and organise democracy.

The democratic institutions of Britain and America are colored by the fact of their Puritan origin. It is important to understand the principle on which they were founded. There are two possible principles on which Democracy may be based. One principle is derived from the New Testament, mediated through the Reformers and the Puritans: it is the conception of the Christian man as made free by and under grace. This is the Evangelical conception of liberty. The other is the conception of liberty as inhering in the natural man, and belonging to him by the law of Nature. This may be called the Naturalistic conception of liberty. The former finds its noblest expression in the Epistles of St. Paul, notably in the Epistle to the Galatians. ("Stand fast therefore in the liberty wherewith Christ hath made us free.") Its basis is the New Birth, whereby man becomes a child of God, who as such is entitled to realise the Divine will in all the affairs of life according to the light that is given to him by the Holy Spirit. His right to freedom from external control and coercion is God-given and inalienable: it is his, not that he may do as he pleases, but that he may be free to do the will of God. The Naturalistic conception of liberty finds its classic expression in the writings of Rousseau, who held that man in his natural state is essentially good, and that he is therefore entitled to freedom as a matter of natural right. It was the Pauline and Puritan conception that was the foundation of both British and American Democracy: it was the Naturalistic conception that created the French Republic and is at the root of much of the modern movement towards Democracy.

On the one hand we have Democracy grounded on the fact of regeneration by the grace of God: on the other hand we have Democracy emerging from the notion that man is morally enlightened and virtuously inclined by the constitution of his natural self. According to the former view, in strict logic, only regenerated men are properly entitled to the exercise of the rights of freedom: it is suggestive to find that in some at least of the New England States the franchise was originally limited to men making a definite profession of Christian faith and discipleship. Yet the Pilgrim Fathers, in their earliest manifesto on the subject, extended the full privileges of the State to some who did not make such a profession, and Congregationalists generally have advocated the extension of these privileges to all citizens alike. The question may indeed be raised whether this does not involve a serious inconsistency: we think however that the inconsistency is more apparent than real. The more liberal view may be conceived as implying that all men are potentially, if not actually, children of God, and that it is better to make the venture of faith and deal with them as such than to subject the unconverted to social and political disabilities. In any case Congregationalism has rendered, and can render, no better service to the world than by insisting on the truth that Liberty is the inalienable possession of man, not as a child of nature, but as a child of grace, that it is found, not in the unbridled affirmation of the self-will of the natural man, but in the obedient service of the soul redeemed. Liberty is always an illusion and a danger when unrestrained and uncontrolled by grace working through love. The world cannot be made safe for Democracy till Democracy is made safe for the world. And this can never be till Democracy has solved the problem of how to reconcile Law and Liberty, Order and Freedom — a problem that only a redemptive and dynamic Christianity can really and ultimately solve. Only in a Freedom based on the Gospel can we successfully equate rights and responsibilities, privileges and duties. This is the bed-rock of Congregationalism, which is essentially not democratic but Christocratic. It sanctifies the suffrage of the people by infusing it with the authentic spirit of Christ. It is not based on an exaggerated and unreal optimism regarding the nature of man — an

optimism which the state of the world today sufficiently refutes — but on a passionate faith in the unlimited scope and efficacy of Christ's redeeming grace. From beginning to end its polity is spiritually inspired and spiritually conditioned. Our mutual relationships are determined, not by merely human sentiments and affinities, but by a common experience of God and a common "interest" in Christ. Freedom is thus, not a natural right that may be claimed by us, but a Divine privilege that has been bestowed on us. And it is by carrying this principle into the civic life that we have been able to inspire the creation of a democracy, which has avoided the evil of Prussian militarism on the one side and the evil of Anarchy on the other.

Towards this great end, Congregationalism and Presbyterianism alike rendered immense service. Presbyterianism perhaps contributed most to the evolution of representative Institutions — but Congregationalism with the stress which it laid upon the sovereign rights of the individual Church and with the emphasis which it gave to the principle that the seat of authority rested in the whole body of Church members and not merely in the representative and official classes, struck the more democratic note and threw the whole weight of its influence into the scale to prevent democracy from degenerating into a mere bureaucracy.

II

CONGREGATIONALISM AND THE IDEAL OF RELIGIOUS LIBERTY

From its very inception Congregationalism has fought the battle of religious liberty. In the early period of its history, this battle was part of the struggle for its own existence. In the face of the Act of Uniformity which tried to thrust upon the country a standardised form of religious faith and worship, the Independents claimed — and claimed at a great cost to themselves — the right of every individual to liberty of conscience and freedom of worship. This did not mean at first at any rate that *all* Independents were opposed to the idea of a National Church. In the days of the Commonwealth the majority of them accepted establishment for themselves. In the *Agreement of the Peoples of England* provision is made for the establishment of a State Church. The ninth clause enacts: —

"It is intended that the Christian religion be held forth and recommended as the public profession in this Nation, which we desire may by the grace of God be reformed to the greater purity in doctrine, worship and discipline, according to the Word of God: the instructing of the people thereunto in a public way, so it be not compulsive: as also the maintaining of able teachers for that end and for the confutation or discovering of heresy error and whatsoever is contrary to sound doctrines, is allowed to be provided for by our Representatives: the maintenance of which teachers may be out of a public treasury, and we desire, not by tithes: provided that Popery or Prelacy be not held forth as the public way or profession in this nation."

But linked with this public establishment and endowment for a national form of religion, there was the utmost care taken to protect freedom of conscience. "To the public profession so held forth none may be compelled by penalties or otherwise"

"Such as profess faith in God by Jesus Christ, however differing in judgment from the doctrine, worship or discipline publicly held forth, as aforesaid, shall not be restrained from, but shall be protected in, the profession of their faith and exercise of religion according to their consciences in any place except such as shall be set apart for public worship . . . nevertheless it is not intended to be hereby provided that this liberty shall necessarily extend to Popery or Prelacy"

The policy outlined in the agreement was carried into effect during the

commonwealth period. Congregational and Presbyterian Ministers accepted positions in the State Church and many Anglican Clergymen retained their former livings. But this arrangement was not effected without some protests. On the one side there were many Independents who thought that the State should not be allowed to interfere with religion and objected on principle to an established Church. On the other side there were not wanting some who held that as the Established Church had been made sufficiently broad to include different types of religious belief, anything further in the way of toleration was unnecessary. The Commonwealth settlement of religion was obviously a compromise — probably the best compromise that was possible at the time — but like most forms of compromise and coalition it failed to meet the aspirations and ideals of the noblest men of the time. Whatever Cromwell's own personal views on the question of Establishment may have been, there was one point upon which he refused to yield. He was absolutely determined that there should be no infringement of the principle of toleration. There must be no violation of the tenderest conscience. "He had rather," as he tells us, "that Mahometanism were permitted amongst us than that one of God's children should be persecuted!" It is not easy to estimate the numerical strength of the "Voluntaryists" as the opponents of the Establishment were called in the days of the Commonwealth, but they seem to have included among their leaders men like Roger Williams and John Goodwin, and it is claimed that Milton himself was on their side.

The dream of a United Protestant Church, established by law, was shattered for the moment by the fall of the Commonwealth, to be revived, however, in the later years of Charles II, and during the reign of his successor. A series of efforts to secure the reunion of the Protestant Churches culminated in the Comprehension Bill of 1689. The broader minds on both sides, Baxter and Howe as Nonconformists, Tillotson and Stillingfleet as Anglicans, came to terms of Agreement. The Bill passed the House of Lords — but was referred by the Commons to Convocation. The Lower House of Convocation evinced such a furious opposition to the scheme that the measure had to be dropped. But the credit or the blame for the failure of the Bill cannot entirely be laid at the feet of the Anglicans. As Dale says, "In the House of Commons the friends of the Nonconformists were in the majority and had they been united in favor of the Bill, they could easily have carried it!"³ There can be little doubt that by this time the Voluntaryists had become strong enough to prevent what they regarded as a fatal policy. Bishop Burnet ascribes the failure of the Bill to the fact that some of those who — "Seemed most favorable to the dissenters — set it up for a maxim that it was fit to keep up a strong faction both in Church and State: and they thought it was not agreeable to that to suffer so great a body as the Presbyterians to be made more easy or more inclinable to unite to the Church: they also thought that the toleration could be best maintained when great numbers should need it and be concerned to preserve it: so this good design being zealously opposed and but faintly promoted, it fell to the ground"⁴

The opinion of Calamy that if the Bill had been carried two thirds of the Nonconformists would have conformed is probably an exaggeration.⁵

The failure of the comprehension Bill marks the turning point in the attitude of Congregationalism as a whole towards the question of Establishment. Henceforward the question of reunion fell into abeyance, until its revival in recent times. The principle of Voluntaryism became triumphant and Congregationalism devoted its strength to securing first of all complete toleration for all forms of religious belief, and secondly, the

³ History of Congregationalism, p. 471.

⁴ History of his own time IV, 20-21.

⁵ Abridgment 1. 448.

liberation of religion from the thralldom of state control, and thirdly, the equality before the law of all citizens irrespective of their religious beliefs.

From first to last, though there have been different attitudes adopted towards the question of Establishment, there have never been two opinions within Congregationalism upon the matter of Toleration, and the triumph of Toleration in England is almost entirely due to the influence of Congregationalism. Anglicanism was in its early days almost entirely opposed to it till the rise of Latitudinarianism, Presbyterianism never took kindly to the idea, and it was in large measure due to Congregationalism to act as the champion of freedom of conscience and liberty of worship. The Reformation, as defined by its founders, would never have given us toleration. Luther was frankly opposed to the recognitions of variations in creed and practice. He boldly avowed that he wished to "wring the neck of reason and strangle the beast." Calvin acquiesced in the burning of Servetus. It was left very largely to Congregationalists, in conjunction with the Quakers and Baptists in the first instance, to claim the divine right of toleration for all forms of religious conviction.

CONGREGATIONALISM AND FREEDOM IN RELIGIOUS THOUGHT

The contribution of Congregationalism to Religious Thought as such will find exposition in another Report. Here we shall only show in what way it has ministered to Liberty in Religious Thought.

For three centuries we have claimed the right to be free from the thralldom of formulated and authoritative creeds. This position has been widely misunderstood in certain quarters: it has even created the impression that a Congregationalist is free to believe anything or nothing. There have indeed been times and occasions when Liberty has degenerated into license, nor need we be concerned to deny that our whole position in this connection involves a venture of faith. Yet, on the whole, it has been abundantly justified by results. From the first the Congregational Churches of Britain have been, not creedless Churches (in the sense that some suppose), but rather Churches that have repudiated a *regulative* creed. We have never sought to impose, either on our Ministers or on our Members, creedal formularies of a binding and compulsory character. Our successive confessional statements — there are many of them — have always been *declaratory*, but in no case *regulative*: they have expressed what is generally believed *among* Congregationalists, but they have never been imposed *upon* Congregationalists. They have been recognized as *approximate* rather than *absolute* statements of Christian truth. Congregationalism has done this great service for Christendom: it has proved that it is possible for a Church, with the open Bible in its hand and the Holy Spirit in its heart, to continue loyal to the substance of the Evangelical Faith through long centuries, while refusing to trammel the free development of Christian Thought by any restrictive formulas. Doubtless we have been more sensitive to shifting "winds of doctrine" than certain other Churches: it is possible that we have passed through more theological storms than Christian communities wherein rigid uniformity of teaching and belief has been the ideal. But there has been that in the *ethos* of Congregationalism as an Evangelical Church which has always reacted against partial or imperfect re-statements of the Faith. We have ever been open to new revelations of Christian Truth, yet we have never relapsed into heresy or fallen into apostasy. Whenever Congregationalists have been tempted to depart from the Evangelical fundamentals, the reaction has come with all the greater momentum because born of the spontaneous and intuitive movement of the life within. Both the Arian Movement in the 18th century and the "New Theology" movement in the 20th afford interesting illustration of this. In this way Con-

gregationalism has always kept in the van of religious thought, while ever remaining Evangelical to the core. Its thinkers have been free to re-express their conceptions of the Faith, as fresh discoveries in Science, fresh advances in Biblical Criticism, new movements in philosophy, new constructions in theology, made such re-statement desirable and necessary. Thus we have assimilated without shock or jar the new elements in the progressive revelation of God without pressing unduly on the consciences of any, or hindering the expansion of the human mind. To have exemplified this principle in actual practice for more than three centuries of turbulent life and changing thought, involving unparalleled changes of outlook, is indeed an object-lesson in spiritual vitality, and a splendid testimony to the cause of Christian liberty. The spectacle has not only been impressive in itself, but has exercised a profound influence on the life of other Churches than our own. We have shown once for all that any artificial restriction on the freedom of the Gospel is unnecessary and mischievous, and that such restrictions may be eliminated, not only without loss, but with positive gain to the power of the Evangelical witness. Every fetter on the intellect of believers is a drag on the advance of Truth and a detriment to the work of the Holy Spirit. To this principle Congregationalism has been faithful from the beginning: it is still the principle to which we cling with a conviction strengthened by the experience of the centuries.

III

THE FIGHT FOR CIVIL AND RELIGIOUS LIBERTY

The failure of the Comprehension Bill threw the Nonconformists back upon the Toleration Act, which had been passed within a few months of the accession of William and Mary. That Act conferred a very attenuated freedom upon Nonconformists. It allowed them to exist but only upon sufferance and under certain well defined conditions. It provided: —

- (1) That no person who took the oaths of allegiance and supremacy and subscribed the declaration against transubstantiation should be compelled to attend the services of the Established Church or be punished for attending meetings in conventicles.
- (2) That the services in conventicles should be protected from disturbance.
- (3) That a dissenting minister who wished to exercise his calling must subscribe to thirty-four out of the thirty-nine Articles, omitting those referring to ceremonies and ritual, the Book of Homilies and the Ordination services.
- (4) Special treatment was meted out to Quakers who were released from the necessity of taking the oaths but were required to make a solemn declaration against Transubstantiation and of loyalty to the Government, and to a public assurance of the belief in the Trinity and the Inspiration of the Bible.
- (5) Baptists, too, were exempted from the necessity of subscribing to the Article on Infant Baptism.
- (6) Unitarians, however, were specifically left without any form of protection and it was expressly declared that "neither this Act nor any Clause herein contained shall be construed to give, in any case, benefit or advantage to any person that shall deny the Doctrine of the Blessed Trinity" and eight years later (1697) an Act was passed which made the denial of the doctrine of the Trinity a penal offence punishable on a second conviction with three years imprisonment.

The defects of the Toleration Act — though it has justly been called "the foundation of all our liberties" — are obvious.

- (1) It continued the Church of England in the supreme position and allowed it to keep its Ecclesiastical endowments.
- (2) It excluded from its scope the Roman Catholics on the one side and the Unitarians on the other. It only protected those who believed in the doctrine of the Trinity and denied the doctrine of Transubstantiation.
- (3) It made it necessary for every Nonconformist Minister to accept the theological standards of 34 out of the 39 Articles of the Church of England.
- (4) It did not repeal the Act of Uniformity or the Conventicle Act or the Five Mile Act — it simply waived the punishment which these Acts provided for offenders.
- (5) The Test and Corporation Acts were still allowed to remain in operation and by their provisions all who did not take the sacrament according to the rites of the Church were excluded from all forms of public office or positions of public trust.

This was the situation which faced Nonconformists after the Revolution. They were allowed the right of existence but very little more. They were severely handicapped in every department of life — in Education — in Civic life and in the propagation of their own religious faith. It was in view of the disabilities which were imposed upon them — and the serious curtailment of their public liberty, that they commenced the long struggle of Freedom. Gradually their own programme began to shape itself and they perceived all the implications which were involved in the true conception of liberty. By the beginning of the nineteenth century it became clear to them: —

- (1) That it was impossible to reconcile the full conception of liberty with the existence of an established Church. The special and exclusive privileges conferred by the State on a Church established by law necessarily involve a limitation of the rights and privileges of those who do not belong to the Establishment, and the exercise of these rights and privileges has been found in practice to be a constant menace to such rights and privileges as are not denied to the members of other religious denominations. "Religious inequality and political injustice are two names for the same thing according to the point of view from which the matter is approached."
- (2) That the fullest and complete liberty for every form of religious opinion must be obtained at any cost. The State must not be allowed to take cognisance of the religious opinions of its subjects and every individual citizen must be permitted to have absolute freedom to hold and proclaim his faith without any interference by the Civil Power.
- (3) That all Churches should stand on one level of equality in the eyes of the Law — each being allowed to do its own distinctive work in its own particular way.
- (4) That the State has no right to use its powers in order to support, patronise and exalt a particular Church at the expense of other Churches, or of citizens who do not belong to any Church.
- (5) That the State has no right to place national property at the disposal of those who hold a particular creed and that to confer by

Law on those who hold such a creed office, honor, rank and emolument, which are denied to those of other creeds, is a manifest injustice.

- (6) That the State has no right to exclude any citizens on religious grounds from the privileges of public education and from any duty or office in connection with the National or Civil Life.

It was not till the beginning of the nineteenth century, that the struggle for religious liberty began to be completely successful, though some unavailing efforts were made in the eighteenth. At the outset in the reign of Queen Anne a serious reaction set in and The Occasional Conformity Act, which prevented Nonconformists from partaking of Holy Communion in the Parish Church in order to qualify for office and the Schism Bill, which attempted to shut them out from the Educational Profession by enacting that all who wished to teach in Schools and Colleges must first qualify, by signing the thirty-nine Articles, threatened to strangle the very life of Nonconformity. The reaction, however, owing to the Queen's death, was happily short-lived and at the beginning of the reign of George I, the obnoxious measures were repealed.

- I. The first step towards a broader toleration was taken in 1779, when instead of the old subscription to 34 Articles of the Church of England, there was substituted a general declaration of belief in the Scriptures as a qualification for exercising the office of Nonconformist minister. This was only a small beginning — but at any rate it paved the way for the greater reforms which were soon to follow.
- II. The second step was taken in 1812 when the Five Mile Act and the Conventicle were definitely repealed. These Acts had been practically a dead letter for some while, but as long as they were in the Statute Book, it was always possible to revive them in a period of reaction, and it was a great relief to Nonconformity when they were repealed. Under the Act of 1812, some other slight improvements were introduced into the Toleration Act, e.g.:
 - (a) The number of people not being members of the same family who were allowed to meet in an unregistered building was raised from 5 to 20.
 - (b) The process of taking the oath was simplified for Nonconformist Ministers.
 - (c) Nonconformist Meeting Houses were protected from disturbances without as well within the building.
- III. The third step was more important. In 1813, the Acts which had imposed penalties on Unitarianism were repealed and Unitarian Ministers were allowed the benefit of the Toleration Act.
- IV. Another important step followed in 1828, when the Test and Corporation Acts, which made it illegal for all who were not communicants of the Church of England to hold any public office or position, were removed from the Statute Books. For some time, by Annual Indemnity Acts, the penalties imposed by these Acts had been suspended and their total disappearance was the logical issue of the virtual neglect into which they had fallen.
- V. In the following year 1829, the Catholic Emancipation Bill was passed. The Union of Great Britain and Ireland in 1800 had been followed by a series of agitations for this measure of Reform. Repeated efforts were made between 1800 and 1829 to carry a Bill of Emancipation through Parliament, but none of

these efforts proved successful and it was not till 1829 that success was achieved. The Bill prescribed a new oath in the place of the existing oath of Supremacy and so permitted the admission of Roman Catholics to both Houses of Parliament: to all corporate offices: to all judicial offices except in the Ecclesiastical Courts: and to all civil and political offices except those of Regent, Lord Chancellor of England and Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. Some Nonconformists opposed the Bill, fearing that the Protestant Cause might be weakened — but the majority would not allow their apprehension for the future to overmaster their love of liberty and eagerly worked for its success. O'Connell, the Irish Catholic leader — speaking in the name of the people of Ireland — said at a Meeting of the Protestant Society "I stand here in the name of my country, to express our gratitude in feeble but sincere language, for the exertions made in our behalf by our Protestant Dissenting brethren. I have come here to express my thankfulness for the support they have given to the great cause of my country." *

- VI. In 1836, a Bill was passed to legalise marriages, in Dissenting Churches. Originally this had been possible, but Lord Hardwicke's Marriage Act of 1752, which sought to prevent clandestine marriages, declared that all marriages, which had not been performed in the Parish Church by a Clergyman after the publications of Banns were illegal, though an exception was made in favour of Jews and Quakers. Between 1752 and 1836, no valid marriages could take place anywhere except in the Parish Church and this restriction bore specially hardly on Roman Catholics and Unitarians, who were prevented by their religious convictions from accepting the statements of the Anglican Marriage Service. The Bill of 1836 afforded much needed relief and legalised the use of Nonconformist Churches for the Marriage Ceremony.

It insisted, however, that in lieu of the publication of Banns, notice of the marriage must be given to the Superintendent Registrar of the District, and the presence of the Registrar was required at the Ceremony itself. By subsequent legislation the provision requiring the presence of the Registrar at marriages in Nonconformist Churches was amended; and since 1899 it has been possible to perform marriages "without the presence of the Registrar" if an "authorized" person is present as an official witness, an "authorized" person being a person authorized to act by the trustees or other governing body of the registered building. Moreover, an authorized person once appointed and certified may act in any registered building in the same Registrar's district in which the particular building in respect of which he is authorized is situate.

- VII. The subject of Church Rates also came into prominence soon after the passing of the Reform Bill of 1832. Rates were levied by the Parish Vestries upon the whole Parish for the upkeep and maintenance of the Anglican Church.

Before the measure of relief passed through Parliament, action had been taken in the Law Courts. In 1831, the majority of the Vestry at Braintree refused to pass the Church Rate. The case was taken by the Church Wardens to the Courts and after various vicissitudes, the action of the majority was pronounced valid on an appeal to the House of Lords in 1852. Meanwhile

* Quoted by Dale, *History of Congregationalism*, p. 618.

no less than 1525 parishes or districts had followed the example of Braintree and refused to levy a Church Rate.

In 1868 a Bill introduced by Mr. Gladstone enacted that "no suit shall be instituted on proceeding taken in an Ecclesiastical or other Court or before any Justice or Magistrate to enforce or compel the payment of any Church Rate made in any Parish or place in England or Wales."

VIII. *The opening of the Universities to Nonconformists.* Nonconformists had been excluded from Oxford since 1581, subscription being required from every Student on Matriculation. At Cambridge, they were allowed to enter and matriculate, but from 1616 they were debarred from taking Degrees. The agitation for opening the Universities without religious tests commenced in 1830, but it was not till 1870 that the Bill abolishing tests passed through Parliament. The effect of the Bill was to transform the Universities, which for centuries had been the private preserves of the Anglican Church, into National Institutions.

IX. *The Burial Laws.* Before the year 1852, the only public burial places in England were the graveyards of the Parish Churches, though in not a few places small graveyards were attached to Nonconformist Churches. In these public graveyards, only the Rector or Vicar of the Parish or some other clergyman appointed by him could conduct the funeral service, and the only service which could be used was the burial service of the Church of England, and it was open to the officiating clergyman to refuse to read the service over a Nonconformist. The Act of 1852 provided that in the case of public cemeteries, the ground should be divided into two portions — one consecrated — the other unconsecrated. (This very phrase is a vivid illustration of the attitude of official Anglicanism to Nonconformists.) In the latter Nonconformists were allowed to have their own Cemetery Chapel and to bury the dead according to their own rites. This Act did not afford any relief in those places where there were no public cemeteries. It was not till the Burial Act Amendment Bill of 1880, that the grievance was redressed. By this Bill it was enacted that a Burial in a churchyard might take place "at the option of the person in charge . . . either without any religious service, or with any such Christian or orderly religious service at the grave as such person should think fit." The Burial Act of 1900 made some important alterations in the law in regard to consecration of burial grounds, allotments, chapels, chaplains, and otherwise, and removed many grievances and disabilities under which Dissenters have suffered, and further consolidated the rival systems under which cemeteries and burial grounds were administered.

- (1) *Consecration* — The Burial Authority may apply to the Bishop to consecrate any portion of the burial ground approved in that behalf by the Secretary of State, but if the Burial Authority does not make an application, after being requested so to do by a reasonable number of persons affected, the Home Secretary may apply to the Bishop to consecrate, and the Burial Authority can then be compelled to make the necessary arrangements, the costs being paid by those requiring consecration.
- (2) *Chapels* — The Burial Authority may erect at their own costs upon ground not consecrated, not specifically allotted to any denomination any chapel they may con-

sider necessary, but such chapel erected under this Act shall not be consecrated, nor reserved for any denomination. The authority may also, at the request and cost of any denomination in the district, erect and maintain a chapel for general services according to the rites of that denomination. Apparently such a chapel must be erected on consecrated ground, or on ground allotted to the denomination in question. If the Authority refuses such a request they may be compelled by the Home Secretary to comply.

- (3) **Fees** — All fees are to be approved by the Home Secretary and are to be identical for consecrated and unconsecrated ground. Such fees are to be paid to the Burial Authority and transmitted by it to the minister. No fees are payable in a burial ground affected by this Act to any incumbent for permission to erect a monument or otherwise, or to the church wardens for any customary or legal fees. The incumbent is only entitled to fees for his services like any other officiating minister.

X. *Disestablishment of the Irish Church.* In 1871, the Anglican Church — which had hitherto been the Established Church of Ireland — was disestablished and disendowed.

XI. *Education.* The contribution of Congregationalism to Education is too great a subject for full justice to be done to it within the scope of a short paragraph.⁷ No denomination did more for the Establishment of voluntary Schools in the opening half of the 19th Century. Congregationalists formed the backbone of the "British and Foreign School Society" — and contributed very largely to its success. Stung into rivalry by the success of the "Goliath of Schismatics," as the Society was called, the Anglican Church formed a "National School Society for the education of the poor in the principles of the Church of England" in 1811 — and for upwards of half a century the bulk of the elementary schools in the country were under the control of one or other of these societies. Congregationalists also did a great deal towards defeating measures which were proposed about the middle of the century for establishing a purely sectarian system of education — notably the proposal of Sir James Graham in 1843. About this time, it became obvious that voluntary effort could not give England the requisite system to meet the needs of the masses of the population. Many of the Congregational and other Nonconformist stalwarts of the time, however, were opposed to the idea of the State undertaking the work of education. They feared that it might undermine individual liberty and moreover they foresaw that an unsectarian system was not likely to be set up. On the other hand, the younger men of the time felt that it was quite beyond the power of voluntary effort to realise their educational ideas and that the action of the State was necessary, if these ideals were to be realised at all. This division of opinion was unfortunate, because when the government took the matter up in 1871, Nonconformity was too divided to make a good fight for its principles. Mr. Forster's Bill in 1871 was a compromise. It did establish public elementary schools under the control of School Boards but at the same time it endowed the Voluntary Schools Anglican and Nonconformist alike with grants of public money — and these grants, as time

⁷See the special Report on Education.

went on, increased to such an extent that the Voluntary Schools, though maintained by the State to something like nine-tenths of the total cost of their administrations, still remained under private and often sectarian management. Mr. Forster's Bill was the beginning of a long educational struggle which has not ended yet. Throughout that struggle Congregationalists have always maintained — as they maintain still — that State supported Schools should be under public control and that Non-conformist teachers ought not to be at any disadvantage in the educational profession.

- XII. Of other measures of Reform which have owed their success to the support of Congregationalists it is impossible to speak at length in this report. It must suffice to say that every great measure of Reform, every Bill for extending the Franchise, every piece of philanthropic legislation, has secured its triumph largely through the co-operation of Congregationalists. The words used by Lord John Russell in the debate on the Abolition of Church Rates are true even in a larger sense than he intended, "I know the Dissenters: they carried the Reform Bill: they carried the abolition of slavery: they carried Free Trade: and they will carry the abolition of Church Rates." It is a great tribute to Nonconformity that Lord Palmerston should have said upon another occasion, "In the long run English politics will follow the consciences of the Dissenters."

IV

CONGREGATIONALISM AND CIVIL AND RELIGIOUS LIBERTY IN SCOTLAND

In Scotland, the course of the development has been different because since the Reformation the ruling power has been Presbyterian and not Anglican, and Congregationalism began to play a part only after the battle for civil and (to a large extent) religious liberty had been won. It is true that the principles of Independency find recognition in the earliest standards of the Reformed Church — the Confession and the First Book of Discipline (1560), but it is equally certain that the Second Book of Discipline (1578) and the second Confession of Faith (1581) were drawn up on purely Presbyterian lines. In the latter there was no recognition of the most vital of Congregational principles — the authority of the Church Meeting. Moreover between 1560 and 1578, the General Assembly had been growing in power and increasing in function. This Assembly had come into existence as the result of an Appeal by Protestants to Parliament to abolish Popery, to restore purity of worship, to apply the revenues of the Roman Church for the support of ministers, the relief of the poor and the promotion of Education. Then other matters — e. g., the building of Churches and the resettlement of Ministers, began to be referred to it and it began to assume legislative functions. The System developed downwards and by devolution emerged synods, presbyteries and Kirk-Sessions. This form of Church Government was ratified by Act of Parliament in 1592. The rights of particular Congregations gradually diminished, while those of the Presbytery increased. By 1639, even the right of a congregation to veto the appointment of a minister was questioned and resisted, the claim being described as pure Brownism. In 1647, all forms of religious gatherings, not presided over by a Minister, were forbidden. It is not therefore surprising that when Robert Browne came to Edinburgh in 1583 and told the Presbytery that "their whole discipline was amiss" his teaching was regarded as heretical. The General Assembly resolved to prevent its introduction into Scotland and in 1641 in a letter to English Presbyterians declares "the whole act and exercise of Ecclesiastical power and authority

do properly belong unto the Officers of the Kirk." In 1647, an Act was passed forbidding all members of "Kirk and Kingdom" to hold converse with Independents or to read or sell their literature. This Act regarded Independency as "a gangrene and a cancer." Independents were debarred from Communion. They were condemned for promulgating the error of "liberty of conscience" which was in conflict with the Presbyterian ideal of a National Church with uniformity of belief and practice. Revolt against the Presbyterian model was inevitable. The earliest protests apart from the isolated case of Alexander Jaffray, Provost of Aberdeen (1652), came from John Glas (1725) and from Smith and Ferrier (1768), the Fife Ministers to whom the old Scots Independents traced their origin. These men protested —

- (1) Against promiscuous communion — and this protest led to greater care being exercised in the admission of persons to the Sacrament;
- (2) Against the violation of the New Testament standards;
- (3) Against the connection of Church and State;
- (4) Against many points of Calvinistic doctrine;
- (5) Against the destruction of the rights of single congregations.

The protest achieved little success for the moment, because it was characterised by a narrow exclusiveness and a contempt for an educated ministry.

Modern Scottish Congregationalism came into existence during the last decade of the 18th Century. It arose partly as a revolt against the narrow views of the Presbyterian Courts — and partly owing to a fresh and independent study of the New Testament, and its success was due to the evangelical labors of James and Robert Haldane, whose intense faith and powerful preaching made an immense appeal to an age in which religion had been largely reduced to a formal routine. Scottish Congregationalism therefore was not an importation from England. It was a home-grown product, closely analogous in origin to the Methodist Revival in England. It sprang from the loins of the Auld Kirk and its leaders would not have separated from the Church of Scotland if they could have carried on their work within its fold. It was only when their converts failed to find a congenial home in the National Church that they began to form separate fellowships. The new movement was vigorously opposed by the Church of Scotland. The General Assembly of 1799 sent out a Pastoral Admonition warning the people against Sunday Schools and evangelistic work conducted by missionary and itinerant preachers. They even sought the help of the Civil power to restrain unlicensed preaching and a Bill with this object in view was introduced into the Lords by Lord Sidmouth in 1811. The failure of this Bill was due to Robert Haldane's great reputation as a preacher and the general recognition of the fact that his motives were pure and disinterested and that the main object of his mission was the preaching of the Gospel and not a polemic against the National Church.

But though the attempt to put down the movement by the arm of the State failed, numerous acts of persecution occurred in different localities and these early Congregationalists were made to suffer for their faith. The opposition was not confined to the Established Church. The various Secession Churches were equally violent in their condemnation of the movement. The Anti-Burgher Synod displayed great hostility to it. The Cameronian Church through its Glasgow Synod stigmatized the conduct of some of its members in going to hear a missionary sermon "as sinful and offensive" — one of them being Robert Williamson, the great-grandfather of President Wilson. Williamson's son-in-law, Thomas

Woodrow, was one of the earliest students of the Scottish Congregational Academy. The Relief Synod, too, closed its pulpits to every preacher not properly trained at a University and duly licensed to preach. The main ground of opposition was not doctrinal, for all the separatists accepted the Westminster Confession and none were accused of heresy, but *lay preaching*, because it was thought that if laymen were permitted to preach, it would interfere with the prerogatives and rights of the ordinary Presbyterian Ministers. The Relief Synod, however, dropped its prohibition in 1811 and the Established Church in 1842, only to renew it, however, after the Disruption. It was finally repealed in 1850.

But the influence of the new spirit created by Congregationalism was destined to secure a greater victory for freedom in Scotland even than it could have won by the triumph of Congregationalism itself. There can be little doubt that the Disruption of 1843 was itself largely influenced by Congregationalism. For it was the fruit of the great revival of Evangelical religion which had begun with the Haldanes. As a result of this revival, congregations of the Established Church began to claim the liberty of electing their own Ministers and in due time made the great sacrifice in order to maintain their protest against the unwarrantable interference of the civil authorities with the religious liberties of the people. Congregationalism itself however was weakened by the Disruption, for evangelically minded Presbyterians could now worship in the new Free Churches and the evangelical note was now much less distinctive of Congregationalism than it had been in the past.

The general position of Scottish Congregationalism with regard to the spiritual autonomy and freedom of the Church may be illustrated from a classic passage from a speech of Dr. W. Lindsay Alexander in connection with a famous Court of Session case in 1861. Mr. Macmillan, Free Church Minister of Cardross who had been suspended by the General Assembly, appealed to the Civil Authorities to protect him, and in relation to this appeal, Dr. Alexander stated the Congregational principle in the following words: — "It may be said — 'What harm will this claim on the part of the Civil Court do you (the Free Church)? If your discipline has been rightly and justly exercised, that needs only to be shown, and the Court will confirm it; and, on the other hand, if you have erred, or acted wrongly, it is surely desirable that your error should be corrected, and the wrong you have done be undone by the court.' Now, let me say at once that I ask no exemption from liability to answer in a court of law for any wrong I have done, either through ignorance or malice, to any individual in the exercise of church discipline, any more than I claim such exemption in the case of wrongs I may do to anyone in my personal capacity. But I think I have a right to demand that whatever becomes of me in the case of an action against me for an ecclesiastical act, the sentence I have pronounced shall be allowed to stand intact, shall abide as *res judicata* which no power on earth can alter or annul but the power by which it was originally pronounced. With this I cannot consent that any civil court in the world shall intermeddle. I care not whether the court shall think fit to confirm or annul it; in either case a principle is affirmed and a claim advanced which I am constrained to repudiate. If the party who has been the subject of discipline thinks himself wronged or aggrieved in his civil interest, let him by all means go into the court if he chooses, and prove his case if he can, and seek redress; so far he is within the province of civil jurisdiction. But if he asks the judge to come into my church and examine its proceedings with a view to determine whether these have been properly conducted, and whether the sentence, which has been pronounced is one which ought to be allowed to stand, I then say the judge is asked to go wholly beyond his power and proper province; and if he accedes to such a request, I must, with all respect, but very firmly, do the best I can to shut the door in his face, and keep my church sacred from such intrusion." Ross: *Hist. of Congl. Independency in Scotland*, p. 160

We may briefly summarise the contribution which Congregationalism made to religious liberty in Scotland thus — The fight for freedom in Scotland has ranged round three points —

- (a) The right of the local church to elect its own Ministers,
- (b) The right of Church Courts to discharge their sacred calling without interference from the State,
- (c) The right of laymen to preach the Gospel,

and on each of these points Congregationalism by virtue of its principles and convictions has always been a powerful support to the cause of liberty. They have always and especially since the merging of the United Presbyterian Church in the United Free Church, been the main strength of the Disestablishment movement in Scotland, a cause on which the United Free Church has weakened, and is still weakening. On the other hand it is significant that in 1900 when the negotiations between the Free Church and the United Presbyterian Church were carried through there was considerable outcry against the action of assemblies and presbyteries which ignored the feeling and opinion of the "congregations" or local churches; and a similar protest is making itself heard today when over-courts are negotiating the larger union between the Church of Scotland and the United Free Church.

V

THE CONTRIBUTION OF WELSH CONGREGATIONALISM TO CIVIL AND RELIGIOUS LIBERTY

It is interesting and instructive to note that the Congregational principle when transplanted into Wales at a time when it was passing through a period of great religious depression in the seventeenth century, esconced behind barriers of race and language, produced exactly the same fruits in religious and civil Liberty as in England. Owing to the crass indifference and frequent immorality of the clergy of the time, the Protestant Reformation took nearly a century to penetrate into the fastnesses of the Principality. When this took place, and the Bible was translated into the vernacular, it was not long before a great transformation took place in the outlook and habits of the people. The earliest attempts to evangelise the people were made from within the Established Church by saintly and devoted men who were filled with the "passion for souls"; but the unfortunate attitude of the dignitaries of the Church forced the movement outside, and this it was that gave rise to the Dissent which has ever since been the dominant mark of Welsh religion. Time and time again fresh movements arose inside the Church for the benefit of the common people and time and time again the same result followed. The last great exodus from the Establishment took place in 1811 when the Calvinist Methodist section of the Church seceded and formed a denomination of their own, which has by this time become one of the most powerful of the Nonconformist Churches, and which during the greater part of the last Century have come quite into line with the two older denominations as well as the Wesleyans in the fight for Civil and Religious liberty.

The early Congregational and Baptist Churches steadily increased in size and power from the time when John Penry gave the first inspiration to Welsh aspirations and was martyred under Queen Elizabeth for advocating the cause of his fellow-countrymen. The first Congregational Church was established in 1639 at Llanvaches, near Chepstow. Some able men who were closely associated with this little Cause such as William Wroth, Walter Cradock, Vavasour Powell, Morgan Llwyd, and others, were ejected from their livings and suffered great persecution for no worse cause than their enthusiasm for the spiritual welfare of their flocks and their love of freedom. The accusations brought against Walter Cradock by a virulent Presbyterian, Thomas Edwards, in an abusive work called "Gangraena" of preaching —

- (1) That there should be no ordinances to punish men for holding opinions;
- (2) That there should be no prescribed confession of faith; and

- (3) That every man should have liberty of conscience and that neither episcopacy nor presbytery nor any other authority should be allowed to invade the rights of the saints —

could with equal truth be brought against the preaching of all the early Congregationalists. These men all took their stand on the broad principles of the authority of conscience in all matters of faith and conduct, on the supremacy of Christ as the Head of the Church, on the indissoluble connection between faith and conduct in every sphere of life, and such principles as have inspired every effort for civil and religious liberty to this day.

This movement was greatly strengthened by the "travelling schools" initiated by a devout and energetic clergyman — Griffith Jones of Llandowror, who was born of Nonconformist parents, but who entered the Established Church as a clergyman. The first of these schools was established in 1730, and they speedily spread over the land, so that by 1741 there were 128, with scholars to the number of 7,595. The method pursued was unique and remarkably successful. The object was simply to teach the people to read the Bible, and to master the first elements of Christian doctrine. Mr. Jones engaged a number of school-masters, and distributed them in various localities, where they remained till a sufficient number of people could read, after which they moved on to another neighborhood, and so on till a large proportion of the inhabitants were able to study the Bible in their own tongue, and to instruct others in turn. It is stated that within 24 years about 150,000 people were thus enabled to read the Welsh Bible, so that within the space of a brief generation, the Welsh people became a people of the Book. And with the reading of the Book they imbibed that passion for evangelical religion and that love of liberty which have in all the relationships of life, ever since, been the dominant characteristics of the Welsh nation.

The system of itinerant preaching, which was another feature of Nonconformist religion in Wales, powerfully helped on the evangelization of the people, and promoted the intellectual as well as spiritual awakening of Wales. This itineracy arose from the necessities of the times, and laid the foundations of the great preaching festivals which still continue to be held both in town and country, and are attended by great crowds. By means of it the nation as a whole enjoys the benefit of visits from the greatest preachers in turn. In the course of three centuries it has developed a type of preaching that compares with the best in any land or age. In Wales the pulpit was for generations the chief means of intellectual enlightenment as of evangelic quickening. It was at once the lecturer's class-room, the artist's studio, the dramatist's stage, the philosopher's rostrum, and the politician's hustings; for to the Welsh preacher the Gospel covered the whole of life, and was made ministrant to all the needs of the human personality. In its golden age, about the middle of last century, it attained a height of eloquence and power almost unparalleled in the history of Christianity in any land, and helped to vitalise the national life with the noblest ideals and the most far-reaching influences. Under its spell the people woke from the lethargy of ages, and laid the foundations of all that is noble and high-minded in the national life and character. It is still retaining its power and influence in the land. Of late years the Episcopal Church, recently disestablished, has caught the infection, and is doing much to make up for the long neglect of which it was for centuries guilty. The sectarian spirit is losing its power, and there is hope that under present conditions an era of union and brotherhood among the churches will develop, in which the narrow limits of denominational life will give way to a richer and nobler life.

The part taken by Congregationalism in the modern fight for freedom ranks with the best in England and Scotland. It played a great part in

the Disestablishment movement which has culminated so recently in complete religious equality. This cause was championed by Welsh Congregationalists long before the formation of the Liberation Society, which owed to some notable Welshmen some of its best inspiration. Men like William and David Rees, Samuel Roberts, Thomas Rees, John Thomas, Herber Evans, and Henry Richards (the great advocate of the Peace movement) took a prominent and worthy part. They were behind the struggle for Irish Disestablishment which culminated in 1869, and they have fought staunchly for English Disestablishment also. In furtherance of these causes many Welsh farmers suffered eviction from tyrannical landlords. The memorable election of 1868, fought largely on Irish Disestablishment, is regarded as a landmark in the history of the struggle for liberty. From that day on the forces of reaction represented by the Tory party suffered final eclipse, the whole complexion of Welsh politics was changed, and the issue of the cause of religious equality was only a matter of time. When the time comes to write a full history of this great campaign, the Congregationalists of Wales will be found to have contributed very materially to the recent triumph.

There are other issues upon which Welsh Congregationalists made valuable contributions. Their leaders took a great part in the literary awakening of their country. It was given to a Congregational minister in the person of Dr. William Rees to inaugurate the first weekly newspaper in the Welsh language, and in many other ways to bring about the present national awakening. Many of their preachers figure among the Bards and poets who won distinctions in the great literary institution that goes under the name of the National Eisteddfod, which promotes every form of art and culture in the Principality. The Sunday School movement found among our churches loyal support. The campaign for the establishment of international peace has always been passionately advocated by the churches of all denominations. National education has found some of its most distinguished advocates among ministers and laymen, especially in its unsectarian form. Literature has been enriched by many classic contributions both in prose and verse. The Welsh have been made a music-loving people mainly through the influence and stimulus of the churches. Temperance finds its champions in the same circles. The passing of the Sunday-closing Act about thirty years ago was in no small measure due to their advocacy of the measure.

There is no more pacific people in the world than the Welsh, but there has been impressive evidence that when the cause of liberty has been endangered in any quarter, they have ever been with those who were fighting for freedom. They warmly championed the cause of the North in the Civil War in America; were behind Mr. Gladstone in his heroic efforts for the emancipation of the Balkans from the tyranny of the Turk; rejoiced greatly at the splendid courage of Sir Henry Campbell Bannerman when he gave the Boers their freedom in 1906; and provided a magnificent body of volunteers during the late World-war for the defence of Belgium against the German invader. The pulpit of Wales has invariably been behind every philanthropic movement, and the people have eagerly followed their lead. Alien influences have of late penetrated the arena of Welsh life. While preachers have gladly fought a battle for economic as well as political freedom many have recently been chilled by the later developments of the labor movement, which has taken on a more secular attitude and spirit and has manifested the same antagonism to the churches which has characterised it elsewhere. This is a supreme misfortune both for the churches and the people at large. At bottom it is doubtless due to the fact that the evangelic theory of liberty has been displaced by the naturalistic, and till this schism is healed there is danger that the cause may suffer and the higher interests of the people endure loss. For there can be no real advancement of liberty except under

the safeguards and ideals of the Gospel. The churches of Wales are still strong, and they must endeavor to reanimate the whole nation with the highest ideals, so that the threatened decadence of the national life may be averted and a period of sound progress be initiated and carried through.

VI

PRESENT POSITION AND OUTLOOK OF CONGREGATIONALISM

We have now surveyed the ground covered by the historic contribution of Congregationalism to religious, social and political life, and to the progress of thought during the centuries of its existence. The question remains — what is its present position and outlook in Britain?

There are certain people who believe that Congregationalism, like some other forms of Church life, has fulfilled its function. The spiritual principles for which it has always stood have now we are told been absorbed into the spirit and policy of all the churches. The spirituality of the Church, and its autonomy, — which have been the essential elements for which Congregationalism has consistently stood for three centuries, are now acknowledged as valid for all. Presbyterian in Scotland and England, the Methodist Churches, the Baptist Church (from the beginning), and even the Episcopal Church, have been permeated with the spirit which was first overtly and passionately manifested by the Brownists, and they would all be almost equally eager to claim it for their own. The Established Church of England, in the passing of the Enabling Act, has affirmed the right of the Church to autonomy as regards State interference with its internal spiritual affairs, and would doubtless, if it dared, claim complete freedom from State-Control, being only held back by the fact that this would inevitably involve disendowment as well as disestablishment, neither of which eventualities it is at present prepared to face. Under these circumstances, it is asked, is it worth while to continue a separate and corporate existence in the face of the widespread movement towards reunion, which is such a striking feature of present-day ideals?

There are several considerations germane to this enquiry.

1. In the first place, the work of Congregationalism will *never be complete while a vestige of the Establishment of religion by the State continues*. How far this is from being finally discarded it would be difficult to say. We are told that there is a growing feeling within the Established Church for disestablishment, and that if such a movement from outside were to cease, the logic of events would inevitably force it on from within. This position is not so clear that it would be safe to act upon it. Judged by past events, and by present prospects, the cause of disestablishment is in a very promising way; but if all pressure from without were to cease, it is not clear that it would ever be forced from inside. For the present the omens may be favorable, in some directions; but there are powerful forces acting in the opposite direction. Congregationalism has ever been the most active of all Churches (with the exception of the Baptists, who have been equally zealous) in the battle for religious freedom, and for emancipation from State control. If they gave up the contest, there is no other agency that would be likely to continue the struggle.
2. This, however, is only one of the functions of Congregationalism. There are still other and far more vital factors in the case. If Congregationalism was the first Church to base itself on a purely spiritual principle, it is also the only Church that embodies this principle in its naked and unadorned form. In other Churches the spiritual principle is organically associated with forms of government that

have often disguised it, and have sometimes antagonised it. The essential thing in Presbyterianism, for instance, is its presbyterial form of government; in the Anglican, it is the historic episcopate; while the Baptist Church makes adult baptism of the *esse* of its constitutive membership. The polity of Congregationalism on the other hand is entirely subordinate to its life-principle. Let the spiritual basis and autonomy of the Church be given up, or subordinated to anything else, and Congregationalism vanishes as a distinctive religious communion. Is it not a precious thing in the body politic that it should contain at least one form of ecclesiastical life of which this is true? So long as Congregationalism lasts it will bear witness to the creative principle of every Christian Church in such a way that it can never be disguised or lost sight of. We hold that whatever the future may hold of amalgamation, federation, or fusion of various Christian Churches, it would be calamity for religion itself if such a Church were to vanish from the land.

3. The same is true of the *witness of Congregationalism to freedom from a constitutive and authoritative creed.*

Freedom of religious thought is one of the most precious elements of our life as a Church. It has ministered to the vitality of Congregationalism in many ways. It has fostered a loyal adherence to patient and honest enquiry in theological matters; made a quiet but faithful progress possible; safeguarded the rights of private judgment; and promoted a spirit of honorable adherence to conviction under all circumstances. Other Churches have made noble contributions to progressive thought, but it has often been at the expense of much heart-burning in view of the fact that they have subscribed to fixed creedal formularies which represent the thought of the past, and not the convictions of the present. We almost alone of all Churches have been free to progress without being held in the shackles of out-worn creeds; and if we have occasionally harboured heretics and visionaries who have made disastrous experiments, and have at times carried their churches into disaster, this seeming disability has been amply compensated by the larger freedom we have enjoyed, and it has in no way interfered with the loyalty of our churches as a whole. Until the arrival of a hypothetical reunited Church of Christ, which accepts the Congregational principle of trusting the Holy Spirit to guide His people into all truth, there will always be a place for Congregationalism to bear its witness to this noble principle, and while it exists it will always command the allegiance of a large body of eager thinkers who feel that only within its ample borders can they enjoy adequate freedom to make fresh ventures into the ever expanding fields of religious truth and reality.

4. Finally, we claim that Congregationalism has not come to the end of its resources as a corporate entity in the place it has taken in the social organism and the State. Its theory of liberty is its own, and in the recent developments of Democracy there are imminent perils which a constant reassertion of the theory can alone meet and master. If once the naturalistic view of liberty gained a commanding sway over men's minds, the highest safeguards of society would be imperilled, and the direst results might come to pass, in which the most precious gains of civilisation would be swept away and civilisation itself go down in lurid revolution. Against such a contingency there is but one barrier. It is for the Puritan view of liberty, of which we are the historic stewards, to be salved, and made the regulative principle of our civil life. This is our highest gift to humanity, and while others possess it now as well as ourselves, it is

for us to maintain our witness to it as our central principle, the acceptance of which alone will secure a civilisation safe and truly progressive in all that makes for the higher life of humanity.

Rev. H. T. Andrews
Rev. D. Caird
Rev. A. J. Grieve
Rev. E. Griffith-Jones
Rev. E. S. Kiek
Dr. J. Massie
Rev. O. L. Roberts

THE CONTRIBUTIONS OF BRITISH CONGREGATIONALISM
IN THE FIELD OF RELIGIOUS THOUGHT: OUR PRESENT
STRENGTH AND WEAKNESS IN THAT FIELD.

INTRODUCTION

- I. THE ACHIEVEMENT OF ROBERT BROWNE.
 - II. CALVINISM REGNANT; THE COMMONWEALTH.
 - III. CONGREGATIONALIST BEGINNINGS IN WALES.
 - IV. WATTS AND DODDRIDGE.
 - V. THE GROTIANIZING THEOLOGIES OF ATONEMENT: CONGREGATIONALISM IN SCOTLAND.
 - VI. THE CONTRIBUTION OF DALE; WITH NOTES ON LATER VIEWS REGARDING (a) CHRISTOLOGY, (b) ATONEMENT.
 - VII. NEW VIEWS ON: (c) ESCHATOLOGY.
 - VIII. (d) APOLOGETICS.
 - IX. THE CONTRIBUTION OF FAIRBAIRN.
 - X. CONTRIBUTIONS TO SCHOLARSHIP.
 - XI. OUR CONTRIBUTION ON CHURCH DOCTRINE AND POLITY.
 - XII. ON CHURCH AND STATE; AND ON SOCIAL PROBLEMS.
 - XIII. THE PERMANENT CONTRIBUTION OF CONGREGATIONALISM.
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The wide subject entrusted to this Commission might be taken in different senses. It would be possible to understand that something like a bibliography of Congregationalism in Great Britain was desired; but the Commission has judged it best to concentrate mainly upon the contributions of greater importance. Again, it might be asked whether those Independents who hold the Baptist position ought not to be included in our survey. Even Quakerism, in the judgment of one member, ought to be kept in view. Reasons of space have been enough to settle this point; and we have therefore resolved to confine ourselves to our own denomination.

This does not involve any very sharp separation. While jealous of its independency, Congregationalism has always welcomed co-operation with fellow-believers outside its own borders. We have been the least de-

nominal of all the denominations; in some sense therefore the most Christian; certainly the most public-spirited. On the other hand, we have not been strong in abstract thought. Life rather than thought has engrossed the best energies of our best minds. Many who might have placed their names high upon the roll of posthumous fame have preferred to spend themselves to the uttermost in serving their own generations.

“ . . . Their hearts
The lowliest duties on themselves did lay.”

I

The spiritual principle of Congregationalism, formulated especially by Robert Browne, springs directly from the root-ideas of the Reformation, the sufficiency of Scripture and Justification by Faith. The latter especially implies that a man becomes a Christian not by virtue of the Church and its Sacraments but by virtue of his personal relationship to Jesus Christ, in whom each believing soul enjoys direct access to God.

The Elizabethan Church Settlement had been a compromise between old and new. While Protestant doctrine was dominant in its sturdy Calvinistic version the old ecclesiastical organization remained untouched. The Church was identified with the nation. Every citizen was assured of the blessings of the Christian status, and on the other hand was subjected to the control of the Bishops, who exercised their authority by the enforcement of legal penalties for disobedience. The Puritans demanded completer changes which should release the Church from arbitrary rule and at the same time secure a more definitely Christian standard of life on the part of its members. Cartwright and others endeavored to introduce the full Presbyterian model of Geneva. The failure of these attempts drove some of the more zealous spirits to enunciate still more radical demands. Robert Browne laid the foundations of modern Congregationalism by proclaiming the right of individual groups of Christians to reform the Church on Scriptural lines “without tarrying for any.”

The appeal to Scripture and the doctrine of the priesthood of believers led to the conception of a “gathered” Church which for Browne was the only Church which could rightly claim the authority of Christ. He thus repudiated the parochial and episcopal system in favor of the independent action of communities of faithful Christians. Browne subsequently conformed; but there is every reason to believe that he never renounced the principle of a gathered Church. His principles were taken up with modifications by Barrowe and Greenwood. They frankly took their stand upon what they conceived to be the New Testament model of Church Government. They excluded from the Church those who were not definitely Christian in thought and life, and abolished all ecclesiastical offices which were not to be found in the New Testament. Conceiving of the Church as a body of faithful Christians pledged to mutual fellowship in spiritual things, they claimed for every such community all the prerogatives of a Church, and denied the right of Bishops or any other external authority to control its action. The earliest Congregational Churches were essentially covenant-fellowships, and it is a significant fact that their covenants almost invariably include a clause which pledges the members “to walk together in the ways of the Lord, according as he has revealed, or *shall reveal*, them unto us.” Thus, at the very first, Congregationalism strikes that note of spiritual liberty which finds expression in the valedictory words of John Robinson to the Pilgrims, “The Lord has yet more light to break forth from his Holy Word.”

II

While the "gathered churches," with their freedom of individual action, furnished a new element to modern Christian life and thought, Congregationalism continued to hold a place in the central current of positive Protestant faith. It did not seek to create a sect but to reform the Church. Our fellowship with other evangelical Christians took the form at first of a joint adhesion to Calvinism. And the most definite process which we can trace in the history of thought among us is an evolution — and this again was not our private possession — by which Calvinism passed away but evangelicalism survived. According to Dr. Forsyth's striking analysis in *Faith, Freedom and the Future*, Independency was the true heir of the Reformation, and acquired its peculiar power by its combination of the theological rigor of Calvinism with Anabaptist freshness and hopefulness. Yet, even so, Independency in the 17th century did not succeed in differentiating its doctrinal message from that of others. It was more emphatically and extremely Calvinistic than the English Presbyterians. A change did not come until later. The Arminian theology of the General Baptists could not do what our own and other churches have more recently been seeking to do. These Baptists could not extricate evangelicalism from the Calvinistic entanglement; for their loyalty to evangelicalism was under grave suspicion. Dr. Forsyth prefers to speak of a "new Calvinism," not of escape from Calvinism. But, vital as are the truths in whose service he proposes that formula, the Commission does not understand that this "new Calvinism" coincides with the old on the historic Five Points, but rather that it stands for the centrality of the doctrine of God in theology, and for the all-importance of the Divine act in redemption.

We admit that there have been cases in which the revolt against Calvinism became a revolt against doctrine. Whether this was a contribution to thought or to thoughtlessness, we will not say; but we express our judgment that, if our churches should cease to be evangelical, they would forfeit their historic identity. And we are sure that, in spite of difficulties, and in spite of considerable dissentient elements, the Congregational churches of our country maintain their stand for the gospel of grace of God in Christ.

Our foremost 17th century Calvinist is John Owen. His theology throughout is warmed and vivified by his knowledge of human nature and by his passionate devotion to the person of Jesus Christ. Yet his "Death of Death in the Death of Christ" (1647) contends for a rigorously Calvinistic view of the nature and extent of the Atonement, continuously attacking the Arminian scheme, and polemizing against those schools of Calvinism which had modified the extreme severity of its predestinarianism. Owen contends that Christ's work is to be understood from its end or purpose. This must be the salvation of the elect, since that is what actually has been accomplished by it, and it is inconceivable that the divine purpose and the actual issue should not precisely agree. Hence Owen argues that the Atonement was an exact satisfaction for the sins of the elect, and an endurance of the punishment to which they were liable — "essentially the same in weight and pressure though not in all accidents of duration and the like, for it was impossible that He should be detained by death." There is according to Scripture no relaxation of punishment but only a commutation of the person, i. e. Owen considers and rejects the Grotian theory of a penal example in the cross.

Thomas Goodwin, a man of rare genius and devotion, was also definitely Calvinistic, while less hostile to his Arminian fellow-Christians. John Goodwin, who was Arminian outright, was an altogether exceptional Independent; he found his champion and editor in John Wesley. "The Cambridge Synod in New England, in 1648, approved the doctrinal por-

tions of the Westminster Confession; and the Savoy Synod in London ten years later expressed a like concurrence, except for slight modifications."¹ Nearly 200 years later the Declaration adopted by the Union of the Congregational Churches of England and Wales is still Calvinistic, though with Grotian modifications. While in the original draft it was said that Christ "satisfied divine justice," the revised form as adopted — and still formally reprinted year by year — states that Christ "vindicated and illustrated divine justice." But when we pass to Dale's writings Calvinism is gone.

III

We now turn back for the moment to the beginnings of our story in order to say something regarding an unclassifiable figure in early Welsh Independency, Morgan Llwyd or Lloyd of Wrexham (1619–59). Though John Penry (1559–93) one of our pioneer martyrs hailed from Breconshire, churches of the Congregational order sprang up in Wales only from 1639 downwards, and not in great numbers till after 1662. While — like all Welsh Nonconformists except perhaps the Wesleyans — greatly indebted to English Congregationalist leadership in thought, our Welsh churches have made contributions of their own to the common stock. Morgan Lloyd is remarkable in two respects: (1) his writings contain the earliest and perhaps most important specimen of mystical thought in our denominational literature. He seems to have been influenced by the continental mystics, including possibly Boehme; and he had some kinship of thought and of religious association with the Quakers, of whom he says, "They speak the truth but not the whole truth." His mysticism is predominantly moral. Self-denial and self-surrender are the way of salvation and blessedness. At the same time, man's self, which he identifies with reason, is the supreme and central enmity to God, the door of self-will and intellectual pride by which the devil enters into man, or — again — by which man passes out of the light of God into darkness. The creature should sink all his own reason and desire into the grace and love of God in Jesus Christ, surrendering himself to the life of God in love, that God may do with him what He wills, as He wills. Then the devil will have no place to work upon man, but the Spirit of God will work on him, raising him beyond all carnal speculation to the knowledge and love of God. All knowledge of arts and of nature is useful, but to acquire it truly the mind must put itself at God's disposal. While the mind stands in self-will, it cannot know the will of God.

(2) At a time when most Nonconformists still lived in a half-way house, Lloyd pressed the principle of Independency to its logical issue in regard to Church and State. His "Book of the Three Birds" (*Llyfr y Tri Aderyn*) is an allegorical dialogue between the Raven (the English Church), the Eagle (Cromwell and his Government) and the Dove (the Ideal Church), and remonstrates in friendly fashion with Cromwell's government for endowing their own churches and persecuting opponents. It is a plea for pure Church voluntarism, and a protest against all interference with individual conscience. Lloyd's writings are among the classics of Welsh prose.

IV

When we pass on to the period after the Restoration and the Revolution, great names meet us in the early 18th century — Watts and Doddridge. Even apart from his hymns — incomparable at their best, if too often dreary and wooden — great though now half-forgotten contributions

¹ Williston Walker art. *Congregationalism* E.R.E. The Savoy Synod's modifications may, we think, be regarded as a significant foreshadowing of the wider changes which were to come.

were made by Watts to the intellectual life of his time. Theologically he taught the pre-existence of Christ's humanity, a view accepted also by Doddridge. It was the period of the "Arian" movement in English thought, which ultimately resulted in modern Unitarianism. Whether or not this Arianism helped to create Watt's views, its prevalence helped to discredit all innovations in Christology; and the theory disappeared. It would not be right to attach weight to the alleged Arian waverings of Watt's later years. Stranger is it to be told that the majority of the students trained in Doddridge's seminary exhibited Arian tendencies of belief though accompanied by an evangelical spirit.

V

We next notice what is probably the most massive and widespread theological movement to be placed to the credit or debit of Congregationalism — that "modified Calvinism," as it called itself in our country, which practically revived Grotian views of the Atonement. Grotius had cast in his lot with the Arminian party. Our Calvinistic ancestors must have distrusted him. For that and other reasons it is doubtful how far he directly influenced the new movement. More probably, history repeated itself; and like Grotius, while seeking to defend the doctrine of a penal satisfaction, the theologians of Independency made concessions which nearly revolutionized the accepted scheme. This happened first in the "New England Theology," then in Wales and England, and finally in Scotland.

The American movement began with so advanced a Calvinist as Jonathan Edwards senior. In Bellamy and in Jonathan Edwards junior the doctrine is much more definitely Grotian, but still it claims to be Calvinistic. Just because God was absolutely sovereign, it was felt that He could be under no obligation to extend pardon to the elect. God pardons with sovereign freedom, while He yet maintains the honor of His law. Although we may doubt whether Grotius had direct influence either upon American or upon English Congregationalism, there can be little doubt that America influenced the movement in this country.

Edward Williams (1750–1813) born a Welsh churchman became an Independent by conviction, and, after service in the Principality, became minister of Carr's Lane Church, Birmingham, and finally tutor at Rotherham. He is believed to have been the pioneer among us of Governmental views on the Atonement in a work of 1792 entitled *The Cross of Christ* and again in a posthumous volume (1813) on *Equity and Divine Government*. Here once more the theory is intended to maintain the supremacy of divine grace, i. e. to serve the real religious interests underlying Calvinism. There are two great principles — equity and sovereignty. God, it is argued, has the right to show whatever beneficence He will, consistently with equity. After His acceptance of the sacrifice of Christ, "the holy and just moral governor" could honorably suspend the penal consequences of sin, and "propose Christ and His benefits to sinners in general." If it be asked why some only are chosen "No answer can be given but the sovereign pleasure of God." At the same time, in accordance with Williams's metaphysical doctrine that evil is mere defect, God can will no evil and there is no decree of God to reprobate. Williams is mentioned in Fairbairn's sketch of a good old-fashioned ministerial library² as one of the authors sure to be represented. The same passage mentions Edwards's "distinguished pupil" Pye Smith, who with Payne, Josiah Gilbert, Jenkyn — another Welshman — and Wardlaw developed similar views.

The last name invites our attention to Scotland. With the exception of the small communities of old Scotch Independents who recognize no

² *Christ in Modern Theology*, p. 16.

professional ministry, Congregationalism in Scotland dates from a spiritual awakening in the end of the 18th and beginning of the 19th centuries, under the leadership especially of two pious country gentlemen, James A. and Robert Haldane; the family is represented in public life to-day by Lord Haldane of Cloan and his brother Dr. Haldane. Failing to find either in the Scottish Establishment or in the smaller Presbyterian communions adequate sympathy and scope for their work, the evangelists adopted the Congregationalist model from the N. T. Once again, Calvinism was the starting point. The trumpet gives no uncertain sound in James Haldane's *Notes on the Epistle to the Romans*.¹ It is beyond a doubt that the Scottish Congregationalists, though few in number, have exerted great influence on the larger communions of the land. Despised and denounced at first, they won great praise in proportion as evangelicalism revived and as social sentiment grew liberal.

Ralph Wardlaw, Seceder born — a direct descendant of Ebenezer Erskine and in other lines also a man of gentle blood — came under the influence of the Haldanes, accepted Congregationalism, and rose to a position of great eminence in our ministry. His book on *The Extent of the Atonement* (1830) took a Governmental view of that doctrine, but still maintained Calvinism. With whatever new emphasis he might proclaim the Atonement *sufficient* for all, Wardlaw still held that it became *efficient* only in the case of the elect, to whom the special operations of the Holy Spirit were confined.

The Penal Example theory continued to be treated with deep respect — to say no more — by Principal Reynolds of Cheshunt College (ob. 1896). Nevertheless it is a pretty safe historical judgment that the theory is transitional and lacks inner stability. Bushnell has shrewdly remarked that the New England theology was "never clear of the old view," viz., of the penal doctrine proper. Nor was Governmentalism ever "clear" of the suggestion of more radical changes. Against the intention of its Congregationalist champions it proved, both here and in America, a stepping stone away from Calvinism. We do not say that this was the only line of approach to newer doctrines. Mackennal has remarked on the influence exerted by some of Wesley's preachers who, becoming Congregationalist ministers, brought with them the theology of evangelical Arminianism. Again, Bushnell's striking statement of Moral Influence views on Atonement — he aimed indeed at more than a Moral *Influence* view — did not fail to create sympathy among our own people; though we produced no writer of the first rank who became conspicuous in the defence of that type of theology. Indeed, even independently of special Anti-Calvinist currents, 19th century thought, when it spoke for itself, was sure not to reiterate Calvinism. Dale is our typical figure. He dismisses almost impatiently the "degraded form" of Reformation theology found in Grotianism; but, while he seeks to go back to penal conceptions of Atonement in a sense of his own, there is no Calvinism in his creed. It may be true that his doctrine is not quite free from Grotian elements. Nevertheless, Dale has recaptured the N. T. ethos. He glories in the Cross of Christ. Penal example is ingenious, and the policy which employs it may be merciful; but no one could find it glorious.

In most cases Calvinism, so to speak, died in its sleep, lulled to rest by the formulæ of the Governmentalists or of other "moderate" Calvinists. Not so in Scottish Congregationalism; we have a record there of struggle and controversy on this matter, in line with the movement initiated by men of other communions — John M'Leod Campbell and Thos. Erskine. In 1842 the Rev. John Kirk, Congregational minister in Hamilton, in a publication entitled *The Way of Life made Plain*, set forth views regarding

¹ James Haldane came to adopt Baptist views. This led to a serious division of the forces of the revival movement.

the Spirit's work which he had been preaching for some time; that "not only did Jesus die for every man, but that God's Spirit strives with every man; that they who yield are the saved and they who resist the unsaved." This was to burst the bonds of Calvinism. Wardlaw was a leader of the opposition; Lindsay Alexander, personally a Calvinist, was in favor of a milder policy, but was overruled. Certain students who had adopted the new views were dismissed from the denomination's Theological Hall, and certain churches exhibiting a similar attitude were expelled from the Union. The same doctrinal trouble arose very slightly later in the Secession church. From it proceeded the larger contingent of those holding the new views, with James Morison at their head; and the Evangelical Union was formed in 1843. Methodism having done comparatively little in Scotland, this was the first notable appearance in that land of a Non-Calvinistic Evangelicalism. The new views were indeed not merely evangelical but evangelistic. They were associated with a widespread revival. Scottish Presbyterian divines might not even to-day accept these views exactly as they were promulgated by the Evangelical Union; but no one now would dare to call them heretical. As to Scottish Congregationalists, time the healer brought together the "C. U." and the "E. U." in a Union upon equal terms in 1896. In practice, the Evangelical Union churches had become Congregationalist long before that date.

VI

Two great figures stand out in the record of the end of the 19th century — Dale and Fairbairn; an Englishman and a Scot — the latter among the first of a stream of Scotsmen or men of Scottish descent who have served English Congregational theology. Dale represented historic Independency; Fairbairn sprang from the Seceders through the Evangelical Union. Some detail is called for in relation to each of these two leaders.

Most of those who have made contributions to thought among us have enjoyed the comparative leisure of theological tutorships. Dale was a working pastor, exercising a profound influence by the spoken as well as by the printed word. His contributions to theology frequently bear the impress of pulpit preparation; in some respects possibly for the worse; in others certainly for the better. He has left such a record that any nation and any religious communion might be proud to claim him as one of its children.

It is hardly needful to point out that, when Dale restates theology, he exhibits absolute Christological orthodoxy. He approaches the doctrine of the Trinity by what may be called the common-sense route, affirming the deity of Christ and the personality of the Holy Spirit. In other words, Dale belongs to that group of orthodox minds for whom the Godhead means three personalities who in some ineffable sense are one. In this, as we shall note, the more subtle and elusive thinking of Fairbairn largely concurs. D. W. Simon — a third distinguished name — took a different view. He also had reached a position of marked orthodoxy; but for him, in agreement with Urlsperger, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit were "elements constituting personality"; i. e., he viewed God as one personality who in some ineffable sense is three.

If we pursue the thread of this great doctrine to more recent times, we note the suggestion of a new Christology in the book which made the reputation of Dr. W. L. Walker — another working pastor — *The Spirit and the Incarnation*. As, for Schleiermacher, Christ was primarily man, but was that altogether unique man in whom the God-consciousness was absolute, so to Dr. Walker Christ is man, but man wholly after the Spirit. The suggestion is developed with profound reverence, and the book is one of those too rare contributions to dogmatic theology which breathe the spirit of worship. Again, in Bartlet and Carlyle's *Christianity in History*

there is a hint of the need of reconstructing the Christology of the great creeds. Something indeed of the same attitude is discernible already in Fairbairn.

Dale's main contribution to thought was of course his Congregational Union Lecture on *The Atonement* (1875). The first and perhaps the best part of the book deals with the N. T., arguing powerfully that something more appears in the thought of the Apostles than any Moral Influence theory covers. The positive construction which follows is best understood as an attempt to attenuate the difficulty of believing that Christ was truly punished in our room and stead. It may seem that, if this is correct, Dale had placed himself on the slippery incline which leads from penal to penal example theories, and then to a break-up of doctrine. Perhaps that is true; Dale, however, does not slip far. He adduces four arguments in relief of doubt. First: Christ as the eternal Logos is that very law-giver against whom man had sinned. He is therefore more peculiarly interested than either God (the Father) or mankind in the rehabilitation of moral law. Secondly: Christ as eternal Logos is already, antecedently to incarnation, the brother of the human race — wounded by their Fall; qualified by the very constitution of the universe to serve as their Redeemer. Thirdly: Christ does not transfer the penalty to a third party. He, the injured Divine being, Himself bears that penalty which alone can vindicate eternal righteousness; and fourthly, out of this great act of love and sacrifice spring those new moral energies which redeem the human soul and the entire race of mankind.

All this train of thought rests upon the assumption that retributive punishment is just, and that we must not resolve penalty into purely remedial or medicinal treatment. This view of punishment has lost its hold upon many to-day. It may seem to critics of another type that Dale makes use of daring and insecure speculations while he is endeavoring to vindicate the central simplicities of the Gospel. Dale, however, comes a long way to meet this particular criticism when he insists that the fact of Atonement is primary, and that theory, while needed, has lower claims upon a Christian's allegiance. The part of his theory which rests upon the doctrine of the Logos is confessedly akin to the teaching of F. D. Maurice. Perhaps that is one reason why Dale's book attained so much influence among Anglicans.

If again we may pursue the history of a special doctrine down to more recent times, we notice that, in the judgment of an anxious but kindly Calvinist reviewer, the late Dr. James Candlish, Fairbairn's "Christ in Modern Theology" points, if obscurely, towards Moral Influence views. We notice how Dr. Horton, with a no less glowing evangelicalism than Dale's, intensifies the assertion of the bare fact of Atonement, waiving like Bp. Butler any and every theory. We notice how D. W. Simon's "Redemption of Man"⁴ finds fault with Dale for thinking too much of the remission of penalty. Forgiveness is rather a personal than a legal relation. What Christ actually does for us is to bring us into right relations with God, so that we are no longer the objects of His anger. For in Christ's suffering "God fulfils His law on our behalf: and His fulfilment stands as ours, or rather really becomes ours." In other words, Simon holds that what is formidable is not the penalty of law — he is scornful of "cryptodualistic" doctrines which seem to him to turn law into a shadowy rival of God Almighty — but rather the personal anger of the living God. In his strongly realistic fashion, Simon sees God Himself troubled, like God's world, by the intrusion of sin; and he sees God and man healed when Christ has borne God's righteous anger. If Owen and Edwards speak of angry penalties, Dale might say "penalty but not anger" and Simon would say "anger but not penalty."

⁴ His *Reconciliation by Incarnation* develops his theology further.

Dr. Walker's *The Cross and the Kingdom* (1902) is written in view of modern Biblical criticism. Thus it seeks to vindicate against scepticism our Lord's references to His death. It then argues "that the evangelical doctrine of the cross can be based on the presentation of Christ in the first three Gospels, and can be seen to be in natural connection with, and the culmination of, His teaching and work." There is agreement with Ritschl that the cross is to be explained from our Lord's vocation as bringer-in of the Kingdom of God; but, while disallowing the idea of expiation, Dr. Walker recognizes in the death of Christ "an acknowledgment of sin."

Dr. Forsyth's contribution is spread over many volumes. While he is deeply interested in other aspects of theology, and well-fitted to make contributions to any department of our science, there is a reference in all his thinking to this central theme. We might name as key-notes an emphasis upon Christ's holy obedience to God, and an interpretation of Christ's satisfaction as consisting in his submission on our behalf to the judgment of God's holiness. A few phrases may be added from the appreciative and telling statement of Dr. Forsyth's views by an Anglican churchman, the Rev. J. K. Mozley. "Philosophically Dr. Forsyth stands with the voluntarists who trace themselves ultimately back to Kant; but there is no sign of unsettling scepticism." "The starting point is not a doctrine or a report, but a verifiable reality, 'the reality of present corporate guilt,' not 'a historic fall.'" Atonement "means action, not process; 'a process has nothing moral in it.' . . . There is no 'deflection of God's anger' . . . No 'value' in 'equivalent suffering.' . . . It was the act of God . . . 'Atonement made by God, not by man' . . . Christ's 'suffering was a sacrifice to God's holiness. In so far it was penalty. But the atoning thing was not its amount, but its obedience, its sanctity.' We . . . go deeper still . . . and pass . . . 'to the graver and more ethical idea of judgment' . . . There is a penal side to the cross. 'God must either punish sin or expiate it, for the sake of His own holy nature' . . . The holy law was satisfied 'by practical confession of God's holiness far more than man's guilt' . . . The reconciliation effected in the cross is 'a reconciliation of *the world as a cosmic whole* . . . Christ in his victorious death and risen life has power to unite the race to himself.'" Mr. Mozley adds that, in the true sense, "Dr. Forsyth is a High Churchman. Only he comes to his High Churchmanship through the Atonement," not with *Lux Mundi* "through the Incarnation." And further "the real obscurity in his work relates to his preservation of the penal idea and terminology, in connection with the idea of judgment."

Naturally, moral influence views and others of a still vaguer type continue to tell upon thought among us. And Dr. Forsyth's polemic against these shows how keen the controversy is.

VII

Another branch of theology in regard to which Dale plays a more modest but still a notable part is eschatological revision. Fifty years ago, hell was on every preacher's lips; today there is silence. Tennyson's *In Memoriam* gave the signal for revolt. Even stronger assertions of universal salvation came from the saintly Scottish Episcopalian layman, Thomas Erskine of Linlathen, who sought and enjoyed Christian communion with a Congregational church at Dundee till his views became too advanced for our brethren to endure. Similar views were spread in the novels of George MacDonald — born one of ourselves; always a deeply Christian spirit, though a merciless critic both of the theology and of the piety of the older generation in Scotland; in later years described by himself as "a lay member of the Church of England." Theologically, MacDonald had learned much from Frederick Denison Maurice, "honored of

God," to whom he dedicates his *Unspoken Sermons*. And those young Congregationalists who, in the heyday of Dale's influence, felt out of touch with the great man were very willing to sit at Maurice's feet and accept his guidance, especially as mediated by Baldwin Brown. Mackennal goes so far as to affirm that Maurice had more influence on Congregationalists than on his fellow Anglicans. An eschatological protest of the elusive order was of course part of Maurice's contribution. Among our ministers Baldwin Brown, and among our College Principals Caleb Scott, stood conspicuously for Universalism and for the corresponding doctrine of divine Fatherhood. Still more prominent on the same side in controversy was the Baptist, Samuel Cox.

Another mitigation of the old terrible doctrine was found in the revival of the theory of Conditional Immortality. The brunt of this battle was borne by one of ourselves, Edward White, in alliance with a foreign divine, Petavel. This view received the weighty adhesion of Dale, and — in cautious informal talk — of Simon also. If Universalism opens out into a passionate and almost one-sided assertion of God's Fatherhood, this alternative view opens out into that biological religion which makes strong appeal to modern minds of a differing type. The theory affirms that life may be won, and also that life may indeed — tragically, literally, ultimately — be lost. If the other theory is passionately religious, this one is or may be deeply and solemnly moral.⁵ The Conditional Immortality doctrine, with its wider implications, lives still in the Rev. W. D. Maclaren (the Congregationalist cousin of the famous Baptist preacher), well known in several countries as an enthusiast for the gospel, for theological science, and for this theory of the hereafter. He has published his system of biological theology under the title *Our Growing Creed*.

Fairbairn would have none of this. He announced in his determined fashion that "Deity *could* not" annihilate rational creatures who were His very children. Another way of escape was chosen. On speculative and moral grounds, without claiming any direct support from scripture, Fairbairn taught that there will be indeterminate punishment for sin in the hereafter, with endless opportunity for repentance and for return to God.

VIII

It may be allowed us further to contrast Dale's attitude in Apologetics with that of the immediately preceding generation. Congregationalism had thrown up at that earlier date an extraordinarily brilliant apologetic champion — Henry Rogers, known to be one of the mighty band of anonymous *Edinburgh Reviewers*. As an apologist, Rogers belonged to the old hard school. His *Eclipse of Faith*, a critique of Francis Newman's *Phases of Faith*, was a dialogue, in which disbelievers of different types were set quarrelling with each other, in full confidence that, when the rivals had torn each other to pieces, orthodoxy would survive as an easy winner. The *Supernatural Origin of the Bible* — Congregational Union Lecture for 1873 — shows us how the Bible presented itself to Rogers's mind, viz., as a preternatural book. What merciless cleverness could do for the vindication of Christianity was done by Rogers — never better. With relief we turn from such apologetics to Dale's *Living Christ and the Four Gospels*. It is a popular statement, rash perhaps in some affirmations and hasty in arriving at some conclusions. But it puts central things in the central place, and discovers in Christianity the Master's own appeal to the conscience and heart — not to mere intellect. Fairbairn's *City of God* and his *Religion in History and in the Life of To-day*; Principal Griffith-Jones's *Ascent through Christ*, and Principal Garvie's *Handbook* (in the *Studies in Theology*), also furnish telling statements of modern apologetic arguments.

⁵ Many Christians — Congregationalists and others — find themselves unable fully to accept either view, while not deaf to the pleadings of either.

IX

If Dale may be regarded as the worthy and dignified close of a period, Fairbairn is rather a pioneer, giving the first pronouncements upon new questions, and working at unexplored subjects such as Comparative Religion. His caution almost amounted to timidity, but his learning was immense and his power unquestionable. *Christ in Modern Theology* gives us most information about his inner mind. And, if we read it carefully, it tells us a good deal.

Fairbairn is remarkable for the combination or equipoise of two, three, or four lines of thought, which to many minds present themselves as alternatives. *Christ in Modern Theology* begins by sounding loudly the historical note. The fact with which he starts, the center round which he groups everything, is the rediscovery of the historical Christ. But *secondly* the Christ thus discovered is not only, perhaps not even mainly, the preacher of the Kingdom of God. Still less is he the Christ of contemporary eschatological interpretation. He is the dogmatic Christ, who bears in his heart the consciousness of a unique Sonship towards the eternal Father; which Sonship is the root and pledge of ours. When we work back to Fairbairn from more recent theology, we are struck with his devotion to speculative thought — with the Hegelian vein in him — with his enthusiasm for reason. During more than thirty years, we have been saying to each other how remarkable a feature that constitutes in Fairbairn. Correspondingly, instead of accepting the common Thomist tradition, which makes the Holy Trinity an authoritatively revealed but unintelligible mystery, Fairbairn ardently supports the rival view, which regards it as the highest reason and deepest philosophy.

Alongside of this intellectualism, Fairbairn reveals *thirdly* an intense moral interest. He passes upon the great Christological dogmas the piquant criticism that they are rather the climax of Greek philosophy than the adequate summary of the Christian message. This can and must be corrected. As he is sure that historical research and free speculation lead to the same goal, so Fairbairn feels sure that the speculative and the ethical interests, when rightly understood, meet in perfect harmony. The Ritschlian movement interrupts this personal, this possibly precarious equipoise. Ritschl and his friends — if we may generalize — devote themselves to the ethical world of values. They are afraid of abstract speculation. They believe it to be non-Christian, infra-Christian, a dangerous rival to faith. Nevertheless, the chief English interpreter of Ritschl, Dr. Garvie, though he has several times told us that he felt his old master too unsympathetic towards Ritschl,⁶ remains essentially loyal to the Fairbairn tradition. He assures us that Christianity is both a doctrine and a life. He dismisses Ritschl's distrust of metaphysics as not merely exaggerated but wrong. Thus the Fairbairn equipoise is repeated or restored in one of our most powerful living influences.

In speaking of Dale, we said that his version of the doctrine of the Trinity recognized a plurality of divine Persons who in some sense were also one; and we added that Fairbairn held a similar view. Here in fact we touch the inmost secret of Fairbairn's reconciliation of the speculative with the ethical. He accepts the doctrine as a masterpiece of speculative insight, and enforces it by a distinction of his own between "God" and "the Godhead." *Ad extra*, Deity is "God" — one great power, holiness, love; but in internal relations "the Godhead" is a moral fellowship, of Father with Son and Son with Father. Here then Fairbairn claims to achieve in the clear light of thought a synthesis of two, frequently separated, elements. The speculative turns ethical when speculation unveils to us a Divine society. Fairbairn is not the first to proclaim the existence

⁶ And too unsympathetic also towards psychology.

of a society within the Godhead. James Morison, e. g., taught it — very possibly when Fairbairn sat on the benches before him. But Fairbairn gives it unusual emphasis, and his support counts for much.

We may add that Fairbairn does not follow Trinitarian speculation in its customary next step. He does not interpret the Holy Spirit as the return from difference to unity, or as the synthesis of Father and Son, or as their mutual love. Fairbairn indeed seems hardly to know what to say regarding the third Hypostasis. "We know" he says "a third Person" in the Divine society, and "possibly there may be more." If never withdrawn, we believe this formula was never repeated.

Fairbairn's volume entitled *The Philosophy of the Christian Religion* gives us his statement of a spiritual philosophy of reality and knowledge, and contains a great deal of material drawn from study of the faiths of non-Christian mankind. It is certain to-day that the results of Comparative Religion must develop and enrich the Christian theology of the future, but it is very uncertain how that influence will take shape. Fairbairn's theses are somewhat as follows: The highest class of religions are *founded* religions, in as much as only religions of this type do justice to rational personality; and the highest religion of all must be one which achieves a speculative interpretation of its historical Founder. Buddhism and Mohammedanism pretty obviously fail; Zoroaster it is held was "not strictly a Founder" at all. Christianity triumphantly meets the test. This is the possible *fourth* strand in Fairbairn's thought, at which we hinted above. It is very characteristic of the mind which formulated it. But, lest we think that Fairbairn has been neglecting his ethical interest, let us remind ourselves that a section close to the end of this same book dwells upon the too frequent lack of "ethical interpretation" of Christ. Fairbairn's mind is still evenly poised.

On the Christological problem in the narrower sense, Fairbairn supports the modern doctrine of Kenosis, with the remark that while the "metaphysical" attributes of God may be waived by Him, moral attributes are closer to His inmost being; and these moral attributes shine forth in Jesus Christ. Speculation is at work again, but speculation still obeys an ethical motive and impulse. And in this matter too the pupil seems loyal to the master. Dr. Garvie — with not a few others — finds a certain Kenosis, or self-limitation, in the very act of creation.

A far more radical type of doctrinal intellectualism was represented in the brilliant writings of J. Allanson Picton, who passed over definitely to Pantheism. Somewhat similarly, Trinitarianism as the symbol of a reconstruction of Christianity in terms of philosophy or mysticism was expounded in the Rev. R. J. Campbell's book entitled *The New Theology*. He followed an American lead in appropriating this expression to describe a scheme of immanent and almost pantheistic Theism. The book was a piece of journalism, and lacked the charm which characterizes the author's more positive utterances. At the time when Mr. Campbell left our communion he withdrew this volume from circulation.

X

Something may now be said regarding Congregationalist contributions to scholarship.

Earlier work was largely confined to our denominational history, or still more narrowly to local matters. We may name Neal's *History of the Puritans*, Bogue and Bennett's *History of Dissenters*, Waddington's *Congregational History*, the *History of Nonconformity in Wales*, of Thos. Rees (of Swansea), Robert Halley's *History of Puritanism and Nonconformity in Lancashire*; with Stoughton's *History of Religion in England*, Dale's *History of English Congregationalism*, and Ross's *History of Scottish Congrega-*

tionalism. Such work is still being produced abundantly and of excellent quality by Dr. John Brown, Dr. H. W. Clark, Dr. Benjamin Nightingale, Rev. William Pierce, Dr. F. J. Powicke, Professor Lyon Turner, Dr. Peel and many others.

Wider ground was broken early in the eighteenth century by Jeremiah Jones (1693-1724), whose work on the Canon of the New Testament is named by Fairbairn as another item in a good old-fashioned theological library. Born in Wales, Jones lived and worked in England. He is partly animated by contempt for apocryphal writings, partly by distrust of the *Testimonium Spiritus Sancti*. Few "happy persons" can "distinguish between canonical and apocryphal books," in the light of that inner witness. The book therefore was by no means pure scholarship; yet it was genuinely learned and in its day was useful.

Pye Smith worked at the harmonizing of Genesis with geology — another enterprise which attracted much attention at the time. And his *Scripture Testimony to the Messiah* revealed acquaintance with the scientific theology of Germany.

Samuel Davidson, born a Presbyterian, tarried among us for a season, and wrote in defence of our simple order as *The Ecclesiastical Polity of the New Testament*. In later life he became a radical critic of the New Testament books; but the opinions regarding the Old Testament, which made Congregationalism too hot for him, would seem colorless commonplaces to-day.

Robert Vaughan was the first modern editor of Wycliffe and helped towards the founding of the Wycliffe Society. His son's book, *Hours with the Mystics*, stimulated historical as well as devotional study.

Greville Ewing's *Greek Grammar and Lexicon*, and Lindsay Alexander's edition of Kitto's *Cyclopedia of Biblical Literature*, were valuable contributions from the little group of our churches in Scotland; and James Morison's *Commentaries* on Matthew and Mark gained deserved honor for the theology of the Evangelical Union. T. M. Herbert's posthumous volume, *Modern Philosophical Realism Examined*, was a learned and powerful contribution to philosophy.

Our foreign missionaries have supplied much material for the historian and the anthropologist; e. g., Ellis's *Polynesian Researches*. In Professor John Legge we had a Sinologue of the foremost rank. Dr. J. N. Farquhar's *Modern Religious Movements in India*, and Dr. Sydney Cave's *Redemption, Hindu and Christian*, show that those of our number who have known the mission field to-day are well able to play their part in the higher study of foreign religions. In addition, much work of inestimable value has been done by our missionaries as translators and as producers of Christian literature in new languages.

The *Congregational* and *Congregational Union* Lectures, several of which have incidentally been referred to, are important pronouncements; and the genius shown in Joseph Parker's *People's Bible* still inspires many a preacher.

When the flood of the new learning burst upon us, especially in regard to the Old Testament, our scholars fell into line with others and — if as yet we can claim no epoch-making pioneers — did their share of scientific spade-work. We may refer to the contributions to scholarship of Dr. G. B. Gray, Principal Bennett, and the late Principal Whitehouse — eminent as an Assyriologist. Dr. Archibald Duff pursues lines of his own, but has done much to awaken interest in the Old Testament and to make men love it. The work of Dr. W. F. Adeney lies mainly in the field of the New Testament; so also that of Dr. H. T. Andrews. Principal Garvie has made important contributions to the history and reconstruction of theology in his *Ritschian Theology* and other writings.

In the History of Doctrine, Principal Franks on the *Work of Christ* has produced as competent, as helpful, and as well documented a study as

could be matched in any language. In Church History proper we are conspicuously represented by Dr. Adeney's *Greek and Eastern Churches* and by the writings of Dr. Vernon Bartlet. The best of all Dr. Bartlet's work has been produced in collaboration — with Dr. A. J. Carlyle, born a Presbyterian, now an Anglican of an exceptionally liberal stamp. Their *Christianity in History* covers all the centuries with fulness of knowledge and profound suggestiveness.⁷

In Professor Alexander Souter, an ardent Congregationalist, we possess to-day a pioneer in original scholarship, classical and patristic.

Congregational scholars have contributed to the *International Critical Commentaries* and the *International Theological Library*; they have also shared in works on a smaller scale but of substantial importance, such as *Studies in Theology*, the *Great Christian Theologies*, etc. Of the four volumes contained in the last named series, three were from Congregationalist pens. Principal Selbie wrote on Schleiermacher, Dr. R. Mackintosh on Ritschl, and the editor of the series, Dr. H. W. Clark, on *Liberal Orthodoxy*. Similarly there are numerous contributions from Congregationalist scholars in the *Encyclopedia Britannica* (11th ed.), the *Encyclopedia Biblica*, Dr. Hastings' *Bible Dictionaries* and his *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*. Three volumes of essays may also be recorded — *Ecclesia*, edited by H. R. Reynolds, *Faith and Criticism*, and the *Mansfield College Essays Presented to A. M. Fairbairn*. The *Century Bible* is due to Congregational editorship, and exactly half the contributions are from Congregationalist pens. Both remarks apply also to the *Westminster New Testament*. Professor Peake's brilliantly successful one volume *Commentary on the Bible* had editorial "assistance for the New Testament" from Principal Grieve, and numbers about twelve Congregationalist contributors.

XI

The Congregationalist doctrine and polity of the Church constitutes our *raison d'être*. In the past, four points have been strongly pressed: (1) a protest, in the name of the freedom of the gospel, against episcopal tyranny backed by the State; (2) a protest, in the name of the priesthood of all believers, against sacerdotal claims on the part of the ministry; (3) a demand that the "Church" shall be understood in the sense of a congregation of faithful disciples, and that to it must belong all the prerogatives of administration and discipline; (4) a claim that Congregationalism represents the polity of the primitive Church. Of these points, (1) has been modified by the Toleration Act, and now takes the form of a protest against the control of the Church by the State; (2) is still needed; perhaps is more needed than ever in our public witness beyond our own borders; (3) remains in theory, but practically there is little difference in point of "faithfulness" between our own fellowships and others. When, however, government is transferred from Church members to a wider electorate, there is a sacrifice of principle. (4) We do not now stress our coincidence with the external machinery of the primitive churches, for we recognize the right of development. We rather claim that our system has some peculiar advantages for doing the work of Christ to-day.

In view of past changes, and of the possibility of others that may be approaching, the Commission believes there is need for a new study of Congregational ideals, both for our own guidance and for the sake of a better understanding with other churches.

⁷ It is interesting to observe that the book singles out Coleridge as the true pioneer and guide in theological restatement.

XII

In regard to Church and State our history is curious. Barrowe and Greenwood, our early martyrs, accepted the State Church theory. Owen and Goodwin were State Church officials. Doddridge's preference was for a State Church, if he could have had one to his mind. Indeed, he was much occupied with schemes of comprehension, and therefore could not well take the line of pure voluntaryism. In parts of the American Union, Congregational State Churches remained in being well into the nineteenth century. Exceptional minds like Morgan Lloyd saw further, or men like Vane and Milton, who to exceptional powers joined exceptional views upon other points. Even the toleration which was practised by the Commonwealth was limited by considerations of expediency and safety.

Isaac Watts, living under a somewhat completer toleration, was an anti-State Church man; but with great reserves. He was attacked, and the defence of Voluntaryism was undertaken by an Arianizing Presbyterian minister, Micaiah Towgood, whose book according to Skeats "has been more frequently reprinted, both in England and America, than any other publication of the kind."

The problem passed into Scotland, where the Presbyterian Churches of the Secession were sharply divided — in one case just before, in the other just after, 1800 — by those "New Light" views, the central element in which was voluntaryism. In 1830 Dr. Andrew Marshall of Coupar Angus was moved in the spirit to preach against National Establishments, and a controversy sprang up which rent Scottish Presbyterian Evangelicalism in twain, with results sadly manifest to this hour. When the Established Church of Scotland, under the Evangelical leadership of Chalmers, tried to secure Government grants for the building of new churches in crowded areas, Scottish dissenters feared they were to be squeezed out of existence. They succeeded in baffling the new demands upon the exchequer, but the situation was increasingly embittered. To a Congregationalist, Ralph Wardlaw, was allotted the honor of replying to the great Chalmers. His lectures present themselves as a considered statement of the Congregationalist attitude upon this issue, during the nineteenth century.

Fired by its Scottish brethren, and animated by the long-delayed reform which at last swept away the Test and Corporation Acts, English dissent became aggressive; and, after some false starts, the Liberation Society came into being. Its leading spirits — with J. Guinness Rogers and R. W. Dale — were Edward Miall, founder and editor of the *Nonconformist* newspaper, a Congregational Minister who felt that, for him, this work was a Divinely appointed duty, and Henry Richards, whose career in Parliament was more prolonged. The Liberation Society could reckon a great success when, in 1869, the policy of disestablishment was applied to Ireland, — not that of concurrent endowment. It met with a great rebuff when Forster's Education Act was passed by the same Parliament. The work in Wales of Dale, Miall and Richards was ultimately crowned with success in the Welsh Disestablishment Act.

Unfortunately, the Congregationalist theory of society has been in danger of depreciating the State as much as it exalts the Church. Vane (1612-1662) is quoted as writing: "The province of the magistrate is this world and man's body, not his conscience or the concerns of eternity." This may bear a perfectly good and true sense; it may also be understood in a way that is pernicious. Watts, according to Skeats's summary,³ begins in similar fashion. "Civil Government" properly "had no object beyond the benefit of men in this world. . . . No civil ruler had any right to require the people to profess or practise his own religion, nor to levy tithes for its support." Yet "every Government should make an acknowledgment of the existence of a God; impose oaths; employ public teachers

³ Skeats and Miall, *History of the Free Churches of England*, p. 332.

of morality; support these out of taxes; compel all the people to hear them." For "the laws of the land on moral questions, such as theft, adultery, and truth, ought in justice to be made known to those who would be punished for not obeying." Fantastic as this may sound, it shows that Watts was alive to the existence of difficulties which impatient minds ignore.

The Voluntaryism of Scotland was more thorough going. It reached the affirmation of the State's absolute religious neutrality. Not only must the State abstain from coercing the Church. It must equally abstain from any corporate act which might seem evil to the conscience of any one citizen. And therefore, to safeguard conscience, State action must be swept clean of any reference to religion. Such is the teaching of Wardlaw.⁹ Even his biographer Lindsay Alexander is moved to utter a protest.¹⁰ In the same questionable form the theory was pushed by Edward Miall. When he pleaded for "the Liberation of Religion from State Patronage and Control" — the title of the Society was chosen with singular care and precision — Miall was loyal to the older motive of reverence for the Church. In pleading for unqualified "Religious Equality," he gave expression to a demand which could only be justified by the most extremely individualist theory of society.

The Education question marked in truth the turning point between the older Liberalism, which was occupied with the needful but negative task of removing abuses, and the newer policy of constructive social reform by means of organized political action. Most Congregationalists, Miall among them, had supposed that education was too sacred a thing for the State to touch. The modern State insisted upon pressing a different view. It felt a positive social and moral interest in the education of the people. Miall now took the line of consenting to a scheme of national education, provided it were purely secular. The English people would not have it so; nor would Congregationalists as a whole, though not a few of them believe it to be the "logical" result of their principles. Dale proposed Bible reading in schools with no teaching of religion. Paton of Nottingham rallied a solid phalanx of Churchmen and Nonconformists in defence of simple religious teaching. Mackennal even more boldly argued that different types of schools must and ought to be provided. Forster's compromise, as finally adjusted, accepted the "Voluntary" i. e., Church Schools with a conscience clause, and flanked them with Board Schools which might teach religion if they wished, but must not teach any denominational formulary. It was left for the ingenuity of a later generation of Churchmen to discover that they might thrust denominational beliefs, though not formularies, into Board Schools,¹¹ if they "captured" the electorate. The quarrel has never really died down. The Sphinx's question has not yet been answered. No one has discovered the right way of meeting the religious difficulty. The Education Act of Mr. Balfour's Government left the Nonconformists under worse conditions than ever, and the legislation of 1918 has brought them no relief.

On such questions as social philosophy and moral reform, the Commission cannot but hold that there is need of hard thinking and frank utterance — not in partizan support of any one policy, but in order to the elucidation of broad Christian principles. There is widespread confusion in the world of English thought, and among Congregationalists themselves. On one hand, the claim of individual liberty is being pushed up to the verge if not beyond the verge of anarchy. On the other hand, strong corporate action

⁹ But the greatest of the philosophers of Voluntaryism, Vinet, is quite as extreme. He defines the State as "the collective natural man," and again as "Humanity *minus* conscience."

¹⁰ Since those days, concession after concession has been wrung from the Scottish Presbyterian Voluntaries, till it looks as if many of them were preparing to accept Establishment itself. Extreme views are apt to be followed by extreme recolls.

¹¹ Now "Council" Schools.

is being threatened up to the verge if not beyond the verge of tyranny. Or again, while on one hand exclusive claims are put forward for our Congregationalist ideal, on the other hand schemes of comprehension are being urged at the cost of concessions which awaken in many quarters very deep distrust. Opposite claims proceed from the same social group, and sometimes even from the same individual. Dale, elsewhere so great, does not seem to help us here, whether with his drastic policy for the schools or with his belief in the mission of Congregationalism to the middle classes. "To the poor the gospel is preached"; and, as democracy advances, there will be less and less of a future for non-democratic Churches. Paton rather than Dale is the prophet of the new impulse towards social reform. And Paton was a man of brilliant ability, as well as of great driving power and of deep devotion. But he lacked time to think out his "Social Redemptive" principles. Practical tasks claimed him first and last. Himself no Socialist, he has influenced multitudes towards Socialism. That could not have been his wish. Nevertheless, Paton and Mackennal in the past generation, with Dr. Forsyth among the living, have urged upon us the need of something better than the old individualism. They feel that the State "must have a soul."

Congregationalist efforts to deal with social theory are few in number. Professor Hearnshaw's *Democracy at the Crossways* is powerful and suggestive, if rather markedly controversial. Dr. R. Mackintosh's *From Comte to Benjamin Kidd* challenges the claim of Positivism, whether in the narrower or the wider sense, to bring all social theory and all social policy under the control of empirical science. On this negative side it has won the approbation of good judges; but it makes no attempt at constructive work. Dr. Forsyth's *Faith Freedom and the Future* reminds us of the place which the central experiences and convictions of Christians must hold if Christians are worthily to influence society. It does this with characteristic power; but something more even than this seems to be needed.

We do not mean to say that theology ought to leave the word of God and serve tables. Our central work must lie elsewhere. But here also is a part of our duty; and, while the work of theology proper and of scholarship is being prosecuted among us with credit and usefulness, this field lies fallow. If our Congregationalist reverence for individual conviction, joined with our Congregationalist joy in Christian fellowship, cannot throw light upon the problems of the 20th century — where may such light be looked for?

XIII

When we cast a glance back over the history of thought among us, we are impressed more than ever with the importance of the work of Robert Browne and the first Independents. The spiritual principle of Congregationalism may be described as the chief of all its contributions to religious thought. During the intervening centuries, our thought has worked entirely clear of State Churchism, of the Calvinistic system of doctrine, and of reliance on formulated creeds, ancient or modern, as authorities controlling faith. Outsiders may declare that we have broken with our past. The Commission desires to affirm its conviction that, on the contrary, the changes in question enable us to do far fuller justice to the Congregationalist ideal. Christianity is supernatural, and the Church of Christ can only live by its spiritual resources. Trust in the living Lord, and in the actual guidance of the Church by the Holy Spirit; genuine loyalty to the truth of the priesthood of the believer; reverence for conscience; the right and the capacity to distinguish primary things from secondary; the duty of religious experiment in the interests of the Kingdom of God; the recognition of progress as essentially involved in Christianity; the all-importance of brotherly good-will as the very life blood of the church

—these are professed or acknowledged to a great extent by all the churches; but Congregationalism bears a special witness to these things, and, if worthy of itself, is specially qualified to be their servant. In the mercy of God, Congregationalism now stands for liberty of thought and inquiry among the friends of the Gospel, and for firm faith without creedal bondage. Such a position is a source of immense power in the world of modern science. Our very weaknesses have been only the obverse of our strength.

The Commission would regard it as a very grave misfortune if so great a contribution to religious thought were to disappear from Christian minds and from the church life of the future.

Rev. P. T. Forsyth
Rev. R. S. Franks
Rev. R. Mackintosh
Rev. Prof. E. J. Price
Rev. T. Rees
Rev. W. B. Selbie
Rev. H. H. Scullard
Rev. W. L. Walker
Rev. B. L. Woolf

**"THE PAST SERVICE OF CONGREGATIONALISM IN
EDUCATION, WITH A STATEMENT OF THE
PRESENT SITUATION AND DEMAND"**

At the first International Congregational Council held in London in 1891 Congregationalism was spoken of as "pre-eminently the fountain of educational influences" and as worthy of the title which had been given to it in America, "The denomination which educates." It was in America, after the landing of the Congregationalist Pilgrims of the *Mayflower* at Plymouth Rock, that Congregationalism first had freedom and opportunity to realise its genius in respect of education, and the emigrants lost no time in carrying their principles and ideas into effect. The friendship between the Plymouth colony and the later Puritan colonies of Massachusetts Bay was a close one. Dr. John Brown tells us how the Puritans when leaving England had been urged to "take" the Plymouth colonists' "advice and to do nothing to offend them." In their devotion to learning they seem to have worked together. Eight years after the first settlement of Massachusetts, the General Court of the Colony of the "thirty towns" voted four hundred pounds, a year's taxation of the whole colony, towards establishing a College or Grammar School, which Congregationalist foundation became Harvard College, where a number of the Theological Professors are at the present time Congregationalists. The adjoining State of Connecticut subsequently followed the example of Massachusetts and founded Yale College, another Congregationalist institution, which has ever since been closely connected with Congregationalism. An order of the Massachusetts Court decreed that there should be an elementary school wherever there were fifty householders, and a Grammar School wherever there were a hundred. The recognized connection of these schools with Harvard planted and reared the first education ladder known to our history. In Plymouth there appear to have been voluntary Schools before 1662, when each municipality was charged to have "a school master set up"; and the same town claims to have been the first to take advantage of the offer of the fishing excise by maintaining a free school.

This short summary of the history of early education in New England illustrates incidentally the readiness with which Congregationalism has associated itself with other religious communities and phases of faith whose desire to further education as such was akin to its own. As my contributor Mr. Paton has pointed out Congregationalism has "fought for principles and has welcomed the co-operation of all who are in sympathy with these principles. While others have put their particular Church first, the Congregationalist has characteristically fixed his purpose upon the Kingdom which the Church exists to achieve. Congregationalism has stood against the teaching of catechism and formulæ, believing that such teaching is as unsound psychologically as it is from the religious point of view. Therein we are followers of Plato, and all modern psychology supports us too." Accordingly we have "stood for efficiency, whereas, under the denominational system, religion has come to be associated unfortunately with ineffectiveness. Congregationalism may therefore claim to have stood as the champion of a national system while the so-called national Church was devoting all its energies to bolstering up a sect." Hence it has sometimes been difficult to calculate how much Congregationalism, in and by itself, has contributed to the attainment of some great end, when the end has been attained in alliance with other religious bodies or purely educational agencies actuated for the particular purpose by the Congregationalist spirit. In education, as in politics, Congregationalism stands for

freedom of individual development as each individual is led by the indwelling Spirit to conceive and embody the mind of Christ in regard to himself and his place in God's Church and God's world; and this principle, inherent in Congregationalism, has often exercised, and is exercising still, its influence, sometimes by alliance, sometimes by variation, sometimes even by opposition, upon other religious systems, when Congregationalism as a separate denominational entity is not concretely prominent.

Subject to this characteristic function of inspiration, co-operation and pervasion it is suggestive of the educational genius of Congregationalism to recall the facts quoted by Dr. Noble at the International Congregational Council held in Edinburgh in 1908, illustrating the educational activities of Congregationalism in a new country where, to use a colloquial expression, its "pitch" had not been "queered" by a State Church and by the hindrances, prejudices and social inequalities incident thereto. He put on record that the Congregationalist Churches in the United States had stood for sound learning widely diffused among all classes of the people; that they were known throughout the land as the "college building denomination"; that a well known and munificent benefactor of educational enterprises, not himself a Congregationalist, justified his generosity to educational Congregationalists by saying that Congregationalism had a "genius for organizing and managing schools." Besides Harvard and Yale there were then at least forty institutions for higher learning in all parts of the United States that had been founded by Congregationalists, in addition to their eight Theological Seminaries, and all these were proving to be "stimulations of intelligence" everywhere where they were planted. He affirmed that this was only half the story. For in a large majority of instances it had been Congregational ministers and Congregational laymen who had a large share in promoting the interests of education generally. To a Congregational Minister, Manasseh Cutler, was due the "Ordinance of 1787" reserving for the maintenance of free education every sixteenth section of the land covered by the Act, a reservation which secured free schools in several of the great interior States. Congregational ministers had formulated the educational systems of Ohio, Michigan and Oregon. It was a Congregational minister, Joseph Emerson, who set in motion the train of influences resulting in the magnificent output of educational institutions for women. The student of origins was constantly surprised to find how many of the best things in the educational way run back to the initiative of Congregational ministers. No wonder that (as Mr. Fullerton told the 1891 Council) a Unitarian speaker had generously acknowledged that the Congregational denomination was undoubtedly the "foremost intellectual power on the Continent of America."

I hope I shall be forgiven for trenching upon the special province of my American brethren by borrowing from the educational history of their great and untrammelled country in order to show what Congregationalism has done for education where its genius is unfettered and its "pitch unqueered." In England, owing to an ecclesiastical past whose overhanging shadow still darkens the present, there has been no such freedom and no such unfettered achievement. The influence, the money, the land have been mainly retained in what are usually known as "Church" hands; the movement for freedom and democracy in education has been a perpetual struggle against the protectionism of an ecclesiastical institution amalgamated with the governing state. Whenever the democratic instinct has been strong enough to seek a share in democratization for education, the first cry of alarm has always been, "How will this affect the Church?" When the spirituality latent in English life began to show signs of vitality and the leaven of the Lollards began to work through the educating influence of a Bible in the vulgar tongue and peripatetic preachers of the Word, it was the Church, claiming to license all teachers everywhere, that drove it all beneath the surface. When in 1406 the first

Education Act in the history of England, a section in the "Statute of Laborers," was passed by Parliament enacting that "Every man or woman, of what state or condition that they be, shall be free to set their son or daughter to take learning of any school that pleaseth them within the realm," that is, as a quaint writer puts it, "in spite of the protests of Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots, Priors and Monks," it was Thomas Arundel, Archbishop of Canterbury who (on the basis of the "Statute of Heretics") decreed that no one should learn even to read and write except on the lines laid down by the Church. In the reign of Elizabeth an Act was passed against any person "keeping or maintaining a schoolmaster that shall not repair to Church or Chapel of Common Prayer, or who is not allowed by the Bishop." To the Act of Uniformity in Charles II's reign all schoolmasters were required to subscribe. The Five Mile Act of 1665 forbade any dissenter to teach in any public or private school. But (as is shown in the *History of the Movement for Civic Control in Education* by Mr. William Claridge, to which I am occasionally referring) the zeal for education on the part of Nonconformists was not quenched by these Acts or by the fines and imprisonments, the banishment and outlawry which they involved. Dr. Whitley in his paper on the subject¹ read to the Baptist Historical Society in 1915 cites the evidence of Dr. Plummer (*History of the English Church in the 18th Century*, page 15) that two hundred years ago "dissenters, in proportion to their numbers, were more vigorous in the cause of education than Churchmen were. They not only helped in promoting charity schools: they had good institutions of their own. In some places the Nonconformist school was the only one to which parents could send their sons." Owing to the monopoly of the State Church and the necessity of a bishop's license there were no Nonconformist schools till Laud fell in 1640. At the Restoration (1660) all such schools became again wholly illegal. But after The Toleration Act, which permitted schools to exist on conditions which included the signing of most of the Thirty-nine Articles, there was an "instant opening of schools on all sides." The first school specifically established for "the poor" in England was founded in 1687 in connection with Nathaniel Vincent's Congregational Church in Southwark. It was stipulated that children should be admitted without distinction of party or creed, the intention of the founder being the promotion of the general good. The Nonconformist school movement abundantly increased when the judges in 1700 decided that the bishops' courts had no jurisdiction except over grammar schools, and when a further decision next year declared that no license at all was needed for elementary schools. In spite of the efforts of the Restoration reactionaries to prevent them, many elementary schools sprang up in Lancashire, in London, in Wales, founded by Congregationalists among others, in the form of "Charity" schools, schools in connection with chapels, Saturday and Sunday schools where, especially after the employment of children in factories became customary, a large amount of teaching in the "3 R's" was given, Saturday afternoon and Sunday being now mostly the only days generally available. Edward Williams, an Independent in Wales, founded thirteen "Circulating" or peripatetic day schools. Dr. Williams, the Congregationalist benefactor known so well through the "Dr. Williams Scholarships," left large bequests for the education of the poor. In Adult Schools for elementary education Congregationalists were pioneers. In 1817 the Congregationalists of Kirkham started four such schools; but it was left to the Society of Friends at Birmingham in 1845 to establish this Adult education more widely and permanently. Nonconformist "Academies," kept by Puritans expelled from the Universities and the Church, sprang up all over the land, and not merely for the training of the ministry,

¹"The Contribution of Nonconformity to Education until the Victorian Era," by Dr. W. T. Whitley.

but for a liberal education in mathematics, modern languages and natural science, as laid down in the "Tractate" of John Milton, Congregationalist. Dr. Whitley tells us: "One recent expert even says that in the 18th century it was almost the rule that the Dissenting minister kept a private boarding school for boys." "The growth of the Academies is one of the most remarkable phenomena in the history of education in England. They were plainly a violation of the law. Teachers and scholars stood in daily dread of the severest penalties known to the law. But they prospered. They filled a void that had not been occupied by the Church in spite of the advantages due to ecclesiastical and parliamentary favor." Naturally the Church decreed that they should be suppressed. Even Samuel Wesley, the father of John Wesley, furiously joined in the hue and cry against them as "immoral and disloyal." He impeached them for drawing money away from the Established Church and endangering the success of the two national Universities ("national," then, indeed!), enumerating the nobility and gentry who would have gone to Oxford or Cambridge "had they not been intercepted by these sucking Academies." De Foe, the Congregationalist, ironically egged on the Church persecution in his "Shortest Way with Dissenters," and was denounced for his satire by what were called (and are known to our experience also as) the "moderate" party. Finally a "Schism Bill" was passed in 1714 providing that "no person should keep any public or private school, or teach or instruct as tutor or schoolmaster, who had not subscribed a declaration to conform to the Established Church and obtained from the Bishop of the diocese in which he resided a license to preach, on penalty of imprisonment without bail." At the time (says Mr. Claridge) when this atrocious Act was passed (preventing Dissenters from having their children taught by Dissenters either in private schools or in their own houses) Congregationalists, with Presbyterians and Baptists had their Academies widely spread over the country. In every large town private dissenting schools had sprung into being and had long been a source of alarm to the clergy. Parliament had done its part. The Act was passed. The Queen had done her part. She had signed it. It was to be put in operation on August 1. But on the "appointed day" the Queen died, and Bolingbroke wrote to Swift, "The Queen died on Sunday. What a world is this! And how does fortune banter us!" The Act was suffered to become a dead letter. It was openly avowed (says Mr. G. M. Trevelyan in his "England under the Stuarts") that the object of the Act was to extirpate Dissent in the next generation. But it was repealed through Lord Stanhope under George I, in spite of the opposition of the two Archbishops.

When Queen Anne died, the relentless spirit of persecution seemed to die with her. But persecution in a milder form still lingered, and the Congregationalists (among whom were notably Isaac Watts and Philip Doddridge) were still in common with their educational allies hampered in their struggles for popular and unsectarian education. "The vital question at this period" (the end of the 18th century), says Mr. Coore in his article on *Education* in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* (XIth edition) "was whether the Clergy of the Established Church were to control the national education." The religious issue was prominent in connection with the "remarkable attempt at legislation made by the Whig statesman Mr. Whitbread in his Parochial Schools Bill of 1807." Mr. Whitbread was by birth and training a Nonconformist and he was warmly supported by Congregationalists and others in his proposals for the opening of schools in every parish for children between seven and fourteen, and for leaving the appointment of teachers and the management to the magistrates. The Bill passed the House of Commons with an amendment to make it optional, but was rejected without a division in the House of Lords at the instance of the Archbishop of Canterbury, mainly on the ground that it did not place education on a religious basis and that it left little or no control to

the Minister in his parish: though Earl Stanhope disavowed "the abominable principle that no part of the population of this country ought to receive education except in the tenets of the Established Church." Thus was lost, more than one hundred years ago, a Bill which "whatever its faults, would have provided an elementary school supported by the rates in every parish"; and it was lost because the clergy refused to leave the control of these schools in the hands of a magistracy which, though composed chiefly of laymen, was almost wholly favorable to the Established Church.

The next important — a truly epoch-making — educational movement, to which Congregationalists and their allies lent vigorous support, met with violent and abusive opposition from the same clerical quarter. When the young Quaker Joseph Lancaster, following the advice of George Fox, with the encouragement of the king, initiated his system of elementary schools "for all," basing his religious instruction upon the lines of doctrine common to all the orthodox Christian denominations, the State Church as a whole refused to co-operate on the foundation of a common Christianity, and, when the Royal Lancasterian Institution became in 1808 the British and Foreign School Society earnestly backed by Congregationalist and other Nonconformists, the Church party responded with the formation in 1811 of the "National Society for promoting the education of the poor in the principles of the Established Church." This sequence of events was afterwards thus described by Lord John Russell: "The clergy of those days — even the liberal clergy — were generally opposed to the education of the poor; but, finding the cause of education made progress, they agreed in 1811 to set up a society for founding and maintaining schools." The British and Foreign School Society became the founder of many unsectarian schools in the more populous parts of the country. But wealth and influence enabled the State Church institution easily to outdistance her opponents and the position of advantage thus primarily secured for clerical management has ever since been largely maintained in the rural areas. Since 1870 most of the undenominational schools founded by the British and Foreign School Society, or after their model, have been transferred to the public education authorities, though some 400 still remain, chiefly for local reasons and under various names often suggested by local connections. Meanwhile the public provision has gained materially upon the provision by all other agencies, and now so largely predominates that it provides accommodation for some 61 per cent of all children on the roll of attendance.

But to return to the "Lancaster" period, the great controversy on the "religious difficulty" had now been fairly launched. The Nonconformists had in 1820 defeated one of the crowning and most audacious efforts to accentuate it, Brougham's Bill requiring all teachers to be members of the Established Church and to be appointed upon a certificate from the parochial clergyman. On the other hand in 1840 they had to submit to a minute of the Committee of Council on Education by which the concurrence of the Archbishop of the province had to be obtained for the appointment and continuance in office of any inspector of Church of England schools and for the general instructions given to him by the Committee itself. But in the meantime the power of the priest began to be sapped by an influence whose far-reaching effect that official did not at first fully comprehend. It was in 1832 that this influence made its first approaches to the fortress. In that year the struggle in which the Congregationalists and those with them who fought for the same principles had taken so vigorous and prominent a part — the struggle whether the Church or the State should be at the helm of national education, — may be said to have entered upon its final, though still protracted, stage. Since that date, in spite of vicissitudes and sometimes conspicuous reactions, the State, earnestly supported in the main by the Nonconformists, has slowly but surely gained upon the Church. To use a familiar figure, though the waters of clerical

reaction have had, as they still have, in the creeks their backward flow for a time, the great tide of State control has steadily rolled in along the whole shore. This undermining influence was finance. In 1832 the first grant for Education, the sum of £20,000 for school buildings, to be administered through the National and the British and Foreign School Societies, was placed upon the estimates. Thus the first step was taken on the "slippery slope," "Whoso pays, controls." But among the Congregationalists in accordance with their genius for individual thinking, a division soon arose. There were distinguished leaders on both sides. Some, like Mr. Edward Baines, declared that Government had no right to deal with the education of the people; for education was incomplete without religion, and religion was outside the province of government, whether for teaching or for grants. But these Congregationalists had already cut their own throats by accepting grants for their schools through the British and Foreign School Society. Other leading Congregationalists such as Dr. Vaughan, Mr. Henry Rogers and Mr. Binney accepted education as part of the province of government, but still excluded religion from that province; and they held that it was possible to create a system of State and rate aided schools which should leave religious instruction to be provided by parents and the churches. These were the two most distinctly defined parties. Both were brushed aside; the first by the failure of the religious bodies to cover the ground and cope with the national ignorance: the second by the impossibility of convincing many conscientious, and all conventional, English religionists that secular teaching, when imparted by itself, was not "godless." An inconsistent and thoroughly English compromise was sought in the proposed solution for State Schools of Bible reading without note or comment, or of the Lancasterian and British School practice of teaching the common fundamentals of Christianity. The controversy found a kind of halting place for the time being in Mr. Forster's Bill of 1870, in which, after determined agitation by Congregationalists and their allies, permission was given for School Boards to arrange for religious teaching, provided that in the Board Schools (as the Cowper Temple clause phrased it) "no religious catechism or religious formulary which is distinctive of any particular denomination shall be taught in the School." The Nonconformists also secured through the persevering exertions of Mr. Alfred Illingworth, Mr. Edward Miall, Mr. Henry Richard (all Congregationalists), and their associates, the abolition of official inspection in religious teaching; the freedom of School Boards in the same subject; a more clean-cut, though inevitably unsatisfactory, conscience clause; the severance of the denominational schools from rate support, though at the cost of a fifty per cent increase in the parliamentary grant; a time limit beyond which building grants for denominational schools should not be available; and finally the election of School Boards by ballot. This compromise on the religious difficulty, the "charter of undenominationalism," though inherently illogical, has worked without discord in the Board and Council Schools ever since, but is now being subject to a persistent attack in the interest of denominationalism and of "definite" (that is sectarian) "dogmatic teaching." Of course the clerical party never liked the Act of 1870; and all their efforts since that date have been directed towards undermining it. In spite of Nonconformist criticism and remonstrance, the denominationalists were more and more abundantly subsidized and lightened of the "intolerable strain" of financing their "own" schools, while the old private management and sectarian exclusiveness in respect alike of the teaching and the teachers of religion, were left untouched; and it became, in practice, possible for these schools to be entirely maintained from public funds. In a recent memorial to the Minister of Education presented to him by Congregationalists and others, the unjust and paradoxical situation in finance and management is clearly depicted as follows:

"The claim of the denominationalists to these schools and training colleges as 'their own' is seen to be unjustifiable when it is observed that, when once they have supplied the 'mere shell of the building,' their average expenditure upon children and students accommodated therein is something like one-tenth of the average expenditure from the public purse. If we may quote a statement issued with the imprimatur of the National Education Association and not yet controverted: —

All that the denominationalist has to do is to provide the mere shell of the building. After that, the local authorities must furnish it, provide books and apparatus, do ordinary wear-and-tear repairs, pay the teachers and the caretaker, supply light, water and fuel, and indeed do all that is necessary to maintain it in a state of efficiency for ever. But the people who nominally provided the school appoint and dismiss the teachers, not only the teachers of religion but the teachers of singing, drawing, sewing, and all but the itinerant teachers of every secular subject, and, of course, confine these appointments to members of their own church. They retain the use of the building out of school hours, and of the furniture provided by the rate-payers, and they are under no liability for any further expense beyond maintaining the fabric of the building and making alterations if required. This assemblage of scholars and teachers — a public institution maintained at the public expense, which children of all denominations may be compelled to attend — is thus managed from day to day in the interests of the church which provided the site and the bare walls. . . . This is practically handing over a public institution to be used solely in the interest of one denomination, — nay, more, it is really subsidizing a church and its propaganda out of public funds.

"And, so far as the Established Church is concerned, the ability to provide the 'mere shell of the building' is largely facilitated by the possession of national endowments which immensely lighten the antecedent pecuniary burden of the general ecclesiastical organization."

After a widespread Nonconformist agitation, largely led by Congregationalists, had forced Mr. Balfour to withdraw his Bill of 1896 for the discontinuance henceforth of the formation of School Boards, the Khaki election as it was called of 1900 gave him and his clerical protégés their great opportunity. In violation of an express pledge that the election was only to strengthen the Government in ending the war and that advantage would not be taken of a Tory majority to make a change in education policy, a revolutionary Bill was pressed through Parliament uprooting the whole system of Board Schools and of direct *ad hoc* election for purposes of education, and the engrossing task of educating the mass of the nation's children was transferred to be one of the multifarious duties of County, Borough and Urban District Councils, to take its chance with the provision of water and the disposal of sewage, to the certain and now freely admitted decay of local interest in education; sectarian teaching was put upon the rates; while encouragement was given to the denominations and discouragement to the Local Authority in the matter of establishing new schools. The fierce opposition of Nonconformists in Parliament at the time was overborne by the misbegotten majority, and the subsequent opposition, carried to the length of passive resistance, to the payment of the education rate, has proved unequal to procure any alteration. The efforts of a Liberal Government in 1906 and afterwards were, as to Mr. Birrell's effort, frustrated by the House of Lords, and, as to Mr. McKenna's and Mr. Runciman's, withdrawn because provisions like those for contracting out and for right of entry were distasteful to the Nonconformist and national education party, and because the Church Party was frankly "out for" money and did not consider the offers good enough. At one

moment in the controversy it was authoritatively stated by a Bishop that the dispute would have been settled if the compensation for "contracting out" (that is for irresponsible private management) had been 57/- per head (of the children) instead of 50/- —. The operation of the Act of 1902 has interrupted and deferred the development of a national system of education. But, far from the apparent intention of its authors and manipulators, it has had one sound effect: it has matured and strengthened the tendency brought to birth in 1832. The denominationalists have "slipped" a long way down the "slope." The Act for the first time imposed upon the denominational schools that principle of local public control which public maintenance logically involved, though the local control was ineffective and still remote, and fell far short of genuine public management. From that principle shines forth the one ray of hope for a truly national system when education as such shall no longer be adulterated by the ulterior motives of any church or even of all the churches together, whose control of education would be, in the words of Sir John McClure, a "national misfortune."

Mr. Fisher's Act of 1918 was carried during the great war, when the mind of the nation was not to be diverted from its fierce struggle for existence. Mr. Fisher expressly declared that his measure was to be purely educational and that the current religious arrangements were to be left as they were. Nonconformists hailed with a hearty welcome the general scope of the Bill and the bulk of its provisions as calculated to affect beneficially the upbringing of the young life of the nation, but while the Bill was still before Parliament, the Congregational Union, and the Dissenting Deputies, backed by the National Education Association, urgently pressed upon Mr. Fisher's attention the dangers threatening the national idea in certain of its elements; for example, the encouragement to the dominant church and the Roman Catholics, especially through their conventional instrumentalities, to cover the country with nursery schools to be aided by the Board of Education at its discretion; and the hindrance to the development of the popular system by the insistence that local authorities, when planning new schools, should take into consideration not only the voluntary schools already in existence but also all proposals for establishing such schools. In spite of these protestations and of the records in the Board's archives of the obstacles successfully created in the past by inchoate sectarian schemes which had been mooted but for years not carried into effect and sometimes not carried into effect at all, — no modification of these objectionable items was accepted, and the dangers remain, the National Society officially proclaiming that the Church sees its opportunity and will respond to the call. After the Bill had become an Act the Congregational Union once more recorded its protest, and subsequently a weighty memorial, initiated by Congregationalists and Baptists, but widely signed also by representative educationalists outside these two bodies, was presented to Mr. Fisher, putting on record once more the reasons why they had accepted his Bill; and at the same time detailing their standing claims to justice, both as religionists and as educationists; claims which demanded satisfaction before the present system of education could presume to call itself national; and a justice which is the prerequisite of a stable and unchecked educational progress. What was still objectionable the memorial tabulated as follows, and the tabulation will serve at this point to represent the Congregationalist policy of defending the rights of citizens in the sphere of elementary education as against the aggrandizing injustice still unchecked in education law:

- (1) Clerical control in the management of schools supported from the rates and taxes of the people.
- (2) The imposition of ecclesiastical tests for teachers in State-supported schools.

- (3) The subjection of children in State-supported schools to the pressure of an ecclesiastical atmosphere.
- (4) The continuance of ecclesiastical preference in the government of State-supported Training Colleges.

SECONDARY AND HIGHER EDUCATION

It has been impossible to recount the earlier efforts of Congregationalists in the sphere of education without dealing here and there with the secondary and higher branches of it. But something is still left to be said upon these parts of the subject. Reference has already been made to the struggles of Congregationalists and others of a like faith in the times of remorseless persecution to provide higher education for their own sons and daughters and those of parents who preferred the free and religious air thus afforded them. In and about the times of the Restoration individual pioneers, like Hanserd Knollys in Spitalfields, and Edward Terrill at Bristol, kept schools with this end in view. More like the ancient Grammar Schools in their curriculum were those of Thomas Delaune (d. 1685) in London and the Etonian Singleton at Hoxton. (These teachers were of the Baptist body.) Among the ministers ejected in 1662 the most notable schoolmaster was Richard Frankland, half a Presbyterian and half an Independent, officially known as the "ring-leader of the Sectaries," who was induced in 1670 by Nonconformists in the north of England to start an academical institution for pupils of various ages, including such as had for a short time been permitted to attend Durham College. This academy, driven from place to place, had six migrations, among its various homes being Rathmell near Giggleswick, Natland near Kendal, and Attercliffe near Sheffield; at the last-named place his school serving as "a Nonconformist center where synods and ordinations were held." Samuel Jones, "probably" (says the Dictionary of National Biography) "of the independent denomination," a graduate of Leyden, had, till he died in 1719, an important school at Gloucester, afterwards removed to Tewkesbury. The standard of learning in this School may be gathered from the fact that the teaching was conducted wholly in Latin and that among his pupils within twelve years were Thomas Secker (afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury), Joseph Butler (of the "Analogy") and a number of other men of distinction in the Church, the Law and Medicine. "Some of his manuscript lectures are yet to be seen in Dr. Williams's Library, at the Memorial Hall and at New College, London." The "Academies" of the troubled times were the precursors of regularly constituted Nonconformist institutions for Secondary and Higher Education, when in due course illegality ceased and the chief persecution left was sectarian exclusiveness and social stigma. In the latter part of the 18th and the earlier part of the 19th century the Public Schools and Grammar Schools, in whose hands chiefly lay the secondary education of the country, were, Mr. Leach tells us in his article on "Schools" in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* (XIth edition) perhaps in a worse condition than they had ever been since the 9th century. To speak broadly they had not the semblance of education in them and often not the semblance of attendance. At Birmingham in 1734 there were no boys at all, as also at Oundle in 1785. At Repton for twenty years between 1779 and 1800, only fifteen boys had been admitted: at Chesterfield, from 1832 to 1836, one boy constituted the whole school. In other cases, not rare, for half a century and sometimes for a whole century not more than four boys had been known to attend the Grammar School. And even where boys were within the walls they received no higher education than what could be given them by the nearest vicar or curate; for in nearly every case the schools were appendages of the Church and there was no conscience clause. But after in 1839 a separate Education Office had been established by Lord Melbourne's Government, model Trust Deeds were promulgated and a steady improvement began, though even then Non-

conformists continued to abide in disability; for conscience clauses were only optional and covered nothing but formularies and attendance at Church services. The writer of this Report and his brother were the first Nonconformist boys that under the protection of the conscience clause entered the grammar school of the town in which they lived. In the large centres of population the Nonconformists were mostly able to extend their liberties and to protect themselves, but in the country districts large areas were barren of secondary education for the children of Nonconformists, and the poorer ministers especially suffered. Round about that date, during the 19th century, Congregationalists established secondary schools of their own, such as Caterham founded at Newington in 1811, and Silcoates in 1820, both at first for the sons of ministers and missionaries only. Less distinctively Congregational schools, though mainly of Congregational foundation, were Mill Hill, founded in 1807, Taunton in 1847, Tettenhall in 1863 and Bishop's Stortford in 1868; and for girls, primarily for the daughters of ministers, Milton Mount College was opened at Gravesend in 1873. All these, at any rate in the course of their development, have been conducted religiously on broad lines, furnish a free unsectarian religious atmosphere, and have not confined their staffs or their pupils to members of the Congregational body. Milton Mount (according to Dr. Dale) led the way in England with the first gynmasium for girls. The distinctly undenominational institution at Sevenoaks founded in 1842 for the daughters and the Blackheath Home and School for the sons and daughters of missionaries were both not a little due to the exertions and gifts of Congregationalists. These institutions are all still flourishing and successful, in spite of the widely extended facilities for higher education unconnected with church or creed. In the training of teachers also for elementary schools the Congregationalists have done their part in non-exclusive education. Homerton College was established in 1850, and in 1894 transferred to Cavendish College, Cambridge; and this college now accommodates over two hundred students and serves all the churches, imposing no religious test of any kind; while Milton Mount combines with its secondary education the functions of a training college for teachers.

My contributor, Mr. Paton, refers to another sphere of secondary education in which Congregationalists took the lead in the years immediately succeeding the passing of the Act of 1870. He quotes from the evidence of his father, Rev. Dr. J. B. Paton, Principal of the Nottingham Congregational Institute, given before the Royal Commission on Primary Education in 1887 and the Commission on Secondary Education in 1905, to show the pioneer work of Congregationalists in the development of Continuation Schools. Their successful experiments demonstrated how "these schools could best adapt themselves to the changed conditions of universal elementary education by providing training in citizenship, in craftsmanship, and in vocational knowledge, combining therewith physical training and giving withal opportunity for wholesome recreation, built round the corporate life of the Continuation School." This new type of Continuation School . . . led forward to the development of those evening clubs for boys and girls which are definitely conjoined with the Continuation Educational system of the future by virtue of Section 18 of Mr. Fisher's Act of 1918. To the same eminent Congregationalist was due the "National Home Reading Union, which places at the disposal of every general reader, young or old, the help of some of the best qualified hands of the Community; also the Recreative Evening School Association, and to Dr. Leonard and Dr. Paton (at Dr. Paton's suggestion) the Co-operative Holiday Association, and the Holiday Fellowship, which associate the holidays of the people with educative influences.

It may likewise be mentioned here that Congregationalists have taken no insignificant part in the University Extension Movement, and have been among the first in the reform of the Sunday School.

It is almost needless to speak of the internal provision which Congregationalists have provided for the training of their own ministers. We have already dealt with the ministerial "Academies," the earlier, more private and less definitely organized institutions for the same work. Since the days of these Academies, a list of nearly a score of Congregational colleges (some of them subsequently reorganized or amalgamated) could be given, and great efforts have been made (for example by the *Senatus Academicus*, the College Board, and the Congregational Union itself) to raise the standard of ministerial education and, latterly, to co-ordinate colleges with one another. The most conspicuous and frequent movement in this connection during the recent half century of freer conditions has been the local connection of some of these colleges with various Universities, most notably perhaps the transplantation to Oxford and complete reorganization of Spring Hill College, Birmingham, in order that the theological students might be individually members of the University and enjoy all the advantages of the learning and enlargement of spirit which a great historic University can afford. It may be modestly but confidently claimed that the experiment has justified the faith of its promoters, and that Mansfield has not only received untold benefit from the University but has itself made a solid contribution; and that the end of the giving and receiving is not yet. Things are happening at Oxford (and at Cambridge also) at which our more fettered ancestors would have opened their eyes as to a coming educational millennium. Following this example, New and Hackney Colleges have gone even further, owing to greater constitutional facilities in the respective Universities, and have become integral parts of London University, and the Lancashire Independent College has become affiliated to the University of Manchester. So far for a portion of our subject which may be regarded as the contribution of Congregationalists to University education, and the education of the Universities since University tests were abolished in the middle of the 19th century; with the result that between 1860 and 1889 the Senior Wrangler at Cambridge was nineteen times a Nonconformist, within one period a Nonconformist for four years in succession, and quite recently a consistent and unconcealed Congregationalist has been elected Master of one of the colleges. The country might well cry out that the opportunity of Nonconformity to contribute to its learning and its education ought to have come centuries and centuries ago. No educationalist has better authority than my contributor, Mr. Paton, High Master of the Manchester Grammar School, to testify to the "enormous gain in wholesome vitality which has accrued to such schools in consequence of their widened horizon owing to the absence of all disability for teacher or pupil through that freedom from all religious tests and restriction to which Congregationalists have by their political exertions so substantially contributed." Mr. Paton also testifies from wide personal knowledge that the abolition of tests in 1870 and the consequent influx of Free Churchmen have synchronized with the broadening of the curriculum of study (especially at Cambridge), the liberalization of all professional training, and the inclusion within the scope of professional training of such occupations as engineering, dentistry, agriculture, industry and commerce. In regard to the University education of women in particular it is not out of place to record that it is to a member of this Commission, Sir Evan Spicer, that we owe the rescue of the Royal Holloway College from appropriation by the Established Church, contrary to the intention of the founder.

THE NEED OF THE HOUR

And now to touch upon the last portion of the task assigned us. What can we say on the need of the hour from the Congregationalist point of view? We hark back to the genius of our Congregationalism and we call

for still more freedom and still more justice that the natural and cultivated gifts of the individual man may be developed without the fetters of state or church or creed and so assist unhampered in constituting and leavening a healthy, enlightened and spiritually minded community. To this end we must still keep our minds set upon the fulfilment of certain undeniably just demands. Freedom and justice and vitality in the region of State regulated education depend upon the reality and effectiveness of popular local control subject to the general authority of statute law as enacted and from time to time re-considered by Parliament. For example, as all public elementary schools alike are now practically maintained by public money (the denominational contribution in the shape of buildings being relatively negligible), the representative Local Education Authorities must have control of all schools alike, as to appointments and as to promotion, and must be free to staff them with the best teachers available, not being confined in their choice to the members of any church. Bureaucracy, with an army of officials, is as dangerous in education as it is in industry. A Board of Education is necessary and desirable; it is, so to speak, the laboratory of the science: it ascertains facts, it tries and co-ordinates experiments, and directs the application of educational knowledge. But it can easily catch all the diseases of bureaucracy: it may fall into the hands of officials with a "tendency"; its policy may become denominational and undemocratic, and so may favor a reactionary system of education in which education, as such, is only a secondary motive. And if its regulations are too readily permitted by the indifference or oversight of Parliament during the forty days' period of "lying on the table," to become as operative as statute laws, they may prove deleterious to freedom and justice and development in the education the Board are supposed to serve. We must therefore address ourselves to the undoubted fact that the "real control of education is slipping away from Parliament, and is drifting into the hands of departmental officials, so that an official in Whitehall is often more powerful than a Member of Parliament, or even than the whole House of Commons." Except for some slight provisions in the Act of 1918 in regard to Nursery and Continuation Schools no statute governs, in England, the whole area of "education other than elementary." The Congregationalist who writes this report called attention in the House of Commons on July 15th, 1909, to some of the encroachments upon the Act of 1870 under which there had been care for pupils from infancy up to the age of eighteen and in evening schools beyond. He pointed out that the Act of 1902 taken with the Cockerton judgment had elbowed a vast number of children outside the statutory protection under the Act of 1870, and consigned them to the jurisdiction of "administrative orders," Board regulations and "Prefatory memoranda" to be withdrawn or modified practically at the discretion of the Board. In this wide and expanding region of what is, in practice, outside Parliamentary and representative government, there is, for instance, no statutory mandate enacting that public control shall be a condition of grant, there is no statutory conscience clause (except for a feeble and inadequate provision in the 1918 Act in reference to Continuation Schools); there is no statutory Cowper-Temple clause; there is no statute ordaining that a third of the Governors shall be representative; there is no statutory Kenyon-Stancy clause giving laymen and clergymen the same power together in the regulation of religious teaching. The Training Colleges have never been mentioned in any statute. Secondary schools are under Board regulation only. This defect has allowed the earlier regulation of Mr. McKenna for grant-earning in these schools to be recently revolutionized in the sectarian direction under Mr. Fisher, so that now the majority of the governing body of a grant-earning Secondary School may be required by the Trust Deed to be denominational and to be appointed by persons belonging to a particular denomination; and the

McKenna requirement that a grant-earning school must have two-thirds of its governing body representative is abolished. Thus Mr. Fisher has swept away all security for the real fulfilment of the unrepealed regulation that no members of the teaching staff shall be required to belong or not to belong to any particular denomination. For the denominationalist majority of governors may take their well informed pick from among the candidates without openly "requiring" anything, and all security for religious freedom and equality for the teachers is gone. Congregationalists, with other Free Church bodies, are looking forward with dismay to their conscientious sons and daughters being practically debarred from the teaching profession in this fresh batch of schools supported by public money.

Their immediate duty is not to lie down under this unjust disability. The Congregational Union, the Dissenting Deputies, the National Liberal Federation and other representative bodies have already entered a vigorous protest, and the fight must go on to the finish. Meanwhile the position of Congregationalists with regard to their own schools has been made much more difficult by reason of recent Educational legislation as well as by the general and legitimate demand that salaries should be brought up to a level more consistent with the value of their work and with the cost of living. The Superannuation Act of 1919 inaugurating a State system of pensions for teachers makes it easy and alarming to foresee that unless the Congregationalists range their schools under that Act and so accept money from the State (with the accompanying State interference) they will not be able henceforward to command the highest quality of teaching, it being impossible financially for the Schools themselves to institute systems of pensions that will compete with the system backed by the State. In the same way also the scale of salaries insisted upon by the Teachers supported by their Associations is tending to drive Congregationalist Schools by complying with the Board of Education's conditions of grant to draw on State funds and consequently to subject themselves (probably more and more) to State regulation and control. Consequently many Congregationalists perceive that they also, like their Anglican brethren, are now on the slippery slope from State subvention to State control, and that the logical termination will be the transference of their secondary schools (just as the British Schools have, in the main, been transferred) from the religious body to the State. In the meantime so long as these schools remain in any degree Congregational religious foundations, whatever "bargain" may be "struck" with the Board of Education, Congregationalists will no longer be able consistently to protest against Anglican and Catholic schools being supported by public money.

What, further, is our immediate duty towards the vexed question of religious instruction in State maintained schools? Sir John McClure in his address to the Congregational Union in November of last year gives up the legislative problem in despair. "A solution," he declares, "which shall be satisfactory and fair all round, and shall be accepted as such, seems to be beyond the power of any legislative enactment." And truly all legislative efforts to solve the complex problem have been dismal failures. But can we Congregationalists afford, as some of the stewards of religious freedom, justice, and equality, to throw up our trust and allow sectarianism or religious sentiment to take our place and mar that justice which we devoutly believe to be "the prerequisite of a stable and unchecked educational progress"? Because we cannot satisfy, are we to rest unsatisfied? It is almost an insult to our Congregational history to remind our opponents that our deepest sympathies are with those whose first desire is the propagation of Christianity. I, for one, fully understand the aspiration of Mr. Paton, one of my two contributors, who "stands for religion in education, not as a divisive force, but a great inheritance that is shared by all in common. The more we enter into that inheritance, the more closely we

are bound in the bundle of life." I fully understand also the ardent desire of my contributor Sir Evan Spicer who believes that the objection among Congregationalists to the teaching of religion in the State Schools has almost faded away and who asks: "Unless teachers go out into the schools with an adequate knowledge of the Bible and take with them the mind of Christ, can we expect much from the children who grow up under their care?" But the practical question is, "How are these noble aspirations to be fulfilled within a system of State provided and controlled education?" So far as it has taken religious teaching under its wing in the denominational schools, has it proved a success? It is not fair to attribute the ignorance of Christianity among an overwhelming percentage of the Army (as argued from a statistical inquiry during the late war) to the indefinite unsectarian teaching in the Council Schools; for nearly all the soldiers enlisted from the country districts had their religious teaching in the Church of England elementary schools, and, if blame is due, these schools must shoulder their share of it. May it not rather be that the fulfilment of these aspirations is to be sought in a way more consonant with the "mind of Christ"? I conclude that, as Congregationalists, we continue to believe (as I have said elsewhere) that "instruction in Christ and His religion is the function solely of those who know Him, love Him, and own Him as their Lord and Master." And when the late Bishop of Oxford says, "It is the Christian Church which alone has the commission to give this instruction," we agree with him if his nebulous word "Church" may be more closely defined as I have just defined the nebulous word "Christian." But what arrangement by the State can properly and effectively provide for the teaching of Christ in the State schools? We learn from the well-intentioned resolutions of a Round Table Conference in which my contributor, Sir Evan Spicer, took part, and a copy of whose scheme he puts in along with his contribution, that "it should be the concern of the State, which has assumed responsibility for education, to secure religious teaching during school hours for all children whose parents desire them to receive it." But men like the late Dr. Dale, undeniably religious men whose lives have been given to the teaching of the mind of Christ, would naturally ask — "Has the State by the Acts of 1870, 1902, or 1918 made itself responsible for the teaching of religion? If the State establishment of religion for the nation has been, as we honestly believe, an injury to religion, can we, ought we, to agree to a State-establishment of religion in the schools"? Furthermore, is it just that in schools maintained by the taxes and rates of all, without distinction of creed, or with no creed at all, public money should be spent on the provision of the teaching of certain kinds of religion, and preference given for paid posts to teachers who express their willingness to give the teaching, with the temptation of the better chance of appointment or additional payment on account of their religious work? Are we ready for this practical imposition of religious tests upon citizen teachers in the public school? Are we ready for this encouragement of the very unreality which "round tables" are hoping to get rid of? It is worth while on this point to weigh carefully the views of Mr. J. J. Findlay, Professor of Education in the University of Manchester since 1903, as expressed in his pamphlet on "The Churches and the Schools." He contends that demands for tests and confessions strike at the root of school morality, and that religious power and influence, whether among adults or children, is represented less and less by formal creeds and confessions. He protests against "young men and young women at a time of life and in an age when beliefs both in morals and in religion cause the deepest struggles, being forced to answer a yea or a nay in order to secure a livelihood." In default of religious teachers on the staff (to be preferred, if possible) the proposal of the Round Tables generally mean "right of entry" on the part of religious bodies collected together in local and national religious councils. But this has been tried

and has failed, even in the Transvaal and in Australia, where there has been no Established Church with preference and prestige to spoil the venture *ab initio*. Mr. Claridge tells how a special Commission in the Transvaal enquired into the results and roundly condemned the system. It reports that "distinctive denominational teaching by the clergy accentuates religious differences in the schools; the discipline suffers: there is no demand on the part of the parents for clerical instruction for their children, and what demands there have been were artificially stimulated." And in England experienced educationalists like Mr. Edward North Buxton have written uncompromisingly against it. This is in England mainly a rural question. When the Vicar walks into a village school by "right of entry," where does the head master come in? Does he in real fact continue master in his own school?

But my contributor, Sir Evan Spicer, believes thoroughly in the possibility of "religious instruction being given without the introduction of any sectarian bias on the part of the teacher." That has been the soul of Cowper-Templeism, as I have said above, and it has worked as far as it goes: parents, as the Bishop of Oxford candidly admits, are satisfied with it. But so much the worse for the parents, he contends; and therefore he, from one point of view, and Sir Evan Spicer from another, seek for some State provision and regulation so as to secure better religion and better religious teachers. To my mind it is clear that whatever the arrangement there will always be discontent with it and the teaching of religion in the State supported schools will always involve the religious difficulty. On the other hand I candidly admit that the English people in the mass are not likely ever to agree to what they can be told are "godless schools," and to leave religious teaching to voluntary sources. Mr. Gladstone suggested the latter alternative to Lord Ripon in 1869, and the late Archbishop Temple declared (Claridge, p. 293): "Secular schools would not be irreligious. I am by no means sure that on the whole they would not be more religious. I respect the feeling that makes England shrink from Secular Schools, but I cannot reverence what is so mere a sentiment. The sight of a secular system working by the side of the correlative religious system would dispel the whole feeling in a year." And the Congregational Union at Glasgow in 1902 passed the following resolution: "There can be no final solution of the religious difficulty in National Education until the State lays aside all claims to interfere, either by support or by control, with religious education, and freely leaves to parents and to Christian Churches the responsibility and opportunities for the provision of the same." But if what the Archbishop adjudged to be a "mere sentiment" must continue to carry the day, all we can do is to continue and extend unsectarianism in the schools, not as an ideal, but as a working approximation to it, and overlook its injustice, its incompleteness, and its inconsistency. The still more limited compromise that I have elsewhere ventured to suggest that as the Bible is a national book, a well of English literature and the recognized fount of ethical teaching, it is not natural or advisable to shut it out of the schools: and that we might have a "Child's Bible," and similarly also a "Child's Hymnal," so that a suitable passage from the Bible may be read and a suitable hymn sung at the opening of the school, followed by a devout recitation of the Lord's Prayer. In the midst of our perplexing religious difficulties we might well be content with these simple and united exercises, leaving their refining and elevating influences to find their own way into the children's minds and hearts. Such a method (I have ventured to forecast) would go far to win universal acceptance, and would, in its persuasive simplicity, produce an effect which "definite teaching" of formulas and dogmas would never attain.

A. E. Hutton

Dr. J. Massie

Mr. J. L. Paton

Sir Evan Spicer

Rev. A. J. Viner

"TO REVIEW THE MISSIONARY HISTORY OF CONGREGATIONALISM, OUTLINE ITS PRESENT RESPONSIBILITIES, AND INDICATE THE POLICY AND PROGRAM IT SHOULD ADOPT."

I

THE MISSIONARY HISTORY OF CONGREGATIONALISM

To review the history of British Congregational Missions is virtually to recount the story of the London Missionary Society. Before the end of the eighteenth century the Protestant Churches of Great Britain were not characterized by an aggressive missionary spirit. It should be remembered, however, that the Independents were supporters of the work of John Eliot among the North American Indians in the seventeenth century. Cromwell passed an Act "for the promoting and propagating of the Gospel of Jesus Christ in New England," and was himself a hearty supporter of the cause.

The modern missionary movement is the outcome of the Evangelical Revival in the eighteenth century. The first Society formed to carry the Gospel to the heathen world was the Baptist Missionary Society, which was founded in 1792. This was a purely denominational effort, but three years later earnest Christians of various Churches — Anglican and Dissenting alike — united to form "The Missionary Society." Before many years passed the Church of England, the Presbyterians and the Methodists had established Societies directly connected with their own Churches, and the work of the London Missionary Society, as "The Missionary Society" came to be called, has been carried on ever since mainly by Congregationalists. This was recognized in a definite and practical way in 1889, when it was arranged that the Directors of the Society should be largely the direct representatives of the Congregational Churches. One immediate outcome was a Forward Movement which resulted in a notable increase in the number of the Society's missionaries. It should be noted that throughout its history the Society has drawn considerable financial support from the Presbyterian Churches of Scotland. Even up to the present time some thousands of pounds a year come from Presbyterian sources. The Society has always had missionaries on its staff from all the principal denominations, and although today most of them are Congregationalists, there are men and women from the Church of England, the Presbyterian Churches, the Wesleyan Methodist Church and the Baptist Church serving the Society in the foreign field. In this, as in so many other ways, the work of the Society has been profoundly influenced by the Fundamental Principle upon which it was founded and which still governs its activities. This Principle deserves to be quoted in full: —

As the union of Christians of various denominations in carrying on this great work is a most desirable object, so, to prevent, if possible, any cause of future dissension, it is declared to be a **FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLE OF THE MISSIONARY SOCIETY** that its **DESIGN** is not to send Presbyterianism, Independency, Episcopacy, or any other form of Church Order and Government (about which there may be difference of opinion among serious persons), but the **GLORIOUS GOSPEL** of the blessed God, to the heathen; and that it shall be left (as it ought to be left) to the minds of the persons whom God may call into the fellowship of his Son from among them to assume for themselves such form of Church Government as to them shall appear most agreeable to the **WORD OF GOD**.

It is impossible within the limits of this Report to outline the story of the Society during the century and a quarter of its existence. All that is essential for our purpose is to note the characteristic features of its history. In the first place it has been distinguished throughout as a pioneer Society. It was the first to send missionaries to the South Seas, to China and to Madagascar, and was the pioneer of modern missionary enterprise in South Africa. In India it followed hard on the Baptist Missionary Society. It was one of the first Societies to send out women missionaries and to establish medical missions, and throughout its history it has been foremost in the initiation and development of cooperation with other Societies.

This interest in cooperation with other Christian bodies is the natural outcome of the Society's Fundamental Principle, and is one of the most distinctive contributions it has made to the missionary enterprise. In China it was the leader in establishing the North China Educational Union, which has been one of the most remarkable examples in missionary cooperation, and it has been closely associated with the recent development of the China Continuation Committee, which is probably the finest example of cooperation in the Mission Field. The Rev. C. Y. Cheng, D.D., the Secretary of that Committee is a son of the L. M. S. In India the Society has taken an active part in the National Missionary Council, while in Madagascar it was largely instrumental in forming the Continuation Committee, through which all the Protestant Societies at work in the Island cooperate in its evangelization. At home it has had its full share in the work of the Edinburgh Continuation Committee and in the Conference of British Missionary Societies.

Another direct result of the Fundamental Principle of the Society has been that in various fields it has been able to withdraw its missionaries after they had been the means of establishing native churches, which in the course of years have become strong enough to support themselves, govern themselves and propagate themselves. The Society's missionaries have withdrawn, leaving behind churches which are proving able to undertake their own work and have been God's instruments in bringing into the Kingdom successive generations of the people amongst whom they have been planted. Especially has this been the case in the West Indies and South Africa. In the case of the individual this desire to train the Christian community for independence has shown itself in the constant endeavor to use every believer for his or her work in the Kingdom of God. The result has been that development of the Native Ministry which is so characteristic of the L. M. S. in all its fields.

A most remarkable feature of the history of the Society is the unusually large number of outstanding men among its missionaries. Robert Morrison, the first Protestant missionary to China, was sent out by it, and in more recent times Griffith John has served the same great land. In the South Seas there stand out John Williams, the martyr of Erromanga, and James Chalmers, who laid down his life for New Guinea. The work in Africa had among its pioneers Robert Moffat and his illustrious son-in-law, David Livingstone.

II

THE PRESENT OPERATIONS OF THE LONDON MISSIONARY SOCIETY

The Society is at the present time carrying on extensive work in India, China, South and Central Africa, Madagascar, the South Seas and Papua.

India

In India the Society has a larger staff than in any other country and is at work in three distinct fields — in North India, South India and Travancore. North India, to which the Society's first Indian missionary was sent, is recognized as "one of the most difficult fields in the whole of the

Society's operations." There are three main centers — Calcutta, Benares, the Holy City of Hinduism, and the hill station Almora. In each area important educational and evangelistic work is being carried on. The work in and around Calcutta was recently associated with one of the greatest crises in the history of the Society. In view of recurring annual deficiencies it seemed at the end of 1915 that no other course was open to the Society than to withdraw from this and one or two other fields. Within fourteen weeks the whole deficiency had been met and the Churches on which the L. M. S. depends had raised in addition a still larger sum, which turned the prospect of a further deficiency into a balance in hand. It is evident that the Congregational churches were determined to maintain the whole work of the Society and in particular to secure its operations in such an important and strategic center as Calcutta.

In South India the Society is at work over a large area. Indeed it has had to pay the price of the pioneer in this field, as its operations have been unduly extensive and scattered. Vizagapatam, its oldest station, has been transferred to the Canadian Baptists, whilst in Madras the Society has abandoned its general work in spite of the sacred associations of nearly a century. The work in South India is carried on in three language areas — Tamil, Telegu and Canarese. Of the missionaries a large number have been able to devote themselves to the presentation of Christianity to the educated classes and the effective evangelism of the vernacular-speaking middle classes.

In Travancore there is a large Christian community numbering about 100,000. The older Christian churches have for the most part reached a stable Christian character and many of their members, in spite of their low-caste origin, are now highly educated and influential. There are today great mass movements into the Church from the Pariah and Puliah castes. In view of the stable Christians of the third and fourth generations there need be no doubt as to the legitimacy of mass movements.

The churches of the L. M. S. in Southern India are now in organic union with the South Indian United Church, in which Congregationalists from America and England, Presbyterians from Scotland and the Dutch Reformed Church of America are the constituent bodies. This S. I. U. C. is now strong in organization, and, better still, as the evangelistic campaign of recent years has shown, is strong in zeal and power of self propagation.

China

The Society has carried on its work in this great mission field for a hundred and thirteen years. It has developed strong self-supporting Christian communities in South China in Hong Kong, Canton, Macao, and Fatshan, and the Fukien District. In Shanghai there is a strong church which is not only self-supporting but is taking an increasing share in the evangelization of that field. In recent years in Central and in North China the organization of the churches connected with the Society has made great strides, and the Chinese themselves are being brought into active co-operation in the administration of the work.

In the past the L. M. S. has taken a leading part in educational work in China. At the present time it carries on excellent work at the Anglo-Chinese College at Tientsin, in Hankow and Wuchang, at Shanghai, Amoy and Hong Kong. It unites with other Societies in the Christian University and in the unique medical educational work in Peking as well as in the Union Medical School at Shantung. It is a partner in the Theological Colleges in Amoy and Canton. In addition to this higher educational work it is engaged in elementary education throughout its China Mission.

There is no Society at work in China which has a prouder record in medical education and no Society is carrying on a larger medical work. Of its staff between a quarter and a third are doctors and nurses. There

is at least one doctor and one nurse in fourteen of its seventeen residential stations, and in many of them more than one. The European staff is assisted by upwards of one hundred and seventy Chinese doctors and assistants, some of whom have received a first-class medical training. The finest piece of work for lepers in China is carried on by the L. M. S.

A striking illustration of the great development of self-support in connection with the Society's work in China in recent years is given by the growth of the amount raised and expended in the field. In 1914 the sum was £8,040; in 1919 it was £24,680, or more than three times as much.

Africa

The Society is at work amongst a sparse population. For the most part its evangelistic labors are carried on in a string of one-man stations 850 miles long, extending from Kuruman and Taungs in the South to the Shangani Reserve in the North. In recent years itineration has been rendered far more efficient by the use of motor transport.

The chief feature of the work in South Africa is the Tiger Kloof Institution, which has rendered magnificent service for the past fifteen years. Boys and girls receive a good academic and industrial education and a fine Christian training. There is an efficient Normal School for teachers, a Bible School for pastors and preachers, as well as an excellent industrial department.

In Central Africa also the Society has to face the problems of a small, scattered population with the inevitable difficulties of communication. The outstanding feature of the work is the education which is being given to more than ten thousand children. The native church is as yet in its infancy. The Mission is, however, of great strategic importance, forming part of the barrier which for years has stemmed the tide of Islam, which has been sweeping down from the North.

Madagascar

In some respects this is the most successful Mission of the Society. The field is comparatively small and self-contained. There is a definite and limited piece of work which the mind can clearly grasp and the missionaries can look forward to the day when they can come away, having finished their task, and leaving behind a strong self-supporting church able to carry on its own work. The Society has more church members, Christian adherents, Sunday schools and scholars than in any other of its fields. It has a native ordained ministry five times as numerous as that in its other fields put together, excluding Polynesia. There is a strong self-supporting church. The churches are missionary, and the native missionary organization, the Isan-Enim-Bolana, which unites the churches of the L. M. S., the Friends Foreign Missionary Association and the Paris Missionary Society, sends out and supports missionaries to the unevangelized parts of the Island.

South Seas

This is the oldest of the Society's fields. The Christian community numbers over 55,000. The Christians in the Samoan Islands not only support their own churches and schools, but repay to the Society the entire expense of its work in those Islands, including the salaries of the missionaries, and in addition make a handsome contribution to the Society's funds for work in other parts of the world.

In Papua the Society has thirteen stations dotted along the Southeast coast. In recent years the Papuan Christians have been following the example of the South Sea Islands in making liberal contributions for the carrying on of Christian work.

III

CONGREGATIONALISM AND THE FUTURE POLICY AND PROGRAM OF THE
LONDON MISSIONARY SOCIETY

It is now possible in the light of the review already given of the present operations of the London Missionary Society to indicate the general policy which the Congregational Churches must adopt in carrying forward its future work. It must be remembered that the most prominent feature of the Society's work in all its fields has been the planting and development of native Christian churches. In the future, as in the past, its policy must still be dominated by this conception of its duty.

China

The task before the Christian church in China is so immense that all Societies have been compelled to recognize the fact that if that vast land is to be won for Christ, it must be largely through the work of the Chinese Christians themselves. This conclusion necessarily involves two considerations. In the first place, the Society's policy is to concentrate its energies on building up a strong Christian church which shall be filled with an earnest missionary spirit. In the second place, it realizes that it has to provide adequate training for the men and women who are to carry out this great task. This renders necessary special attention to education, not simply for its own sake but with the distinctively evangelistic purpose of preparing the best human instruments for the spread of the Gospel. The supreme duty is to help the Chinese workers to build up and develop a strong native church. The work of Missions as a whole has made astonishing progress in China, but, in spite of the success which has attended the work, especially during the last half century, it has to be realized that the missionary enterprise is only just touching the fringe of the immense task that lies before it.

The urgency of the situation is compelling all Societies to understand the absolute necessity for working together in the fullest co-operation with each other and with the Chinese Christians. The need for more effective and organic union is becoming ever more apparent. Quite recently steps have been taken towards a closer union of the Presbyterian and Congregational Missionary Societies and of the churches associated with them in China with a view to the organic union of the churches founded by these Missions. Articles of Agreement between the Presbyterian Missions, the London Mission and the American Board Missions have been unanimously adopted, and great progress has already been made towards complete union. It is probable that within the next few years all the churches of these two orders in China will be formed into one united Christian church. The policy of the L. M. S. is strongly to support such efforts.

Africa

The Society's policy in South Africa is dominated by the existing conditions and by the problems which must be faced. As has been already observed, one great difficulty is due to the sparseness of the population. For various reasons the difficulties of missionary work in this connection are likely to increase rather than diminish in the near future. The signs point to the breaking down of town life altogether. A pastoral and agricultural people, with an immense territory of sparsely populated and badly watered land, with many oases suitable for cattle-breeding and cultivation, cannot profitably live in one community. The inevitable result is that the Missionary has to depend more and more for evangelistic work upon trained native agents and less and less on his own direct work. It is clear, therefore, that the right policy must be to build up and develop a strong native church which in coming days will be more and

more capable of spreading the Gospel amongst a multitude of small communities. The Missionary will become increasingly the trainer of the native agents and the superintendent of their work in widely scattered out-stations.

In these days more than ever South Africa is a land of problems. The race problem is one of the most difficult the church has ever had to face. There is a deep-seated antipathy between the black man and the white man, and this is complicated by the presence of a large population of colored men and by the advent of Indians in many parts of South Africa. Moreover, there is still some bitter political jealousy existing between Boer and Briton.

Again, the industrial problems are becoming increasingly urgent. Native youths in ever-increasing numbers are being attracted from their villages and pastoral occupations to such great mining centers as Kimberley and Johannesburg. They earn in a short time enough to keep them in idleness for many months. A little imagination will make clear the effect this must have on native life.

To deal with these problems and the difficulties they bring to the Church it will obviously be necessary that for some time to come the missionary must remain to give assistance to the African Christians.

A most encouraging fact, in view of the difficulties of the situation, is afforded by the past history of the Society in the Southern part of the Cape Province. There are many native and colored churches which fifty years ago were mission stations supported by the Society, but are now, as they have been for many years past, quite independent of it.

In Central Africa the Society's policy is to carry on its wide-spread elementary educational work, to train teachers and evangelists, and to build up a church strong enough to carry on its own work.

Madagascar

As already indicated, the Society looks forward with confidence to the not far distant day when it can reduce its European staff and ultimately come away from the Island, leaving behind churches so strong that they can support and govern themselves and carry on their own work. This conception of future policy is shared by the Malagasy Christians themselves.

India

The problems of missionary work in India at the present time are complicated by the growth of the National spirit which is causing so much political unrest amongst the people of that great Dependency. The Society's policy is to recognize to the full all that is good in the national aspirations of young India. The recent legislation in the direction of the granting of self-government cannot fail greatly to influence the future development of missionary work. The position of the L. M. S. in regard to it is stated in its Report for 1919. "Whatever immediate difficulty may be caused to missionary organizations by the reforms proposed, the triumph of Christianity, there as elsewhere, must be closely linked with the enfranchisement of the people. The present unrest shows the need for a wise handling of Indian aspirations. The services of India during the war can never be forgotten, and the fabric of government must be such as to give fuller play to the capacities of a great people. In the remaking of that fabric, however, we must not lose sight of the fifty million out-castes of India. They are a peculiar charge upon the honor of the British Commonwealth of nations. In spite of all anxieties 'the years that lie ahead are full of the most intense interest, and the young missionary has a magnificent vista before him.' "

Missionary education in its many forms must still continue to hold an important place in the Society's programme. In many ways it presents

special problems in view of the necessity of working in close association with the Government which makes large grants to Mission Schools, and having regard to the fact of the necessity of employing in Mission Schools many teachers who are not themselves Christians. More than ever it is essential to secure the elementary education of all the children of the Church, and to ensure for the Indian ministry training adequate for its task. For men of the highest grade such an Institution as the United Theological College at Bangalore admirably meets the need, but the Society has a long way to go before it can be content with the training of the ordinary catechist and village teacher.

Evangelistic campaigns and Mass Movements both in South and in North India present great opportunities which are only limited by the resources of the Society. The movement in the direction of self-support and self-government within the Indian Christian community must claim the most earnest and sympathetic concern of the Society in view of the increasing signs of the growing capacity of the Indian Christians to support and control Christian work.

In *the South Seas and Papua* the Society is working amongst backward races who are wanting in moral stamina and backbone, and who have in recent years come into contact with Western influences, many of which are not conducive to the growth of the Christian life. It is probable that for many years to come the presence of the European missionary will be necessary even among the churches which are financially able to support their own work, but the day is shortly coming when a gradual withdrawal of the Western staff can be effected.

Medical Missions

Some reference should be made to a most important branch of the work of the L. M. S. Besides minor Medical Missions in Central Africa and Madagascar the Society is responsible for extensive and excellent work in India and China. It is clear that this work must be steadily maintained and developed.

Whereas, as in China and India, medical missions have been established for many years, the predominant responsibility is the training of native medical agents. In this way the work can ultimately be most satisfactorily extended. It is interesting to note that, while in China medical education in Missionary Institutions has been thrown open to any students who may care to enter, in India such schools have been restricted almost entirely to those who are studying with the sole idea of devoting their lives, when qualified, to missionary work. The former method has the advantage of enabling Christian influence to be exerted upon much larger numbers and over more varied types of character, and results in a correspondingly wider influence when the qualified doctors go forth to their life-work.

There are few things in the history of modern missions that have been more thoroughly justified and more successful than the United College in China. This seems to indicate the true policy in all future developments in any country where work has gone beyond the early pioneer stage. For fifteen years the Indian Medical Missionary Association, an Association formed of the medical missionaries at work in India, has been discussing the advisability of union medical education and there has been a feeling among the large majority that this is the right course to adopt. The true programme for medical missions in the future should therefore be the formation of large amply equipped medical training institutions at strategic centers, adopting a standardized curriculum and working for recognized Government qualification. Such institutions should be affiliated to Universities, where these exist, and should throw open their doors in the widest possible way to students of all Faiths. For the spiritual effectiveness of medical missions, as well as from every other point

of view, it is essential that the work should be as efficient as possible from both the professional and the administrative standpoint.

Women's Work.

The L. M. S. was one of the first Societies to develop women's work in the Mission Field. The need and value of this magnificent enterprise become ever more and more evident. For evangelistic work among women, for educational work among girls in schools and colleges, for the care of the suffering, for the building up of Christian homes, and for the leavening of non-Christian peoples with Christian ideals, the work of women is unrivalled, and demands the most unstinted support and the widest possible extension.

Withdrawal in Order to Extension

In all the Society's fields the policy for the future must be the consolidation of existing work and the establishment of Native Christian churches, and the gradual withdrawal of the foreign missionary, in some fields much more rapidly than in others, so as to make the missionary resources of the Home Churches available for extension into the unoccupied fields of the regions beyond with a view to the evangelization of the whole world.

It has been suggested that when an opportunity occurs for the Society to enter some new field an endeavor should be made to conduct a Mission on "Apostolic Methods." This would be to repeat one of the most wonderfully fruitful chapters in the history of the Society — the work of Ringeltaube in Travancore. The Apostolic method seems to have been to visit people hitherto unenlightened, to sow the seed and to leave it to germinate from its own inherent vitality, thus accepting the risk of misunderstanding, but avoiding the still greater risk of a paid hierarchy, and in some cases of a Church almost wholly supported. The Apostles no doubt retained a more or less casual supervision over the development of the churches they formed, but for the most part their churches were left to develop themselves. In this way the perils of too great a reliance on organization, methods and money were avoided. The very principles of religious freedom which characterize Congregationalism would enable the Society to venture on such an experiment more readily than almost any other organized Society.

Missionary Survey

Fully to appreciate the responsibilities of Congregationalism for the work of Missions it is necessary to know not only the problems and opportunities of the fields in which the L. M. S. is at work but to relate these to the whole world field. For this purpose a Survey both of the wide world and of the Society's operations ought to be undertaken. As a matter of fact the L. M. S. has a Survey of its own work in course of preparation. It is the first British Society to appoint a Survey Secretary. At the same time under the direction of the British and American sections of the Continuation Committee of the Edinburgh Conference missionary Surveys of other fields are being conducted.

Responsibilities must be measured by the wider vision Survey will open out. It will reveal the work as an incomplete mosaic, and it will be the task of the present and of future generations to bring this mosaic a little nearer completion. It is necessary, in order to plan wisely and build well, to know the actual facts of the situation. One fact Survey will show is that over perhaps the greater part of the World's surface even pioneer Missionary work has scarcely yet begun. The broad survey will lead to new and wider conceptions of the work and to larger vision, in the light of which future responsibilities must be measured. It will show where work must be extended and sometimes where it should be arrested or restrained. Out of the wider view and increased unity of aim which will

result from Survey will arise the need for practical co-operation at home and in the foreign field on a scale beyond anything which has hitherto been attempted or dreamed. So Missionary Societies will come to re-adjust their policies; dovetail their own with the work of others; enter whole-heartedly into cooperative or union schemes; regulate their own in order more easily to fit into a general system; work to a larger plan than their own; and regard themselves less as separate units than as parts of a combined force.

In the light of Survey, Congregationalists will be able to measure their future Missionary responsibilities and see them in their true setting as part of a work too vast to be done except by the combined operations of the entire Missionary force.

IV

CONGREGATIONALISM AND THE PRESENT WORLD SITUATION

In order to obtain a true perspective of the world mission of Congregationalism it is necessary both to diagnose the world situation and to examine the application of Congregationalism to the present state of mankind.

It is hardly necessary in this Report to deal at length with the world situation. A clear and concise diagnosis may be found in "The Human Scene," by Mr. Basil Mathews (Oxford University Press; Price Sixpence.) It must suffice here to point out that every foundation and buttress of ordered life is today, after five years of war, either shaken or actually shattered. The old authorities that ruled the lives of men are either challenged or actually annihilated. Troubling the life of all races is a vast upheaval of the human spirit, wider in its range, deeper in its disturbing power, more revolutionary in its influences than any recorded in historic time. The old order is being rejected because of its despotic elements; but the real foundations of a new order are not laid. To discover these foundations and build them into the structure of a new life — that is the task of the Church in this day of testing and crisis.

In view of the universal *malaise* under which humanity is suffering it is essential to seek for a cure for a sickness so desperate and so universal in its demand for drastic and penetrating treatment.

It is obvious that any local treatment is fatuous. In a world of humanity at once interdependent and in ferment, we have to grapple with the total problem, or leave it alone. No remedy that is either local or external will avail; it must be capable of curing the ills of the whole body of humanity, and it must go to the very heart of the mischief.

The first principle of cure was stated by Lord Bryce when he said that the prime need of humanity is "a change of heart in the peoples of the world."

If that is so, the Churches of the Congregationalist Faith and Order have (in common with the Christian Church everywhere) the one secret by which a change of heart can be realized — personal loyalty to the Lord Jesus Christ.

But Lord Bryce said "a change of heart *in the peoples of the world*"; or, as he has elsewhere said, "The one sure hope for a permanent foundation of world peace lies in the extension of the principles of Jesus Christ to the ends of the earth." In a word the secret of Christ's power to change the hearts of men must be applied on a universal scale. The world is one; its problems of civilization, of war and peace, of economic relations, of industrial order, of personal life, are ultimately one. The "change of heart" must be a world change, if it is to be an effective one.

Yet the change of heart must be personal and undivided. The salvation of the whole world does depend on the salvation of the individual lives within the horizons of all humanity. The task, then, is individually

evangelical, but it is also on a universal scale. It is in a word, missionary and the mission is to the whole world.

That personal change of heart, while it is in process of being achieved, must work itself out in a new order of life. We must have the will of God organized in the common life of all peoples, if we are not ultimately to have the will of Mammon driving all races over the precipice of greater wars into the abyss of barbarism. There is indeed only one standard so universal in its range, so complete as a solution of the evils that have oppressed man that all races and every civilization can find in it a final and unifying aim that at once creates personal character, develops national strength, and gives power for united progress. That standard is expressed in the program of the world Kingdom of God.

To talk in general terms, however, is to leave the actual situation unaffected. At the end of the war certain concrete tyrannies have been overthrown; but anarchy hunts at the heels of shattered despotisms. If we are to avoid the horns of this desperate dilemma between chaos and tyranny, the overwhelming universal need is to blend ordered government with universal freedom on a basis of "the changed heart."

But in point of fact the principle and practice of ordered freedom is the distinctive historic gift of Congregationalism to the world.

Congregationalism revealed to the world in unique comradeship two things that have often been looked upon as contradictory and mutually exclusive: personal liberty and disciplined order under authority. It developed on the one hand an implacable fight for liberty for the whole personality of every individual, and, on the other hand, an equal passion for ordered, just and therefore stable government. Its principles reconcile freedom with order in church and state.

The essential principle of Congregationalism has thus always been as hostile to anarchy as to tyranny. It is as enthusiastic for fellowship as for freedom. For this reason the real, historic root of the permanent elements in modern democratic government is to be found — not in the anarchic tyranny of the irresponsible court and council chamber of despotic Stuarts — but in the free regulated democratic self-government system of the Plymouth Settlement under the Plymouth Fathers. William Bradford had immense authority; but it was derived immediately from and reviewed annually by the very people over whom he exercised it.

To offer the world the principle and the practice of ordered freedom; to fight with equal hostility against anarchy and tyranny, is to meet the central and vital need of the whole world-situation as it presents itself in unparalleled range and urgency today.

If that view is demonstrably true then the world mission of Congregationalism is to offer to humanity the secret for lack of which its ordered life is visibly going to ruin. This (far more even than the seventeenth century) is the hour of hours in the crisis of crises for which God brought the Congregational churches of the world into being. And, furthermore, the recent trend of Congregationalism from an uncompromising Independency to a principle and practice of corporate action may be — in God's providence — the *preparatio evangelica* to equip Congregationalism to grapple with an international and inter-racial rather than a purely national situation.

Congregationalism, then, must envisage and address itself to the world-situation as a whole. The world need of man everywhere for Christ must dominate its heart and its mind — must control its passion and its strategy. Here again the history of Congregationalism throws light on the present situation. It is a most instructive fact that the one British Missionary Society that was established on a completely Interdenominational basis and for a world-programme should have become, as has been previously noted, by the gradual development of Denominational Socie-

ties, the Missionary Society of Congregationalism — and this without losing its catholic basis. The catholic idea is indeed of the very essence of true Congregationalism.

What is more, the practice of pioneering for the world-wide Kingdom accords with the Congregationalist temper. It is not open to question that no other Society in the world can show a roll of pioneers comparable to that of the London Missionary Society. The instinct for pioneering is an integral part of the heritage of Congregationalism. Principal Fairbairn used to say to his students in his epigrammatic way, "It is good to follow a great precedent, but it is better to make one." The genius of Congregationalism speaks there. And — as a matter of fact — the pioneer is more positively the father of order than is the tame follower of precedent. The follower merely treads the worn road, but the pioneer drives a new road across the waste and through the jungle.

To sum up. The very genius of Congregationalism as revealed throughout its history, in its passion for freedom, its practice of ordered self-government, its democratic mind, its genius for pioneering, and in its catholic consciousness, fits it with remarkable precision for playing an unique part on a world-scale in the vital work of building in all the world at the supreme crisis in history a commonwealth of humanity under the Rule of Christ, — a world-wide Kingdom of God. It is not, of course, imagined that the whole task rests on the shoulders of Congregationalism. Congregationalism shares the work with the "Holy Catholic Church throughout all the World." It has, however, a specific quality of life and a special Christian philosophy that are indispensable for the task. An inescapable responsibility, therefore, and a thrilling opportunity lies before both the leadership and the rank and file of Congregationalism — for equipping and mobilizing its forces to co-operate with its Christian Allies for the age-long campaign to establish the authority of Jesus Christ over the whole life of all peoples.

Dr. W. C. Bentall
Rev. S. Cave
Sidney Clarke
Rev. E. W. Franks
F. H. Hawkins
Basil Mathews
W. H. Somervell

**"TO RECOUNT THE SERVICE RENDERED IN CREATING A
CHRISTIAN SOCIAL ORDER AND TO SUGGEST
A PROGRAMME OF PRESENT ACTION"**

Towards the close of the Social Contract in the chapter on "Religion and the State" Rousseau described Christianity as a religion entirely spiritual, occupied only with the things of heaven. "The country of the Christian is not of this world. He does his duty, it is true; but he does it with a profound indifference to the good or ill success of his cares. Provided he has nothing to reproach himself with, it matters little to him whether things go well or ill here on earth. If the State is prosperous he hardly dares to take part in the public happiness; he fears he may grow proud of his country's glory. If the State is perishing, he blesses God who is hard on his people." The interest of this passage and many similar ones from the same chapter for our theme is that it brings into sharp opposition the social and spiritual aspects of experience. Elsewhere Rousseau claims a priority for the former. Christianity is in opposition to the social spirit. We are told that "a people of true Christians would form the most perfect society possible. I see in this supposition only one great difficulty: that a society of true Christians would not be a society of men." Now our task, as we understand it, is to show whether and how far the Church has succeeded in reconciling these two standpoints. How, far that is to say, it has restored harmony between the social and the spiritual self. Christianity has never been occupied solely with heavenly things. The Church has never limited her interests to the development of character taken in abstraction from the field of its enterprise and activity in the common life of the world and of society. This might easily be shown by an historical survey; but this would take us too far and is beyond the scope of this report. At the present time in some Christian circles thought and practice have swung round to the opposite direction. Ardent modern Christians and live Churches often speak and act as though Christianity were occupied only with the things of earth. The social order provides them with their horizon, social problems with the main theme of their thought and social injustice with the main current of their indignation. One of our College principals writes: "Our students take a keen interest in social subjects; sometimes they are too much occupied with them, and tend to neglect more immediately religious matters. Even in social matters, their interest is sometimes more political than religious." The tendency to put social problems into the forefront, to give them the chief emphasis in the thought and the activity of the church has left in the minds of many the suspicion that the central witness and service of the church, the proclamation of the love and righteousness of a holy God is being obscured. What is greatly to be desired therefore is a synthesis of social and spiritual thought and interest and activity. One must not be sacrificed to the other. Above all, the central things must be put in the central place. This is the great task of the Church in relation to the Social Order. The only thing that can give a social order stability is that it represents and embodies something more than the mind and will of man even at their best. The mind and will of God must be at the heart of it. Our human aspirations after social justice are admirable and mark a quickened social conscience. But these must be correlated to a higher justice even than social justice. It must be motivated and inspired by the Righteousness of God which had its supreme expression and vindication upon the Cross. There the individual and the community meet God and find the true source of their life, their energy and their hope.

From this brief and preliminary statement we derive the fundamental principle in the light of which we approach the special problems with which we are concerned. It may be summed up and expressed in one great word — Reconciliation. Upon this rest our personal hopes. Upon this rest our social hopes. But it is more than a principle which is a product of reflective wisdom or calculated prudence. It is an act and energy of God, an eternal cosmic fact. This is the sacred deposit entrusted to us as Churches. Woe be to us if we belittle or ignore it. Without it we shall become blind guides leading the blind. Both we ourselves and those we undertake to lead will justly be involved in the same common catastrophe.

With the world still heaving and rocking from the disaster which has broken up the order and system of our lives, it is difficult to evaluate the services of the Church to the social order and still more difficult to suggest a programme for the future. It is only when we keep our basal principle ever before us and are guided by the light it sheds upon our way that we dare hope to achieve any useful purpose in this report. It may help us if we analyze the social order with the help of four of its chief categories, viz.: Family, Class, Industrial order, State. We do not pretend that these are exhaustive. But it is impossible, with the small space allowed to us, to be more comprehensive. When we consider the Church in relation to these four aspects of social experience we must remember that the influence is more often indirect than direct. And we must also remember that more often than not, it is the achievements of outstanding individuals within the Church rather than the collective action of the Churches themselves that call for special notice. As an illustration of the latter we may mention the work of the Temperance and Social Service Committees of the Congregational Union of England and Wales; Sir R. Murray Hyslop has kindly contributed a memorandum on the work of the Temperance Committee. He points out that it has been only in comparatively recent years that the Churches have had their eyes opened to the dangers of the Drink Traffic. At first they stood coldly aloof and were sternly critical. The very mention of Temperance caused irritation and aroused opposition. It was quite a customary thing for the ministers and delegates, after transacting business at their Union gatherings, to retire to the adjoining Hotel (to give it its politest name) and there sit down to a well furnished table with flowing bowls poured out for their delectation. Decided action, however, was taken in 1873 and a Congregational Total Abstinence Association was formed. The work of this Society has produced a remarkable change in the attitude of the Churches to the Temperance question. At the same time the number of ministers who were not abstainers has steadily declined until it has become a negligible quantity. The Temperance cause is recognized as a part of the regular work of the Denomination, and the Total Abstinence Association, until lately under the earnest and able leadership of the Rev. W. Mottram, has become a constituent department of the Congregational Union. At the Spring and Autumn Meetings of the Union, one of the great gatherings has been for many years a Temperance meeting, which is always inspiring and educative. If it is asked what all this has to do with the promotion of a Christian Social Order, the answer is that the total abstinence movement invariably works in that direction. Those who have come under its influence have improved their standard of life and have swollen the ranks of healthy citizenship.

Further evidence of the collective action of the Union may be seen in the work of the Social Service Committee, under the Chairmanship of the Rev. Bertram Smith of Leeds, one of the foremost social workers in the North of England. For some years the Rev. Will Reason was the Secretary of this Committee. He is well known as an ardent and learned social worker. The newly-appointed secretary is the Rev. W. J. Wray, who brings to the service of the Committee a wide experience and a profound knowledge of industrial conditions. The committee devotes a great deal of its energy

to what Prof. Graham Wallas calls "the Organization of Thought." It acts on the principle that it is no use asking the churches to work outside for social redemption until they themselves know what it is. In order to accomplish this end it seeks to form study circles in which a group meets for co-operative study. The late Prof. Josiah Royce maintained that "the work of science is what is called in athletic phrase, team-work. Isolated observations of individuals even when these individuals are of the highest grade of expertness are always unsatisfactory." In the Dialogues of Plato we have an early form of sustained oral discussion and the ideal of the Social Study Circles is the adaptation of something of this kind to modern conditions. The chief difficulty is in the discovery of the modern Socrates. Though when he is discovered it might be well if he talked less. It is not so much lecturing that is wanted as co-operative study and thinking under the guidance of a wise leader who will prevent the miscarriage of ideas; a leader of the pack so to speak who will prevent the hounds from following a false scent. But the function of the study circle is not merely the organization of thought.¹ Conviction should generate energy and should result in definite service. Members are impressed with the necessity of making friends with those who live under the conditions to be known, and not as critics or mere investigators. Service on Public Bodies, Education Committees, Guilds of Help, Social Welfare and Care Committees is encouraged. In these ways study and service may be profitably linked. Indeed they must be linked, if either of them is to be effective. We are coming to see the truth of Sir Henry Jones' words: "We can understand the needs and the wrongs of men only if we feel them, and we can only remedy them by atoning for them in our own lives."

While our particular reference is to the work and witness of our churches, we desire to recognize, as we greatly value, the more interdenominational work of applying Christian principles to social and industrial conditions. The stimulus and the glow of the annual Conferences at Swanwick have re-acted upon all sections of the Church. Here particularly we learn that to maintain enthusiasm for study and service at a white heat, a third discipline is necessary — prayer, which keeps the heart pure and links up our poor efforts with the mind and will of God.

Before leaving this subject, it will perhaps be interesting to inquire how far our Colleges are alive to the need of preparing men to take a lead in social study and social service. Dr. Garvie of New College tells us that he lectures on Practical Christian Sociology for one year in three years, that the Senior Students write essays and have discussions on Social Problems for two hours a week, and that courses of lectures and conferences at Mansfield House University Settlement are prepared. The principals of all our colleges write in a similar strain.

This very general recognition of Sociology and Economics as essential to ministerial training marks a great advance on what obtained 25 years ago. It is a source of satisfaction to know that the Ministry of the future will be better equipped to give some guidance in social study. At the same time we feel that modesty and caution in these matters are very important, especially at the commencement of a ministerial career. Archdeacon Cunningham of Cambridge gives a word of warning, "There does not appear to be any readiness in industrial circles to welcome the clergy as having a special capacity for the difficult task of solving industrial problems." It would be well for us to take this to heart and study to merit recognition even if we cannot win it.

We turn now to the consideration of the relation of the Church to the four aspects of social experience or the four elements of social structure already mentioned, viz.: family, class, industrial order and state.

¹As a further illustration of this we may mention the fact that the November (1919) Assembly of the Congregational Union of England and Wales laid upon its Social Service Committee the charge of advocating the principles underlying the League of Nations, among the Churches.

FAMILY

Comte, the founder of modern Sociology, by a true instinct regarded the family as the social unit. "Man comes forth from his mere personality and learns in the family to live in another, while obeying his most powerful impulse." In this he is followed by Spencer, who speaks of the family as the cell of the social organism. Without committing ourselves to these biological terms and analogies, we can say that the family is a fundamental element of the social order. Further the Church has the deepest interest and concern in it. Troeltsch tells us that the monagamous family, according to the biblical standpoint of the Church, is the beginning of society and the state, which has its origin from the expansion of the family. He also tells us that it is the presupposition of all ordered life, that marriage is used as a figure for the most fundamental thought of Paul, for the unity of Christ and his Church. The relationships of the home and of the family provide us with some of the most precious and beautiful elements of our Theology. But the Church is concerned with the family for other reasons. It has a very practical interest in the family. The primitive church was often called a Household. The modern church should be the home of the people. Not only so, its success in its great task of educating and training the young in the faith and service of Christ depends in large measure on the integrity, the unity, the permanence and the religious atmosphere of the family and the home. Where there is persistent and determined co-operation between the Minister, the Teacher and the Parents there is the greatest hope and promise of winning the children. The family is the nursery of the Church. But we are thinking of the family now rather as a structural element of the social order. The church is deeply concerned in preserving this, not merely because it derives from it its strength, but also because its mission is to preserve all fundamental elements in society that make for the highest personal morality and its great task is to enrich them and elevate them into elements of that diviner and more comprehensive community which, taught by the lips of Christ, we call the Kingdom of God. There are some modern writers who seem to take a positive delight in pouring scorn and ridicule upon the family life as it is represented in our Churches. It is held up for contempt both on the stage and in the novel. Domestic infidelities are searched for with feverish energy and from these a lurid picture is drawn of what is normal of society as a whole. This is happily not the case, as all of us know whose duty it is not to amuse the public, but to instruct and inspire it. Mr. H. G. Wells tells us that the family is weakening, dwindling, breaking up, disintegrating. (Socialism and the Family.) Mr. Bernard Shaw appears to regard this as a happy consummation, for, in the Sociological Papers (1904) he writes: "What we need is freedom for people who have never seen each other before and never intend to see each other again, to produce children under certain definite public conditions without loss of honor" (p. 75). There you have a diagnosis which is faulty and a remedy which is vile. We judge or estimate any institution by the best that it is capable of becoming, and fortunately for many of us, our experience in the Ministry strengthens in us the conviction that family life is far from disintegrating and that it contains the possibilities of still finer development. While we feel confident in affirming this, we recognize that changes have come and that more changes may follow. The very freedom which is our pride and glory rather threatens the cohesion of the family. But we prefer to put it in another way. For the physical union of natural relationship to become the ethical union of spiritual kinship more of the spirit of reconciliation is required. Economic solidarity in the family grows less and less. Household industry has almost vanished. Where it survives it has mostly degenerated into a degraded form of sweated labor. Owing to the dispersal of the family from its native seats and its new aggregation for industrial purposes in factories and workshops the family is no longer an economic

unit. But the fact that the wife or the children are economically independent of the husband and father need not destroy the solidarity of the family, if there are other bonds that bind them together. In the past, religion has been an enduring social bond both in the family and in the state. We know that in classical antiquity the family rites were not merely a bond between the living, but a bond between the living and the dead and a bond between these and those yet to be born. But can we say that religion has anything like an equivalent place in our modern family life? This is a serious question. Some churches never give their young people any time for family life at all. They are everlastingly after them. But there is something even more serious. "Hitherto," says Prof. Lofthouse, "religion and the family have travelled hand in hand. Religion has sanctified the family relationships, and has found its central stronghold in family ceremonials." One by one these have been allowed to drop into disuse: family prayer, the grace at meal time are becoming more and more rare. Parental leadership in matter of religion is resigned into the hands of anyone who happens to come by and is left very much to chance. The result of this often is that the family pew is strangely empty, and though the wider freedom of choice marks a greater respect for individuality, this rather militates against the cohesion of the family and weakens the church which is built up on this basis. But the family pew is often empty for another reason, not because the children have a greater freedom of choice, but because there are so few children to make the choice. The "strike against parenthood," as it is called, is one of the most impressive and disquieting of social facts. It is not confined to any one class or any one profession or any one country. The "zweikinder system," as it is called in Germany, was growing to such an extent up to 1914 that it created general alarm in that country. The methods adopted in Britain to limit the size of the family called forth from Mrs. Scharlieb the significant remark that the country needs a "bath of physiological righteousness." Since 1880 the birth-rate has declined by approximately one-third and to the extent to which this implies the growth of luxury and selfishness, it is a danger that the Church cannot possibly ignore. It strikes at the very roots of social well-being and threatens both church and state alike. In this connection we must add that the parental instinct needs reinforcement by the religious, the Christian motive. It requires, as Dr. J. W. Ballantyne put it in his *Précis* handed in to the Birth-rate Commission, "the gradual building up of a spirit of self-sacrifice."

"The extra baby must be weighed against the motor car, and must be recognized as of more immediate and future value than the car or any other thing not absolutely essential to well-being, although conducive to comfort. Motherhood and parenthood must be exalted." This, we are aware, raises such questions as those of housing, wages, education and standard of life, some of which will be referred to later and which cannot be discussed in detail here. If in the relation of Father and Child we see a type of God's relation to men; and in the love of children to one another the principle and promise of a new society upon earth, then it is the clear duty of the Church to treat marriage and the family as something more than an arrangement to secure temporal comfort and expediency. In our teaching and preaching there must be more courage in warning men and women against social ambition and more fidelity in advocating simplicity. We must exalt the virtues of patience and constancy. We agree with Dr. Newman Smyth that "the most effective and purest ethical as well as religious influences must always find their abiding place and power in the Christian home. The Christian family is called to take a happy and hallowed place among the great redemptive forces of the world. The virtues which spring up and flourish in the shelter of the Christian home are the healing virtues of civilization. The marriage covenant has in it virtue to become a means of grace to a community."

Before we leave this aspect of our subject, we are constrained to make a reference to the efforts to recover the family ideal under conditions that are most adverse to it, namely, in relation to those children who become a charge on the Community in the administration of the Poor Law. Earlier we pointed out that the influence of the Church on the Social Order is more often than not exerted through the splendid achievements of some outstanding individual. This is a case to the point. The Scattered Homes for Poor Law Children owe their origin to the large heart, the wise judgment, and the noble spirit of a distinguished member and deacon of a Congregational Church — Mr. J. Wycliffe Wilson of Sheffield, a man who has filled with honor and distinction almost every office to which his fellow citizens can call him. By this system the Poor Law Children never see the inside of the Workhouse and never come even within its grounds. They are housed in Homes in small numbers in different parts of the city. A Mother presides over them. They are sent to the ordinary schools and Sunday schools. They mix with the other children in their work and in their play. No badge of poverty is upon them, no workhouse taint corrupts the fountains of joy and hope. They live as nearly as possible the normal life of the family of the old type, that is, with a round dozen of brothers and sisters. The Mother is carefully selected and is expected to conduct the home as nearly as possible on the lines of that of a respectable working-man. It is further arranged that the children shall be of ages as varied as possible, to carry out the ideal of family life; when practicable, a baby is included in each family. When in one of the London Unions the Poor Law officers agitated for the eight-hours day, 30 out of 36 of the Foster Mothers refused to take part, because they said it interfered with the family life of the Home. The time to agitate for this would come when the Mothers of England went off duty at bedtime. Care is taken in preparing the children for industrial life and their careers are followed with loving interest so that the greatest possible misfortune in any child's life has become an opportunity for the display of the divinest charity. At the present time this system has been adopted in 140 Poor Law Unions as a result of the direct action of a consecrated Christian reared and trained in a Congregational Church. We may add that he received the enthusiastic support of Canon and Mrs. Barnett. We shall now consider the relation of the Church to the second of the four aspects of social experience referred to, namely: Class.

CLASS

Class differences are not so real in Britain as they are in some countries on the continent. Still they are real enough. We are aware of them in our religious work as well as in our social intercourse. It must be remembered that they are not entirely due to differences of possessions or income. As Schmoller observes: "No one would dream of reckoning in the same class a manufacturer, a freeholder and an officer, though each possess 100,000 marks." Possessions are one cause of class division and distinction, but not the only one. Income undoubtedly creates different standards of living. Those who fall into the same class in this respect adopt a similar external mode of life, they reside in the same locality, have similar tastes and interests. But Calling and Culture are important factors in class division and these perhaps rather than income or wealth determine those psychological differences which often make it difficult for people to fraternize and understand each other. Then there are differences in the natural endowments of individuals that go down deeper even than the differences of culture and calling, and that influence their social grouping.

But we are not so much concerned with the origin of classes as we are with their attitude to each other in the actual life of society. And here there is cause for much disquietude. We were often told during the War that it was being fought in order to make the world safe for democracy.

Now we find that sectional interests and class antagonisms threaten the very existence of democracy. As Prof. Hearnshaw observes: "The attempt to separate one social order from all others and to serve its interests alone; the effort to disintegrate the nation into antagonistic classes and to make one of them supreme; the endeavor to relieve the poor and the needy not with the aid of but at the expense of their neighbors — all this is pathological and symptomatic of political death." If this last paragraph might be considered academic we find that it is confirmed by a practical man of affairs who is himself a representative of Labor — Mr. G. J. Wardle, M. P.: "We cannot have domination either by a clique or a class. You cannot grow good-will in a soil of hate. . . . Class hatred breeds class war, and class war aims first of all at destruction and domination. Following as it would upon the War, which has already destroyed so much, it would mean to Great Britain and to the world ruin and disaster." And Mr. George Lansbury observes: "The War on the Continent and the Class War at home are horrible, and they are un-natural and inhuman and the very fact that we are all ashamed of the conditions which cause them, and excuse and seek to palliate them proves that this is so." It is the consciousness of the community as a whole, yea, of humanity as a whole, that must determine our social and political conduct. It is very easy to be the victims of class ideas and this is not the peculiarity of the working class. We find it in the Middle class and in the Upper class. The task of religion is to see life singly and to see it whole, and this is more difficult than it ever has been because the spirit has outgrown its forms.

Now can we say that the Church has succeeded in developing a sense of the community as a whole, of overcoming sectional and class interests and antagonisms? Can we say that she has overcome class distinctions within her own borders? Theoretically her message has been one of brotherhood. Has she manifested the spirit of brotherhood? We should all repudiate with energy the idea that the Congregational Church was the Church of a Class, that it encouraged rather than repressed sectional interests, that it courts wealth and rank and neglects the poor and the unfortunate, the "unclassed" as they are sometimes called. We can say with confidence that during the last 30 years there has been a steady growth of desire to broaden the activities of the Church and to adapt its methods to the changing needs of the age. The evidence of this may be seen in the foundation of Settlements in London and in our large industrial centres, sometimes in connection with Colleges, as for example Mansfield House University Settlement; sometimes in connection with individual churches, as at Broad Plain House, Bristol, and at Croft House Settlement, Sheffield. Then there are the Institutional churches in the congested districts of our great towns. In this connection mention must be made of the magnificent work done for so many years in Leeds by the Rev. Bertram Smith and the Rev. Francis Wrigley. This has been pioneer work and has been brilliantly successful owing to the devoted labors of these two men and their colleagues. They have transformed a neighborhood and have brought about a mingling of the classes in religious and social work which has been for their mutual advantage. The methods adopted have inspired others along the same or similar lines, with the result that many a down-town church has become a hive of activities and of aggressive religious work. Unions or Associations of churches have initiated similar enterprises. For example the Congregational Union of London has its great Central Missions at Whitfields, Claremont and Crossways. All these have done and are doing fine work among the masses of the people. The Central Mission at Salford is another case of the same kind.

Though the Brotherhood movement is not specifically a Congregational enterprise, it has taken firm root in our Churches. In 1913 there were nearly 400 Brotherhoods attached to or housed in Congregational Churches. Referring to these, Mr. Wardle says that "the Brotherhood

ideal is better than class War." There is little which cannot be settled and settled well, if only there is good-will on both sides. The churches are catching the spirit of the movement. Men representing different interests, different planes of culture, different political opinions and parties, different creeds and no creeds at all, are brought together and inspired to know, respect and understand each other. Gulfs that yawned between groups, parties and classes are being bridged. There is a common aspiration after the Kingdom of God on earth and a growing recognition of the Person and the work of Christ as the great divine means of reconciliation. Reference will be made in the next section to the industrial future in the light of the Brotherhood ideal. Here we are concerned with the effect of the movement in substituting the method of friendship and co-operation between the classes for the method of Class war proclaimed by Marx as the necessary and inevitable result of social and economic evolution.

We urge as an essential part of the programme for the future that Churches and groups of churches forming urban Unions should join together in initiating movements of the kind briefly outlined in this section. Now that Moderators have been appointed throughout England and Wales, we trust that they will use their influence to develop by all possible means every method that is consistent with the spirit of Christ and with the proper emphasis on the essential and fundamental things in order to bring about a closer and a friendlier relation between the different classes of the community.

THE INDUSTRIAL SYSTEM

We now approach the most difficult part of our work. It needs no words to prove that the aspect of the social order that looms largest in the minds of men today is the system of industry by means of which they live. However loyal we may be to the essential work and witness of the Church, it is impossible to remain merely passive observers of movements and controversies that touch us all. But a further reason makes the industrial system of the utmost significance. Industry is creative of character. On the very first page of his *Principles of Economics*, Prof. Marshall says, "Man's character has been moulded by his every-day work and the material resources which he thereby procures, more than by any other influence, unless it be that of his religious ideals." If the contention of this passage is correct, and we think it is, then it becomes a matter of intense interest to us as Churches whether the industrial system is regarded as a product of the brute pressure of economic needs or whether it is due to those reforming agencies of mind that tend to transform every need and every condition of man's life into a scheme of values that is moral and spiritual in character. We should indeed have a poor chance of influencing the lives of men if the system in which the greater part of their lives is spent were really antagonistic to the fundamental principles of the Christian faith. At the same time we fully recognize that as a church we cannot lay down methods and details of industrial organization, *qua* industrial. The Churches *primary* concern is with the spirit rather than with the form of the industrial system. Its interest in form only extends so far as it conserves and develops human and spiritual values.

The first thing that strikes us and in which we think we can see the influence of the Church in the direction of a more Christian industrial system is the growing recognition of personality in industry. The writer of this Report once heard a German Professor of Economics say that one of the chief differences between the German and the British treatment of the subject was that the latter placed wealth, but the former placed men, in the forefront. However true this may have been in the first half of the XIXth Century, it is not true of the period since the Economic writings of Ruskin began to exercise an influence both in the realm of theory and of practice. Personal right and personal value are coming more and more

into prominence. It is coming to be realized that men have hearts as well as hands. To describe them in terms of the latter, to call them "hands" and to ignore the former, is to ignore their humanity. Men claim that they are human beings and not merely cogwheels in the machinery of production. Human labor cannot be placed on the same footing as the labor of horses, or the work of machinery. It is not a commodity, but a relation, a human relation, and must always be considered as such. The Churches have taken some part in proclaiming this, especially in recent years. They have always emphasized the essential value of human personality, perhaps in the past they have emphasized this from the standpoint of man's worth to God. They are coming now to recognize man's worth to man. As evidence of this we would call attention to the rapid growth of Welfare Supervision as an integral part of Factory organization. Though the special industrial and social conditions created by the War have made this all the more necessary, it is not merely a war measure. Many Firms had recognized the need of it before the War and now that the War is over, Welfare work remains as a permanent department of the Factory. It is neither pure business nor pure philanthropy. It is a recognition of personality. The workers are not "Hands." They are human beings richly endowed with moral and spiritual possibilities which cannot be sacrificed to the industrial machine. The most enlightened employers see this and are acting upon it. It is also well to remember that it may be recognized as a principle underlying the industrial legislation of more recent times, as a perusal of Prof. Tillyard's "Industrial Law" clearly shows. Prof. Tillyard himself is a distinguished Congregationalist and has devoted many years of his life to the problem and the practice of Industrial Betterment.

At this point we desire to call attention to the important movement of Profit-sharing and Co-partnership which has received a new and powerful impulse in the hands of two eminent Congregationalists — Lord Leverhulm and Mr. Theodore Cook Taylor, who have applied it in their great businesses and who proclaim it with persistence and enthusiasm. It is impossible for us to give the details of their schemes; it would be premature for us to express an economic judgment upon them, but we desire to say a few words with regard to the motive and the spirit that have inspired them. In 1892 Mr. Taylor became the sole proprietor of the firm of Messrs. J. T. and J. Taylor, Ltd., of Batley, Woollen cloth manufacturers, which now employs over 1,800 workers and is the second largest business of the kind in England. He at once began, to a limited extent, to carry out the idea of Profit-sharing. Three years later his scheme embraced the whole of his employees. Any profit which may remain after paying 5 per cent on capital is apportioned between capital and labor according to their respective amounts. That is, any percentage of profit received by capital beyond 5 per cent is also declared on the year's total wages, and every worker who has been employed during the whole year is credited with a bonus at not less than that rate on his or her year's wages. The bonus on wages is not given in cash, but in the form of fully-paid shares in the Company. The shares thus allotted entitle the holder in the following year to payment in cash of any dividend declared. The bonus shares do not carry votes at a shareholders' meeting. The employees now own more than half the capital of the business, and receive in profit-sharing on wages, and dividends on shares, which represent accumulated bonus, about two-thirds of the profits. A very large sum of money which might have gone into the pockets of the proprietor has during the years in which the scheme has been in operation gone into the pockets of the workers. During this period, though the employees belong to Trade Unions, there have been only two small disputes, one of which involved five men and the other 23. The relation between the Directors and the rank and file is a happy one, as is readily apparent to any one who goes through the works

and reads contentment on every face. In Mr. Taylor's own words: "In all things the spirit rather than the form is of chief importance. The spirit will find the form: the form cannot produce the spirit. Profit-sharing and Labor Co-partnership, to be fully efficient, must, on the Employers' part, proceed from altruistic and not selfish motives. The natural soil for the growth of unselfishness is religion. The employer who really holds all men as brothers in Christ cannot be other than a profit-sharer at heart. 'He who loveth God loveth his brother also.'"

Mr. Taylor looks upon this scheme with all the ardor and enthusiasm of the Missionary and hopes to spend his remaining years in advocating it.

Lord Leverhulme's scheme, which he calls "prosperity-sharing," is outlined and analyzed in his book on "The six-hour day," which contains a number of addresses on this and kindred subjects. The book reveals a great captain of industry struggling to apply principles which are deep-rooted in religious conviction to the complex conditions of modern industrial life. His aim is to adapt the industrial system to these high ideals so as to do away for all time with the bogey of the clash of interests between capital and labor. It is a message of reconciliation between man and man. It is not merely a question of harmonizing interests and forces. It is not a question altogether of higher wages, shorter hours, or better welfare conditions of employment. "Capitalists have now the task set them to democratize their system, and to create conditions that will enable labor to take some democratic share in the management, and some responsibility for the success of the undertaking. Productive and distributive business must in the future be carried on under less oligarchic and under more democratic conditions." Co-partnership in Lord Leverhulm's view is essential if the interests of capital and labor are to be harmonized. It is essential to success, as a means of equalization in the final division of profits and as the preventer of the intrusion of the spirit of greed between capital and labor.

Years ago Burke proclaimed the permanent *political* incapacity of Democracy. The XIXth Century has disproved this rather lugubrious prophecy. Democracy in spite of Burke got its chance and has justified itself. Dare we, in the light of this, proclaim the permanent *industrial* incapacity of Democracy?

We are glad to think that there are men who have been reared in the most democratic of Churches, who have imagination and faith enough to advocate and apply the bold experiment and so to unify in their experience the ecclesiastical, the political and the economic aspects of their lives. We mention these schemes as matters of fact and history without presuming to say that they are a final solution of the problem of the relation of Capital to Labor.

We cannot, however, leave this aspect of the social order without a reference to another important piece of work which still further embodies the principle of reconciliation, viz.: the Industrial Councils which are associated with the name of another distinguished and devoted Congregationalist, the Rt. Hon. J. H. Whitley, M. P., Deputy-Speaker of the House of Commons. These Councils, which are of three grades—national, district and works (works committees)—are constituted by representatives of the Employers and the Employees in equal numbers with an independent Chairman. The meetings are held constantly and regularly, to discuss all matters whatever connected with the industry. It was the old idea that employers and employed could only meet in conference when they had something to quarrel about and that all their meetings must necessarily be battles. Mr. Whitley's idea is that the Council table should take the place of the trench warfare of the past. The idea is that industry is service. The meetings of the councils are regarded as discussions between fellow-servants who are also servants of each other, who seek the best way

of carrying out their common task. At the present time 51 Trades have constituted councils of this kind and over four millions of workers by hand and by brain are represented upon them. Interest in the Whitley principle is not confined to Great Britain. Among recent enquiries from abroad, received by the Ministry of Labor, are communications from China, Japan, the United States, Canada, Belgium, Holland and Norway, and from prominent individuals in other countries, despite the fact that the movement has not been advertised. The Whitley Councils represent an industrial embodiment of the principle of reconciliation and have proved, in a large number of cases, that they are a valuable means not only of settling disputes but also of removing the causes that bring them about. But the Councils have a more constructive purpose than the settlement of disputes. In papers kindly lent to us by Mr. Whitley, we note, for example, that at the meeting of the Joint Industrial Council of one trade an interesting discussion took place on the wider aspects of the Council's duties, and a more favorable view was taken by the workers of the idea of improvements in machinery. In this connection it may be mentioned that the attempt is being made by the Building Council to face the fundamental problems and difficulties of its own industry and to attain to a higher level of "organized public service in the building industry." Such constructive thinking, provided it is always sincere and disinterested, will contribute to "that circulating capital of ideas upon which increased efficiency depends."

Whatever may be the opinion on the desirability of the democratizing of industry, it must in any case be preceded by the understanding of industry. It is because the movements we have described have in them the possibilities of training workers to take a wider view and acquire a wider experience of industry and so of fitting them for a larger share of responsibility that we look upon them with hope. As churches we watch them with the deepest interest, not merely because they have been initiated and inspired by those who belong to them, but because we see in them an application of the principle of reconciliation which is the central theme of all our preaching and teaching.

Before concluding this section of our Report, reference must be made to Rural Economy. The lamp of a simple evangelical Christianity has been kept burning in the village chapel for a good many generations and this is a matter of life and death to the nation. But I think we may claim that a more direct influence has been exerted upon the social order of the countryside, more particularly in connection with the encouragement of the Small Holdings movement.

The striking feature of our rural history for over two centuries has been the gradual elimination of the yeoman farmer. This has been in a large measure due to the policy of Enclosure which has been analyzed with great thoroughness by Prof. Gonner in his book on the subject. All we have to note is that one of its admitted effects has been the depression of the agricultural laborer and bound up with this is the depression of the Village Church and that the pioneer in the movement for improving their position has been Sir Richard Winfrey, M. P., who is a member of one of our churches and who has spent a life time in earnest and successful work in rural reconstruction as the champion of small holdings. Sir Richard has put the case concisely in an article from which we may be allowed to quote: "It has been admitted that some system of Enclosure of the great open commons and fields was absolutely necessary on account of modern farming. The process of enclosing went on for the best part of a century in order to improve the tillage, but it is the method employed in that enclosure that I call in question." The Small Holdings Acts of 1908 and 1910 and the Small Holdings Colonies Act of 1916 have done something to remedy or improve the economic and the social status of the laborer. Sir Richard Winfrey is the Chairman of the South Lincolnshire Small

Holdings Association and the Norfolk Small Holdings Association and while he acted as Parliamentary Secretary of the Board of Agriculture did his utmost to encourage and extend the movement in other parts of the country. From the Annual Reports issued by the Board of Agriculture of Proceedings under the Small Holdings and Allotments Acts we ascertain that the percentage of Applicants for Small Holdings who are Agricultural Laborers is as follows:

1908	.	.	.	.	.	.	34%
1909	.	.	.	.	.	.	25%
1910	.	.	.	.	.	.	30%
1911	.	.	.	.	.	.	28%
1912	.	.	.	.	.	.	29%
1913	.	.	.	.	.	.	24%
1914	.	.	.	.	.	.	32%

No reports have been published during the War, but we have the remarkable and encouraging statement made by Sir Richard Winfrey on November 3, 1919, in his evidence before the Royal Commission on Agriculture that in the area of the South Lincolnshire Small Holdings Association, 90 per cent of the Small Holders were ordinary agricultural laborers. We have no figures for the whole country for 1919, so we cannot tell exactly what has happened during the War. We suspect that the remarkable percentage for South Lincolnshire is due to the energy and the enthusiasm of one individual.

Now there is very little doubt that the disappearance of the Yeomen had a very serious effect on the village chapel. Lecky says that "the yeoman formed the chief political counterpoise to the country gentry." It would be equally true to say that they formed the chief ecclesiastical counterpoise to the parish clergyman. The more enterprising yeomen, however, were absorbed by the growing towns, the feebler became agricultural laborers, with the result that village nonconformity suffered. The evidence given by Sir Richard Winfrey seems to show that the Small Holding movement has increased the rural population, and so has disproved Goldsmith's mournful lines:

"But a bold peasantry, their country's pride,
When once destroyed, can never be supplied."

As far as the moral and social effect of the movement is concerned, before the Royal Commission he acknowledged disappointment: "The small Holder is inclined to be too self-centered and not to take sufficient interest in the welfare of the district, and generally what I call the social and moral improvement of the community." At the same time we are glad to gather from Sir Richard, that the Nonconformist Small Holder is the best type. He is often on the plan as a Local Preacher, and is a leader and supporter of all movements for the social improvement of country and village life. He also tells us that village Nonconformity has been strengthened by the movement. Numbers have improved. The small holder lives at a higher standard than the agricultural laborer. An extraordinarily interesting illustration of this may be mentioned from the village of Burwell in Cambridgeshire. Here a Crown Farm of 917 acres was leased to the late Sir Charles Rose in 1906 and sublet to 75 Tenants in Small Holdings and Allotments. A visit to this village and a call on some of the tenants revealed conditions of comfort, confidence and hope that were full of promise for the future. The trade of the village has been extended. With one exception, all the Small Holders have during 14 years prospered beyond anticipation. We cannot forbear to pay our tribute of admiration to the Congregational Minister of Burwell, the Rev. J. W. Upton, the Chairman

of the Parish Council, who has spent nearly 40 years of ministerial life here. He has been a leader in this movement for small holdings, as he is a leader in everything else that means the moral and social betterment of the village. The County Council has recently acquired other farms and the ex-service men, connected with the village, have had the first opportunity of securing them. Mr. Upton writes: "In several indirect ways the church has been helped, Deacons, S. S. Teachers and Members of Baptist, Wesleyan, Primitive Methodist, Episcopal and our own Church have been retained in the village."

It is surprising that in the Report of the Archbishops' Committee on "Christianity and Industrial Problems" there is no consideration of rural problems, except the rather vague promise, in the introduction, of a Rural Supplement at a later date. We regret this omission and the inclusion of some reference to them here gives us the opportunity of expressing our gratitude for the faithful and devoted labors of many a village pastor who often in obscurity and sometimes with little recognition has continued at his post and helped to keep the life of the village sweet and clean. In the programme for the future we urge on the County Unions the importance of giving all possible help and counsel to the village churches so that they may become moral and social centres for the transformation of the countryside. The Small Holdings movement holds out new prospects for the Laborer. The Agricultural Wages Board has improved his wages and determined his hours. We trust that these economic movements will tend in the direction of an increased rural population and a population of a kind which will be a source of strength to rural Congregationalism. It is for the village church to make the very best use of these new conditions and supply the guidance and the inspiration which will broaden the outlook and ennoble the character of the men and the women of the country.

Before concluding this section, we desire to express regret that our only reference to the Report of the Archbishops' Committee on "Christianity and Industrial Problems" should be to point out an omission. Again and again we have wished to quote from this valuable Report, but narrow limits of space have made this impossible. We feel that all Christian Churches are laid under a great debt to the Anglican Church for this eminently Christian and statesmanlike document.

STATE

We come now to the last, the most impressive and the most pervasive aspect of the social order, viz., the State. In the series of lectures on the Theory of the State delivered at Bedford College, the one on Church and State given by Mrs. Creighton contains this confession: "The pursuit of world-power has been the curse of the Church all through the ages." However true this may be of other churches, it is not true of the Congregational Order. We owe nothing to the state and we want nothing from the state. Historians tell us that the Church stood forth as the champion of liberty under John and Henry III, when Archbishop Stephen Langton helped to lead the barons to win the Great Charter from the King at Runnymede, and when Bishop Grosseteste advocated the cause of Simon de Montfort as being the cause of God. The writer from whom I have just quoted asks: "Is it altogether fanciful to see in these contests of the XIII century the inarticulate beginning of the desire for a free Church in a free State?" But once more she has to confess "the Church, however, failed to remain the leader of English liberty. It was the Puritans, the opponents of the national Church, who were identified with the struggle for liberty." This coming from such a source is striking. Leadership in the struggle for liberty passed out of the hands of a state church and passed into the hands of those churches which, like our own, desired neither patronage, nor profit nor power from an alliance with the state. The only

supremacy they recognized was the supremacy of Christ Himself. As Dr. Dexter expressed it, "the mainspring of power for people and officers alike is in the living presence of Christ."

From a theoretical point of view it would be instructive to trace the influence of the idea of liberty as formulated by the early Independents upon the conception of the State in the political and ecclesiastical writings of John Locke. This would take us too far afield. But we are constrained to quote the summary of this that Troeltsch gives in his monumental work: "The Social Doctrines of Christian Churches and Groups." "Of universal historical significance was the incorporation of the Independent theory in Locke's doctrine of the state, in which it became a theory of the freedom of the Church and the separation of State and Church and was closely connected with political Liberalism." Locke worked this out in his Letters on Toleration. It is interesting to place side by side his conception of the functions of the Civil Government and his conception of the Church. The power of the civil government relates only to men's civil interests, is confined to the care of the things of this world and has nothing to do with the world to come. The Church is a voluntary society of men joining themselves together of their own accord, in order to the public worshipping of God in such a manner as they judge to be acceptable to Him and effectual to the salvation of their souls.

But we are chiefly concerned with the influence of the Congregational Churches as a school and training ground for Democracy. In this they have rendered conspicuous service to the State. Dexter says of the Pilgrim Fathers: "Nor could they bring themselves to abandon the missionary purpose which they cherished from the first, that they might demonstrate somewhere the value to mankind of a pure and democratic church." And Burrage in his "Church Covenant Idea" tells us that the Pilgrim Fathers of the *Mayflower* formed on the ship a political covenant after the pattern of the ecclesiastical. Liberty of the conscience and liberty of the subject were described by Cromwell as "two as glorious things to be contended for, as any that God has given us." They have gone hand in hand together throughout Congregational History.

We venture to say that it has been a great gain for the English-speaking race that the roots of Democracy have been nourished at the springs of religious idealism. President Wilson's memorable words that the War was being fought to make the world safe for democracy inspired and strengthened us all to continue the struggle to a successful issue. But we may perhaps be allowed to add that it is only when Democracy and Religion become one that Democracy is safe for the world. It has been one of the chief tasks of Congregationalism to make them one and to keep them one, not merely in theory but in practice. Prof. Hearnshaw in his "Democracy at the Cross Roads" distinguishes between Democracy as a Form of Government, as a Form of State and as a Form of Society. A democratic form of government, in the strict sense of the term, is one in which the community as a whole, directly and immediately, without agents or representatives, performs the functions of sovereignty. A democratic state is one in which the community as a whole possesses sovereign authority, maintains ultimate control over affairs, and determines what sort of governmental machinery shall be set up. A democratic society is one in which the spirit of equality is strong, and in which the principle of equality prevails. When the Congregational Church is true to its noblest traditions and its highest ideals it blends and unifies these three forms. There can be no doubt but that the early Christian Society was profoundly democratic. The first Christians knew that they had been at an equal distance from God; but they were inspired by the equalizing doctrine of the Fatherhood of God and they recognized "that all human distinctions which differentiated man from man vanished into insignificance." The early Church, as the very name that St. Paul gave

to the Christian Community implies (ekklesia) controlled its own affairs by its own members, and Prof. Vernon Bartlet points out that local or city churches were really the only organized units of church administration in the New Testament, apart from the informal personal oversight of the missionary Fathers or Founders of the Churches. But the appeal to antiquity, while impressive to us, has not the force it used to have. We are primarily concerned with the practice of our Churches in the Modern World. Our ideal has been finely expressed by one of our most distinguished ministers, Dr. Arnold Thomas of Bristol, in these words: "We believe that wherever Christ is by His Spirit among His people, there is all that is essential to a Church, and that all in whom His spirit is dwelling are equally concerned in the life of the Church and the administration of its affairs." There breathes the spirit of Democracy in its highest, purest and noblest form. Our churches have not always been true to it; but still it is a gain to have an ideal even when you fail to reach it. "Ah, but a man's reach should exceed his grasp, or what's a heaven for." Congregational Churches are Democratic Societies and they have a Democratic form of government. Men and Women are trained to social and spiritual responsibilities and prepared for service in administrative offices, but always under the Leadership of Christ. This has prepared them for citizenship and it has given to citizenship a religious, a Christian basis. This has been an incalculable service to the State. Further, in Education, in the administration of the Poor Law, in Municipal Councils, in Rural and Urban Councils, on the Bench and in Parliament men trained in our churches have rendered conspicuous service to the State. Humble citizens have been taught to discharge the responsibilities of voting in a religious spirit and in a religious atmosphere. Women have, for generations, exercised the same franchise as men and have had equal rights of Christian citizenship. A Democratic State and a Democratic form of government, to be on a secure basis, must rest upon a democratic Society. The Congregational Churches throughout their history have helped to provide this and have thus helped to strengthen and maintain that larger democracy which is the hope of the world. We cannot conclude without expressing the conviction that in the Church Meeting, we have an opportunity for exercising the privileges of self-government and of preparing our people for the duties and the responsibilities of citizenship which are not sufficiently valued. Only a very small percentage of the Members of the Church ever attend them. We hold it to be one of the most pressing of our tasks to revive the Church Meeting and to give it the place it once had in the life of the Church.

SUMMARY OF RECOMMENDATIONS

I. Training of the Ministry. While recognizing the value of the connection of our Training Colleges with the Universities and the growing importance that is given to the study of Economics and Sociology in the College curricula, we feel that there is a danger of ministerial education becoming too literary and academic. Men should have more opportunities of acquiring some familiarity with the thoughts and habits, the interests and the aspirations of the people among whom they will have to work and especially with the industrial classes both in town and in country. Some of our colleges encourage visits to and residence in Settlements. This is valuable and might with advantage be extended and made more general. While a knowledge of the History of the Church in the first three Christian centuries is important, we feel that a knowledge of the Church development in the last 50 years is as important, if not more so. We suggest this in no critical spirit, for we feel that our colleges are doing splendid work and the more they keep in touch with the churches by which they are surrounded, the wider will be the outlook and the broader the sympathies of the men who are trained within them.

II. The Place of Settlements. We should like to see more official interest in existing settlements, more earnest recognition of the value of the work they are doing, and more enterprise in planting new ones where they are most wanted. In our judgment they are of the utmost value in providing students and ministers with opportunities of living and friendly contact with working men and women and of keeping them in effective sympathy with the struggling masses. We should like to see a more vital connection between the Suburban churches of our great cities and the Churches (sometimes abandoned) in the congested areas. These provide great opportunities for associated action on the part of all the churches of a district. Care should be taken that there should be no grounds for the reproach that a Congregational Church only flourishes in areas inhabited by the comfortably-off classes. It would be ungracious on our part to attempt, in any way, to belittle the magnificent and sacrificial work which the great Churches have done by their missionary hosts; but in the light of the modern conscience, it has become evident that there has been a danger lest the romance of the far distant fields has at times dimmed the Churches' vision as to the need of faith and a crusading zeal on behalf of the oppressed and weak at home.

III. The Pulpit Message. All our preaching needs stiffening with a deeper emphasis on social responsibilities and opportunities. The social implications of brotherhood, justice, fairness, burden-bearing and burden-sharing must not be slurred over. We are confident that the personal and individual appeal will not be forgotten by a ministry that is evangelical in its theology and full of eager longing for the souls of men. In this connection we feel we must mention the great and honored name of Dr. J. B. Paton of Nottingham, who combined in such a unique degree evangelical passion with splendid social enthusiasm. If people do not want a social gospel, it is because in the past we have failed to emphasize its essential implications. In any case the function of a preacher is not to give people what they want, but what they need. Better a small live active church than a loose conglomerate which is little more than a social club. This will never make a vigorous and progressive church. An institution may have much vigor at the circumference and little driving power within.

IV. Church Atmosphere. In these days, when sectional interests are so dominant and so claimant, the Church must be a real fellowship, a real brotherhood. We feel it to be a reproach that a Brotherhood movement should be necessary to remind the Church of its essential character. The working classes are in no mood for patronage and they neither ask for nor want charity. There must be no place in the Congregational church for the superior person. In theory, wealth gives no status. We must be sure that in practice it gives none. Pew appropriation, while an economic convenience, may become a social danger. It may perpetuate within the church, distinctions that are not valid there. We say that we are brothers in Christ. This must be a piece of reality and not a piece of rhetoric. Men would rather be *treated* as brothers than *called* brothers. The Church to be true to the mind of its Founder must be a Home, a Household, a Family, and both Minister and People must unite by prayer and loving sympathy to make it so.

Rev. W. Blackshaw
Sir R. Murray Hyslop
Rev. W. Reason
T. C. Taylor
Sir R. Winfrey
Rev. W. J. Wray

**THE INFLUENCE OF CONGREGATIONALISM IN PROMOTING
CHRISTIAN UNITY, AND THE LINES UPON WHICH
IT SHOULD USE THAT INFLUENCE.**

(1) ENGLISH CONGREGATIONALISM AND CHRISTIAN UNITY

It is one of the fundamental principles of Congregationalism that the members of the Christian church should be Christians. They believe that where two or three are gathered together in Christ's name there is He in the midst of them; and that where Christ is there is the church. Historically this belief led to the formation of "gathered churches," but it is quite evident that these were not instituted in any spirit of schism. Under the Commonwealth, when Independency was for a short time supreme in England, a very large measure of toleration was set up, and the settlement of the religious affairs of the nation in the articles of the humble petition and advice shows that the leading Independents of the period, Owen, Nye, and Goodwin, entertained large ideas of a possible Christian unity. They provided for a scheme for a national church under which Presbyterians, Independents, Baptists and Episcopalians all held livings and received public maintenance. Although prelacy was abolished the Episcopalians were still allowed to claim their tithes and the rent from glebes, and each denomination was permitted to conduct worship and administer the Sacraments according to their own rules. It was also provided that a confession of faith should be drawn up by which belief in the Trinity, the divinity of Christ, and the acknowledgment of the scriptures as the revealed word of God, should be asserted by all ministers and public preachers; but that these were to be at liberty to differ in doctrine, worship or discipline so long as this liberty did not extend to popery or prelacy. The Confession of Faith was never made use of owing to the death of Cromwell, but there is no doubt about the intention of the Protector and his advisers to resettle the religion of the country on a fairly broad basis of Christian union.

Again in 1688 in the propositions appended to the Declaration of the Savoy Conference it is evidently contemplated by the Independents responsible for that Declaration that there should be a real communion among all churches, and that differences in order should not be allowed to discourage it. The relevant propositions are as follows: (1) "As all Churches and all the Members of them are bound to pray continually for the good or prosperity of all the Churches of Christ in all places, and upon all occasions to further it; (Every one within the bounds of their places and callings, in the exercise of their gifts and graces); So the Churches themselves (when planted by the providence of God, so as they may have opportunity and advantage for it) ought to hold communion amongst themselves for their peace, increase of love, and mutual edification." (2) "Such reforming Churches as consist of persons sound in the Faith, and of conversation becoming the Gospel, ought not to refuse the communion of each other, so far as may consist with their own principles respectively, though they walk not in all things according to the same rules of Church-order."

Again in 1690, two years after the passing of the Toleration Act, a definite attempt was made to unite the Congregationalists and Presbyterians in this country in a single denomination under the name of United Brethren. In spite of the fact that the Churches themselves were not consulted in the matter many of them accepted the heads of agreement drawn up, and although the scheme came to nothing in the end chiefly owing to doctrinal differences, it indicates the readiness of the leaders of

both denominations to enter upon something like a corporate union. The Congregationalists concerned were Matthew Meade, Isaac Chauncey and Increase Mather; and the agreement drawn up, while it recognizes the independence of the individual church, provides also for a joint administration of the affairs of the churches on Presbyterian lines which does not differ very greatly from our present County and Congregational Union order.

The spirit which led the early Independents to a wider toleration of other churches than their own in their day and which instituted these tentative movements towards union and towards the recognition of other churches has characterized the attitude of Congregationalism in more modern times. They have never taken up the position which "un-churches" any Christian body whose belief is really Christian, and they have taken part, and often a leading part, in all movements towards a better understanding and closer co-operation. As Dr. Mackennal said in his Chairman's address in 1887, "The fathers of Independency never contemplated sectarian churches with an exclusive creed and distinctive ritual. They taught and affirmed that a true church is an abiding fellowship of believing persons who can conveniently gather into one assembly, bringing their various conventions of doctrine and modes of action to enrich the common thought and practice."

(2) THE MANY CHURCHES AND THE ONE CHURCH

Congregationalism may be a unifying or divisive force according to the conception held of the relation of the one Church to the many churches.

(1) If the starting-point be the individual believer with his rights and duties, and the local congregation be regarded as *formed* by a number of individual believers as a voluntary association, in which, subject to the authority of Christ over the individual conscience, entire independence is to be demanded and exercised, then it is likely to prove divisive, and the history of independence has proved that assumption. To this view Browne's expositions of the Congregational polity give countenance. Realizing the necessity of reform, and the unwillingness of the authorities to reform, he summoned those who desired reform not to tarry for any but to begin reform in the small communities that they could form among themselves. Hence the name by which those who shared his views were called, *Separatists*. It was the historical situation which necessitated the action, and *Separatism* is not and should not be a permanent principle in the Church of Christ. Although Robinson and Jacob dropped the name Separatist and chose that of Independent, yet the origin of the movement continued to affect the positive conception of the Church. The one body of Christ is lost sight of and each congregation has to be "planted and gathered under one kind of government": (a) "by a covenant and condition made on God's behalf, (b) by a covenant and condition made on our behalf, (c) by using the Sacrament of Baptism to seal these conditions and covenants." It is "further builded" (a) "by communion of graces and officers in the Head of the Church, which is Christ." (b) "By communion of the graces and offices in the body, which is the Church of Christ." (c) "By using the sacrament of the Lord's Supper as a seal of this communion." It chooses its own officers: "the pastor and the teacher" having been tested and consented to by the people are ordained by the elders as forwardest. Each congregation is thus self-contained, although there may be "synods or meetings of sundry churches which are when the weaker churches seek help of the stronger, for deciding or redressing of matters; or else the stronger look to them for redress." Such meetings are evidently only advisory, and in no way legislative or administrative.

This exclusive conception of the Church in early Congregationalism did not stand alone, nor did it persist throughout. As we have already seen,

a more tolerant spirit came to prevail, though it is probably true that it was brought about by considerations of expediency rather than of principle. At the same time there is nothing in the insistence on purity of membership, and on the autonomy of the individual church to prevent the recognition of and cooperation with other churches.

(2) Historically this polity was an endeavor to reproduce the self-government of the churches in the Apostolic Age: but it ignored what is so prominent in the New Testament, the unity of the Church, not merely as an invisible ideal, the body of Christ spiritually, but as a visible society, constituted this by the authority, not official, but personal, because of the spiritual endowment of apostles, prophets, and teachers, the universal itinerant ministry more influential than the local ministry of elders and deacons, by the frequent intercourse of the churches by visits of brethren, letters and mutual help, but most of all by the vivid consciousness of believing the one Gospel and sharing the one Spirit. There was not a rigid organization but there was a vital organic unity, effective for common witness, etc., and work in the world. In such unity Congregationalism for the greater part of its history has been conspicuously lacking: and is only now, amid suspicion and hindrance from the old Independency which can forget and learn nothing, attempting very slowly and uncertainly, to secure for itself. We had better abate our boast that Congregationalism represents the New Testament polity till we have recovered in greater measure the practice of unity in our churches. Congregationalists have good Scripture and historical warrant for working towards such a wider unity. It is not only that their past entitles them to do so, but their belief in liberty enables them to demonstrate the practical possibility of unity amid diversity.

(3) But above and beyond this practice there was the principle, which it would be immeasurably our gain if we could recover as a dominating and inspiring ideal, namely, that the one Church is in the many Churches, and that they can claim to be churches only as local manifestations of the universal reality. The Church is not the sum of the churches, nor are they parts of it as a whole, for spatial categories are quite out of place in regard to the community of the Spirit, in which is realized the love of God revealed in the grace of the Lord Jesus Christ. In Christian faith where God is Christ is, for Christ has become so completely identified with God that there can be no separation, and God for us is always God in Christ, and where Christ is, there is His Church, whether there be few or many gathered in His name; and that presence of Christ in His Church is not distributive, part here and part there, but repletive, all and whole. Each local congregation is a church, not because Christ's presence apart from His church forms a number of individuals into a society, but because the community of the Spirit which is His body is there present, and active. Within such conditions as its position imposes, and its capacities allow, each local congregation is functioning as the Church of Christ. It is not its separation from other such congregations that is its title to such autonomy as subject to Christ it may claim, but its manifestation locally of the one Church. An independency which is isolation from, indifference to, or even defiance of such common mind, heart and will as may be given to a group of churches for common witness and work, is not our assertion, but a negation of its title to be a church at all. It is surely a vital misapprehension of the principle of the one Church in the many churches to assume that Christ is only where the local congregation is gathered, that He is not where the representatives of these churches are assembled. For common objects in which they may be associated they are no less a church as a manifestation of the Church. We must recognize gradations of manifestation of the one Church, not the congregation alone, but the County Union, or the National Union, or the International Council, or the Interdenominational Conference. Our cast-iron theories of what constitutes

Congregationalism may go on the scrap-heap of theological and ecclesiastical anachronisms, and give place to this more elastic conception of the one Church of Christ in manifold expression and activity.

The unity thus manifested will be no mere matter of uniformity in doctrine, orders or organization, but a living and organic unity that is compatible with much variety of expression. The actual facts of modern Congregational Church life show how possible and fruitful this may be in Churches that believe in the living activity and indwelling presence of the Spirit of God.

(4) This position is confirmed by Sohm, who has made as profound a study as any scholars have made of the nature of the Church. "The faith of Christians sees in every assembly of Christians gathered together in the Spirit the whole of Christendom, the people of God, the universal society. Upon these grounds every assembly of Christians, great or little, which meets in the name of the Lord, is called *Ecclesia*. The gathering of the New Testament people of Israel, the general assembly of all the Christians of the same place bears the name *Ecclesia* because it represents, not an assembly of this local community, but an assembly of all Christendom (Israel), in the same way an assembly of the community belonging to one house. Thus there is but one *ecclesia*, the assembly of all Christendom, though the one church has innumerable manifestations." (Kirchenrecht, pp. 20, 21). It is evident that such a conception of the relation of the many churches to the one Church is not divisive, but unifying. If consistently and courageously applied, it would carry us far on the way towards Reunion.

(5) On the one hand it will secure such autonomy as each congregation is entitled to as a local manifestation of the one Church in all such functions as the congregation can effectively discharge in the interest of the Kingdom of God. On the other hand it will require such association of congregations as experience may show to be necessary for common witness and work, and will justify such authority in these associations as may be demanded for the highest possible efficiency. It is no violation of independency voluntarily to surrender liberty for the sake of love. In the Christian Church authority can never be coercive, in so far as it is it ceases to be Christian: it must be an appeal to reason and conscience, and its acceptance must not involve any surrender of liberty except such as love demands. By a gradual progress the unity of the one Church may become increasingly manifest in our ordinary associations with an ever fuller control of common interest, purpose and effort. In this process there need be no compromise, only an ever clearer recognition in practice of the principle of unity. In maintaining and applying such a conception of the Church Congregationalism can serve the cause of Christian reunion by showing that the autonomy of each church and the unity of the Church are not inconsistent, that liberty and order can be reconciled by order requiring and liberty granting only love's demand, that the many churches are worthy of their name only as they express the one Church, and the one Church displays its fulness of pace only as it functions fully in the many churches.

(3) PRACTICAL STEPS

So far as practical steps towards reunion are concerned Congregationalists have taken their full share in what has been done in this country up to the present time. They have been active from the first in the whole movement represented by the Free Church Council and have always been prepared for the closest possible co-operation with other Nonconformist churches. In the proposal for closer federation of the Free Churches associated with the name of Mr. Shakespeare they have been to the fore. The Congregational Union appointed delegates to represent it in this work and has provisionally accepted the scheme to which these delegates became

a party. With regard, however, to the declaration of common faith on which the new federation is based Congregationalists have adhered to their historic position in regarding such a statement of faith as only declaratory and not binding on any. As their history shows they have always been prepared to make such declaration as occasion might seem to offer, so long as it was not made an imposition upon tender consciences.

As regards reunion with Anglicans, Congregationalists again have taken their full share in the recent movements and discussions with this end in view. They have made it clear, however, that by reunion they do not mean uniformity either of doctrine or practice, but that they look for a wider conception of the church than any now in vogue and one which shall secure all that is essential in the Congregational, Presbyterian and Episcopal systems. When, at the instance of the American Episcopal churches, a Faith and Order Committee was set up in this country the Congregational Union appointed representatives on the Committee and some of these have taken a leading part in the deliberations of the Faith and Order sub-Committee and in the issue of those interim reports which have now become well known. The first of these dealt with matters of faith: and here again the Congregational members of the Committee had no difficulty in accepting a joint declaration of faith along with others. In the other report dealing with matters of order they accepted the proviso that in any reunited church the Episcopal system would need to be secured, but they made it clearly understood that they had in view a revised and constitutional Episcopate rather than the prelatic form of Episcopacy. In accepting this, however, they acted on their own responsibility and their action is not likely at present to be unanimously endorsed by Congregationalists generally.

In addition to the Faith and Order Committee a somewhat larger conference between Nonconformists and Anglicans — mainly of the low and broad church type — has been held for the last three years at Mansfield College, Oxford. In this again Congregationalists have taken a considerable part and the conclusions reached so far may be taken to represent Congregational opinion generally. These include (1) mutual recognition of the various Christian bodies represented as churches in the full sense of the term. (2) Following upon this a declaration of the desirability of the interchange of pulpits and intercommunion under due authorization. (3) It is further indicated that ministers of any denomination may be authorized to exercise their ministry fully and freely in other denominations, such authorization, however, not to be regarded as re-ordination or as in any way reflecting upon their existing status as ministers of the Church of Christ. It may be taken for granted that these positions while generally accepted in the Free Churches are only likely to be acceptable to the more evangelical and broad church sections of the Church of England. In High Church circles there has of late been a considerable hardening in regard to the whole question of reunion, and the coming Lambeth Conference will have an exceedingly difficult task in its attempt to set forth the attitude of the Church of England as a whole in regard to the question. Meanwhile the way is being further prepared by the issue of certain volumes in which again Congregational writers have taken a considerable part. One of these entitled "Towards Reunion" is the direct outcome of the Mansfield College Conferences, and in it Dr. Forsyth writes on "Unity and Theology," Dr. Garvie on "The Reformed Episcopate," Dr. Vernon Bartlet on "Corporate Authority," and Dr. R. F. Horton on "The Holy Spirit in the Churches." The volume as a whole shows a very remarkable agreement in matters both of faith and order, but the writers are chiefly concerned to produce the spirit which is likely to make union effective rather than to frame any definite schemes for a reunited church.

Another book which has recently appeared is entitled "Pathways to Christian Unity," and is the joint production of six of the younger Free

Churchmen, two of whom are Congregationalists. This is a very strong plea for Christian unity of the broadest kind, and on the basis of one church including all the existing types of Church fellowship. The volume is important as indicating the temper of the younger men, particularly those who have been associated in the Free Church and Anglican fellowships, and it stands for a conception of unity through fellowship which certainly promises something for the future.

In all these discussions on the question of reunion one element of difficulty seems to have been left out of account and will need to be reckoned with before any practical steps can be taken. We refer to the question of Establishment. Congregationalists generally feel that union with an Established church is almost an impossibility. The difficulty has already made itself felt in the proposals for a union of the Presbyterian churches in Scotland, and it would be an even greater obstacle to a genuine union in this country. So far, however, the question has been shirked but it will need to be faced in the not very distant future.

In conclusion it may be said that Congregationalism in so far as by its organization, faith and worship it is bearing true witness to the element of liberty in religion will help to keep alive a spiritual conception of Christian unity. What Congregationalists are concerned for is a vital spiritual unity rather than uniformity of organization. It is quite true that in pursuing its own witness Congregationalism reveals its limitations, but these are no justification for showing that its meaning is exhausted and that its witness is no longer needed. Much has been made of late of the price paid by the Free Churches for their freedom, and it has sometimes been suggested that there is not now a sufficient reason for their existence to justify the cost of their maintenance. Congregationalists do not feel that this is true of their particular witness. They believe that they have something vital to contribute to the church of the future, but they are also prepared to work together with others who differ from them in matters of order and to realize that they too have their part to play in uniting the scattered elements of the church so that there shall be at last one flock and one Shepherd.

APPENDIX

THE POSITION IN SCOTLAND

In Scotland, Congregationalists are, as it were, strangers in a strange land. But their history and the story of their relations with the dominant Presbyterianism serve to illustrate in a striking manner the advantage accruing to them by their position of freedom. As in England, they have had a very decided influence on the movement towards greater Christian unity.

Demonstration of this is to be found in the alliance that took place in 1896 between the former Evangelical and Congregational Unions. That consummation was the result of many preliminary overtures and conversations on the part of their respective leaders, which arose out of the consciousness of near Kinship, not only in the matter of Church polity, but also in Christian thought and feeling.

The Union of 1896 finally came about when it was realized that the points of agreement between these two branches of the Church were far more numerous than the points of difference. It has proved harmonious and satisfactory in every way, thus setting an encouraging example to other denominations.

The subject of Union between Baptists and Congregationalists has often been referred to by members of both bodies, and the conviction has often been publicly expressed that there are strong reasons for a closer fellowship between the two.

With reference to the movement now on foot for the merging of the two great Presbyterian Churches of Scotland in one National Church, it has

to be said at the outset that there has been no official approach from either side (Presbyterian or Congregational) towards the discussion of the possibility of Congregationalists joining the proposed enlarged Church. The strong feeling against a State connection of any kind that prevails in the minds of many of our people, and of most of our ministers, has precluded any proceedings of a formal nature.

Certain of our ministers, however, have been members of an unofficial committee convened to consider the need and the practicability of a comprehensive Union of the Protestant Churches in Scotland, but there has been little outcome of the work of this Committee, other than the expression of pious opinions that such a thing is desirable.

Nevertheless it can be claimed that Congregationalism in Scotland has exerted a certain salutary influence in preparing the atmosphere that has brought the negotiations between the Established and U. F. churches of Scotland within the region of practical politics. Within recent memory there was a great gulf fixed between these two denominations. So long as the recollection of the great secession of the Free Church in 1843 was still keen, there lingered a decided antipathy between their members, both clerical and lay, if one may use the terms.

That a spirit of great toleration and charity ensued was, partly at least, owing to the presence and influence of Congregationalists throughout the land. Among the latter there was, on the whole, a broader outlook on the religious life, which while it emphasized the essentially spiritual foundation of the Church, deprecated the more formal superstructures sometimes raised thereon. With a democratic instinct which they considered born of the New Testament and the Spirit of Christ, they resented any of the priestly pretensions that were sometimes not unknown to Presbyterianism. During the nineties of last century, it was frequently remarked that Presbyterians were becoming more Congregational, and Congregationalists more Presbyterian, and not a little of this could be attributed to the more Catholic Spirit of Congregationalism, which while it was not above adopting leaves from the good books of others, had unfolded its own pages to some purpose.

Congregationalism, by exhibiting a Union of Christians without any creed or external authority, has all along set an example of Christian Unity in the Spirit. In illustration of this it may be mentioned that Dr. W. Lindsay Alexander (at that time the most influential Congregational preacher in Scotland) in 1842 preached a comprehensive and powerful Sermon on Christian Unity as distinct from a forced Uniformity, in the course of which he maintained that "where men are at one in the great essential doctrines of Christianity, they may differ in points of secondary moment, without any breach of Christian Unity necessarily existing."

As moving in the direction of union among the Churches, the work of the Rev. Robert Craig, D. D., should be mentioned. In the first place as a member of the Committee of "Educational Policy and Method" of Glasgow University Council, he moved in 1906 for the consideration of the question "Whether and upon what lines a closer union could be brought about between the Universities and the Theological Colleges with a view to the advancement of Theological learning."

An influential Committee, representative of various denominations, considered the matter and issued a favorable report. The scheme has not taken shape, but it was an important step in the direction of Unity, the aim of which may yet be realized.

Further, Dr. Craig was instrumental in bringing about a thorough revision of the Westminster Catechism, and the adoption in 1907 of a new Catechism, purged of much that was obsolete.

This work was accepted by ten Scottish Denominations, and was decidedly a step towards Unity.

Among our Ministers, there have been many others who have acted as

informal and perhaps unconscious mediators between their Presbyterian brethren of the various denominations. Often through their own personalities, — there were those among them of a robust type, men first, Ministers afterwards, — not infrequently through their scholarship, they were the means of cultivating fraternal intercourse among the Scottish Clergy. In many a town and village the Congregational Minister's study has been the diplomatic center where distinctions of creed and order were submerged, and men met as brethren on the level footing of their common humanity and their debt to Jesus Christ.

It is probably along this very line of Spiritual Catholicity and a greater elasticity of ecclesiastical activity that the influence of Congregationalism can best move in Scotland, and thus ensure that it play its proper part in forming the religious life of the community.

Rev. S. M. Berry

Rev. A. E. Garvie

Rev. W. B. Selbie

Rev. A. G. B. Sivewright

Rev. A. J. Viner

THE INTERNATIONAL OBLIGATIONS LAID UPON THE
CHURCH OF CHRIST BY PRESENT CONDITIONS AND
THE SPECIAL BEARING OF THESE UPON
CONGREGATIONALISM

MAJORITY REPORT

The relation of the Church to the State has always presented a difficult problem for solution to the leaders of the Church, to say nothing of the rulers of the State. It is a problem which arose in the time of Christ Himself: it was mooted by those who asked the Master whether it was lawful to pay tribute to Cæsar, or not. But though raised thus early in the Christian era, it is a problem which had not perplexed the conscience of antiquity. In the ancient world the distinction between religion and politics was unknown. The East was dominated by theocracies, such as Judaism, in which priesthoods were supreme over both sacred and secular affairs. The West developed monarchies, aristocracies and democracies in which the due worship of the gods was the function of governmental officials. Thus by one means or another unity was maintained, and the dualism of Church and State was avoided. But at the dawn of the Christian era this dualism was beginning to manifest itself, even apart from Christianity. For, on the one hand, Judaism, in common with other eastern theocracies, had passed under the yoke of the Roman Empire, so that the claims of the secular ruler were no longer determined by the priesthood, or coincident with the claims of God. On the other hand, the political religions of the Greek and Roman city states had ceased to satisfy the awakened consciences of the citizens of the Empire, and Oriental Cults, alien from the State, had begun to absorb the devotion of the Western World. It was Christianity, however, which first made the principle of dualism prominent. For not only did the new faith proclaim the doctrine of the separation of Church from State; it also organized itself into an independent Society which in cohesion and in strength soon became a formidable equal of the Roman Empire itself.

During the period of the continuance of the Empire of the Pagan Cæsars the relation of the Christian Church to the Roman State passed through four phases. (1) The primitive Church of Jerusalem, as founded by Christ and the Twelve, was indifferent to politics. It looked for the speedy end of the age, and regarded the affairs of secular society as of no importance. It rendered to Cæsar the things that were Cæsar's — paid taxes, recognized tribunals, obeyed governors — not only because to do so was a duty enjoined by Christ, but also because the things of Cæsar had no enduring value. (2) The Church of Antioch, as founded and developed by Paul, took up a different attitude. On the one hand Antioch was a great Roman city, and Paul a Roman citizen, proud of his imperial rank. On the other hand it became manifest that the Church of Jerusalem had committed itself to a false eschatology, that the end of the age was not so near as had been anticipated, and that the aloofness, improvidence, communism, and unproductiveness of the early believers could not be maintained without fatal consequences. As it was, far too much of Paul's time and energy had to be spent in collecting money to compensate for the miscalculations of the elect of the Holy City. Paul abandoned the early Christian position of indifference to politics. He recognized the authority of monarchs and magistrates; taught that in administering justice and enforcing law they were aiding the work of the Gospel, and enjoined obedience to their commands. He never hesitated, moreover,

to appeal to them for protection, when he found himself persecuted by unbelieving Jews. But all the same, clearly as he perceived the ideal harmony between Church and State, he never confused or confounded them. They were distinct organisms; they might become hostile to one another. In his own case indeed they did become hostile to one another, and he perished in the Neronian persecution. (3) The Church of Alexandria — associated with the names of Apollos, Clement, Origen, and permeated with Greek philosophy — became involved in an embittered controversy with the champions of official paganism which broke the Pauline harmony and led to a new alienation of the religious from the secular authority. But it was (4) the Latin Church of Carthage and later of Rome, led by such irreconcilable fanatics as Tertullian, which finally organized itself as the rival to the State and so brought down upon itself the great persecutions which resulted in the defeat of the State and the conversion of Constantine.

The conversion of Constantine in the fourth century of the Christian era signalized a reconciliation between Church and State of the oriental type. It meant the establishment of a new Eastern theocracy in the West. Constantine and his successors, it is true, strove to maintain the old Roman authority of the civil ruler over the priesthood. But ghostly influences were too strong for them and the Empire became the servant of the Papacy. Within half a century of the death of Constantine the Emperor Theodosius stood a suppliant before the stool of Ambrose, Bishop of Milan, and from Milan to Canossa the path was straight. By a subtle alchemy the Roman Empire was transmuted into the Catholic Church. The transmutation was not difficult; for the two institutions had much in common. They had been founded simultaneously and had grown up together; they embodied many of the same ideas. In particular both were cosmopolitan in their scope. In the Empire all distinctions of race, language, and creed were obliterated in a common citizenship. In the Church the differences which separated Jew from Gentile, bond from free, even male from female, were treated as insignificant as compared with the great unifying facts of the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man. The very genius of Christianity, indeed, was its "æquitas," its leveling of inequalities, its proclamation of the basic solidarity of the human race.

Throughout the Middle Ages, long after the Roman Empire had become a mere memory, the cosmopolitanism of the Church continued to hold the Western World together and to give a unity to Christendom. A common faith, a common language, a common law, common ecclesiastical institutions and religious orders, marked the whole vast system over which the Pope ruled from the Seven Hills whence the Cæsars had been extruded.

But during the Middle Ages and under the unwilling tutelage of the Church, new forces were accumulating which were destined to disrupt Christendom and to introduce a changed political order. These forces were national states and Macchiavellian monarchs. In those days of imperfect communications and prevailing ignorance the centrifugal impulses in the world proved to be stronger than the centripetal. The Latin language became differentiated into French, Spanish, Portuguese, Italian, etc.; national systems of law developed, even religious heresies became nationalized, and the Western World lost its appearance of unity. The climax came with the Reformation, when the establishment of sovereign, independent, National States was followed by that amazing anomaly, the formation of corresponding National Churches.

A National Church seems at first sight to be a mere contradiction in terms. For, as we have already seen, the very genius of Christianity consists in its obliteration of sectional distinctions, and its insistence on the solidarity of the human race — all of whose members are equally implicated in both the fall of Adam and the redemption of Christ. Catholic theologians and publicists, of course, have never ceased to protest against

the principle of nationality, and in particular to point out the absurdity of allowing it to intrude into the sphere of religion. And it must be admitted that the principle of nationality during the early centuries of its dominance was a principle of diabolic conflict and discord. It led to a series of unmitigated wars of aggression, to conquests, robberies, tyrannies, and persecutions. Only gradually by the growth of an international law, by the development of a Concert of Europe, and by the introduction of a system of mediation and arbitration were the excesses of national selfishness restrained.

In the nineteenth century, however, and particularly as the result of the teaching of Mazzini, it became evident that the principle of nationality was not necessarily a principle of strife, and that it could be reconciled with the cosmopolitan ideals of the Christian religion. Mazzini, while recognizing fully the unity of humanity, pointed out that national differences were real and fundamental, and contended that the happiest results would be attained, not by trying to eradicate them or by pretending to ignore them, but by using them in a vast scheme of world-wide co-operation. Each nation, he agreed, had its own particular contribution to make to the well-being of the whole, and it would be wise to allow it to do its work in its own way. He pleaded for national independence in the interests of mankind as a whole. In England, Mr. C. H. Pearson did the same in his notable *National Life and Character*. On these lines it seems to be possible for Christian publicists to recognize the principle of nationality. They must, however, always emphasize the view that the sole excuse for national distinctions in the eye of faith is that they make practicable a more effective co-operation of all in the interests of the human race as a unity.

Since the great war, and the changing social order which it has produced, the obligations which rest upon the Church of Christ present themselves in a new and more challenging form. The creation of National Churches was not only an anomaly. Their outlook tended to limit and affect their teaching, and the true scope of the Christian ideal of the relationship in which men of all nations stand, in the sight of God, towards each other became limited and obscured. It is true that the Church proclaimed the Brotherhood of all men, but in the international realm the truth received an interpretation which fell short of the requirements of the case. Through the long struggle of labor for greater recognition and better conditions, the Church proclaimed with increasing clearness and boldness the Fatherhood of God and the common Brotherhood of all men. It may be urged the time was not ripe for any great emphasis being placed upon the application of the same truths to the needs of the world at large. In any event, Christ's conception of the world as a family never really caught the imagination of men. Then the war came. Out of all the cruelty, and horror, and destruction which marked that great struggle a new vision came to mankind. It was seen that civilization, from which so much was hoped, might contain within itself the seeds of its own destruction, and that, if based on national selfishness, it was doomed to disappear. It was seen that the old conception of the relationship of one nation to the other nations of the world would inevitably lead to continued rivalry and competition or mutual distrust. It was felt that international relations needed to be altered and fundamentally changed. The League of Nations came into being. It was due, not so much to the teaching of the Church, as to the lessons of the war, and to the recognition by practical statesmen that it was essential for the promotion of international justice, and as a necessary security for the future peace of the world.

With the formation of the League of Nations Christendom is faced with a great opportunity. If the League is to succeed in the great task which confronts it, there can be no question it must have the good-will and the whole-hearted support of the Christian nations of the world. It must find its true sanction in the teaching of Christ. At a time when patriotism

never shone with greater splendor, men must be taught that "Patriotism is not enough" and nations must learn that their true welfare lies not in the assertion of claims, but in the recognition of rights and a readiness to subordinate all interests to the over-ruling interests of the race at large. May the Church in this great crisis rise to the height of her great mission, and disenthralled from all narrow and merely national influences recover the true, deep, universal note of her Divine Founder and Lord.

It is probable that the vast modern improvement in the means of communication, the spread of education, the rapid reduction in the number of the languages of mankind, and other similar influences will tend to lessen the importance of nationality in the near future, and will allow the unifying forces once more to operate. But, unfortunately, it also seems probable that as the principle of political separation grows weaker, the principle of class separation will grow stronger. Many unhappy signs portend the division of mankind once more upon the horizontal lines of social order or caste.

It will be necessary for the leaders of Christian thought to emphasize against advocates of the Class War, as resolutely as against the advocates of national militarism, the truth of the solidarity of mankind, and the universalism of the religion of the Redeemer.

Congregationalism is peculiarly well qualified, and especially well situated, to emphasize the importance of International Co-operation and of National Unity. For on the one hand Congregationalism has remained true to that vital principle of the separation of Church from State which was the primary contribution of Christianity to the political ideas of the world. And, on the other hand, it has always maintained and exemplified the practice of democratic self-government based on the fundamental equality of all believers. Hence it stands aside from, and above, all merely national and class distinctions, and it is able with force and with consistency to advocate the claims of the League of Nations in the affairs of the World, and the claims of National Unity and Constitutional Government in the affairs of the Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland.

J. G. Hurst.

F. J. C. Hearnshaw.

MINORITY REPORT

The Church, — from a Congregational point of view, — may be described as a group (large or small; world-wide or local) of Christian disciples, bound by a common devotion to Christ as Head of the Church, and organized for common worship and common service in His Name. As such, the Church ideally is what Paul affirms it to be, — "the Body of Christ"; that is, the executive of His Will and Purpose here on earth. So Jesus Himself intended; — "Whatsoever ye bind on earth shall be bound in heaven, and whatsoever ye shall loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven."

The prime function of the Church, therefore, is to embody Christ's life; and this not in any vague, mystical sense, but precisely in the sense in which the body of Jesus here on earth was a visible expression of the Divine Spirit thus incarnate. The doctrine of the Church thus carries on the doctrine of the Incarnation; — Christ is to be socially incarnate in His church, and the measure of the church's success or failure, — judged by the highest canons, — is the degree in which this social Incarnation is realized. Put the same idea in terms of the Kingdom of God, and the Church is called to realize in her internal economy, — here and now, with the world as it is, — the essential conditions of the Kingdom of Heaven on earth.

For instance, — there is much disputation as to whether or not the Sermon on the Mount is practicable in the world as it is; but if the

Church's function is to be "the Body of Christ" there can be no question that the Christian ethic should be the order of every relationship within the Christian Fellowship. "Let your speech be yea, yea; nay, nay"; "If a man smite thee on the one cheek, turn to him the other also"; "Resist not him that is evil"; "Judge not"; "Forgive"; "He that would be great among you, let him be your servant"; and to these may be added Pauline or other dicta which are obviously a reflection of the Christ-spirit, — "If thine enemy hunger, feed him; — be not overcome of evil, but overcome evil with good"; "Bless them that persecute you; bless and curse not." Such injunctions obviously invert the order of the world's normal practice; but unless the Church is to be equated with a public meeting or a social club, all such injunctions and all others which have the sanction of Christ Himself, are binding upon the Church as her invariable rule and practice, whatever may be the case with a world whose life is today organized upon a sub-Christian basis. Whatever world-conditions may be, therefore, the Church must prove herself a true "Ecclesia," — "called out" from the world in order that she may be the social incarnation of the Christ, whose "Body" she is intended to be.

It is easy to see that from this position there may arise at times a conflict of loyalties, — the world-kingsdoms demanding one course of action, and the Kingdom of God another. In the history of the Church this has often spelt persecution; and the possibility of such situation again arising is not so remote as perhaps seems at first sight. Be that as it may, the obvious reaction of the Christian disciple in such a dilemma is to prefer the higher loyalty, whatever the cost to himself, to the church, or to the community of which he is a member. We are to "render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's," but never to the prejudice of "rendering unto God the things that are God's." Without fidelity to such a principle, historic Congregationalism could never have come into being.

It is in thus fulfilling her function as "the Body of Christ," and in resolving the dilemma of divided loyalties, that the International obligations laid upon the Church of Christ come into view, — "In Christ Jesus, there is neither Greek nor Jew, bond nor free, male nor female; but all are one." As applied to our subject, such a position obviously means that within the Fellowship of the Church, there must be a unity transcending all distinctions of nationality, race, sex, or social position; and if the Church is to be true to her Master, that unity must persist, even when all other links snap asunder. To confine ourselves to the international sphere, it is obvious that war is the great divider; it breaks in upon the ordered harmony of the world's life, separating men and peoples into arbitrary categories of "Enemy" and "Allies," foe and friend. And in that sense, war is the great challenge to the "Body of Christ" to preserve its unity, its fellowship, its intercourse, with fellow-members of the same body the world over, despite the prohibitions and penalties of governments who decree war and enmity between the peoples; if the unity of Christ's "Body" transcends all earthly distinctions, then to endorse the act of war as between members of that body is to admit that Christ is divided, and that in Him there are distinctions of nationality which cut deeper than Christian fellowship. In a word, the "International Obligation of the Church of Christ" is to assert, — without qualification, — her international fellowship in Him, through Whom national distinctions are merged in a Human unity.

Such assertion must inevitably bring the Church under the ban of states at war; and members of her fellowship under the war-time charge of "communicating with the enemy," or even — as with the Church's Head, — under the charge of high treason. But how can the unity of Christ's Body ever be asserted as more than a pious unmeaning dogma, except it be asserted in the teeth of political prohibitions? "We ought to obey God rather than men." In fact, there could be no more effective restraint upon the hand of war than the knowledge that the church, in loyalty to

her Lord, would defy — so far as in her power lay, — the mass-enmities which overrode her own spiritual unity with Christ's disciples everywhere. War is possible because statesmen can rely upon the peoples to accept certain others as their "official" enemies; let it be known that the Church will never acquiesce in this mechanical and wholesale breach of Fellowship, and statesmen will have to reckon with an international unity which would go far to paralyze the hand of war. In this sense, the Church has it in her power to take the lead in the abolition of war, without waiting for political enactments and guarantees of a semi-material kind, beloved of statesmen and men of the world.

But the function of the Church does not end with seeking to embody Christ's life in herself. In the Christian economy, "*to have*" carries with it the obligation "*to bestow*"; we get as we give; "freely we have received, freely we must give." Hence, the further obligation of the Church is to mediate to the world about her the life she has received from Christ; she cannot show her love for God unless she show her love for her neighbor. As a social incarnation of Christ, the Church is called to be a microcosm of the world-that-is-to-be; and her mission, therefore, is to persuade the world to accept that same economy of fellowship in Christ which governs, — or should govern, — her own life. She commends what she embodies, and she should seek to embody what she desires to commend.

This can be done in two ways: by life and by lips; by the preaching of the Gospel, and by fidelity to that Gospel on the part of Christian people. It need hardly be said that the Gospel must be commended without compromise or qualification. A hard, heroic Gospel, as a matter of fact, is far more likely to attract and win the allegiance of men than a Gospel (if indeed Gospel it can be called) which accommodates itself to the passing crisis, and treats the Sermon on the Mount as a "scrap of paper," whenever it becomes dangerous or politically inexpedient to apply it seriously. Unless members of Christ's Church, — whether from the pulpit, or out of it, — treat the Christian ethic as something designed to lead a distracted world out of darkness into light, it is little use expecting the world of high politics and foreign affairs to treat it as anything more than impracticable idealism. The great need of the moment therefore, — especially in view of the menacing condition of both the international and the social situation, — is Christian propaganda; and then the support of that propaganda by the life and witness of every son and daughter of the Church.

Here Congregationalism has a special opportunity; for it is its genius to encourage the pioneer, alike in thought and in action; and pioneering may be necessary in applying the Christian message to an unparalleled international situation. No other denomination can so confidently support those who would conquer new realms for Christ; for if He be "where two or three are gathered in His name," then we may rely upon His Spirit to prove the witness of those who go forth for Him. No denomination can act except within its own principles and specific witness; it would be idle for instance to expect Rome to disavow authoritarian methods in the propagation of the Faith; but precisely otherwise with Congregationalism. "Liberty in Christ" is our watchword; (which is not to be confounded with that libertarianism which swings loose from its Christian anchor, and mistakes freedom *from* Christ for freedom *in* Him). In the exercise of this liberty therefore, every essay of thought and action which is centered in Christ is to be welcomed; with Him as centre, our circumference is wide as the universe. Hence Congregationalism and tolerance are synonymous terms: there is no place within our polity for coercion or persecution. Our method of propaganda, therefore, is limited to persuasion: — the persuasion of reasonable words; and, — with this, — the persuasion of attractive lives, commending as an incarnate ethic the thing we believe; and so mediating Christ's life to the world.

This memorandum is confined to the "international obligations of the

Church of Christ"; and at this point therefore the mediation of Christ's life to the international world can be dealt with suitably by naming in order certain of the leading international problems that claim the attention of the Church.

These various problems can be grouped under two heads: those associated with War and Preparation for War, and those associated with Statecraft and Policy.

1. *War and Preparation for War.*

It needs but a glance at the dire condition of Europe today in order to justify the statement that the problem of war must be solved, or civilization will perish. Science is not yet at the end of its resources, and when these are dedicated to the task of destruction, the possibilities of world-woe cannot be estimated.

But it is not on the material plane that the chief damage lies, vast and terrible as is that aspect of war. Between the *Ideals* of a state which goes to war, and the *Ideals* of the Christian religion, there may be the closest harmony; but between the *Methods* of war and the *Method* of Christ, there is an absolute and irreconcilable opposition. And if the world is to be saved from itself, to declare this opposition without fear or qualification must be one of the prime international obligations of the Church of Christ.

It is necessary to safeguard my meaning here by two observations:—First, this insistence upon the "great gulf" between the way of Christ and the way of war does not imply wholesale condemnation of a world which, — living as it does on a sub-Christian level, — knows no other method in an acute international crisis than an appeal to arms; right and duty are always relative to the person or persons concerned; and the world is therefore to be commended in so far as, in waging war or maintaining preparation for war, it is true to the highest it has seen. Secondly: still less can stress upon opposition between Christ and war reflect upon or detract from the wonderful and heroic response made by the youth of every land, in time of national distress. Though the response takes the form of military service, it has the approval of conscience, — and to that intent, of Christ, Himself, — and when duty is sealed by the ultimate sacrifice of which man is capable, — or by willingness to make it, — one is overwhelmed by the devotion of which human nature is capable.

Nevertheless, in fidelity to those who fought "to end war," no less than in the interests of posterity, care must be taken not to confuse things that differ. The slave-holder of former days was often — according to his lights — a Christian gentleman of sterling character; yet today — with fuller light — we adjudge him mistaken, and his conscience uneducated to the full standard of the Son of Man. So with war, and preparation for war. The fact that the world hitherto has known no better way is no reproach. The reproach, — if one attaches anywhere, — belongs to the Church, not to the world; for while the world, in waging a war motivated by high ideals, has been true to the best it knew, the Church has failed to make known the better way in Christ Jesus.

To make known that better way is now her supreme international task, if she would seize the passing opportunity and point a war-weary world to the way of peace. The opposition between the way of Christ and the way of war can be stated in antitheses; thus, — In conflict with an enemy, the world seeks to win the battle; Jesus seeks to win the enemy; and then there can be no battle. The world endeavors to prevent an evil act, but it leaves the evil will untouched; Jesus endeavors to transform the evil will from which all evil acts proceed; and so abolishes the evil act itself. The world fights its enemies; Jesus loves them. The world opposes its will to the will of evil men; Jesus allows evil men to work their will freely upon Him; yet not in mere "non-resistance," but actively returning good

for their evil, and love for their hate, in the confidence that His persistent Love must in the end awake a response in the evil doer and so save him from his sin. This is the way of the Cross, and, according to our Christian faith, it is the only way of the world's redemption. It is possible to equate elements in the Cross, — its sacrifice, its heroism, its patience, its suffering, — with elements on the battlefield; but in fundamental method there is one grand difference, — on the Cross, Jesus died for His enemies; but on the battlefield, the soldier, — if he be a good soldier, — must invert this principle; Christianity does not shrink from bloodshed; but it is the blood of the Redeemer, never the blood of the enemy.

Despite much war-time rhetoric, these antitheses stand as indicating the Christian alternative to war. It can be summed up in the great, — and frequently misunderstood, — word, — "LOVE." The Church, that is to say, must oppose the dangers of war, not by advocating a policy of passivity, but by calling men to the greater risks of a life of Christian Love. The fact has to be frankly faced that this means a refusal to engage in the act of war, or to endorse the piling up of armaments. Indeed, in prosecuting such a ministry, the Church and her members may have to become outlaws, under the ban of the State at war; but this would be but to follow their Master, "the despised and rejected" of men.

Yet, in so suffering, the Church would effectively serve, — and might save, — the world. "A war to end war" has so far not issued in any diminution of warlike preparations; and famous generals and admirals are already speaking of "the next war." And this is likely to be in due course, unless, in the meantime, the Christian Church cuts the nerve of war by placing it under the interdict of the Christian conscience as completely as it has placed chattel-slavery or gladiatorial contests. The strongest of all protections against any iniquity is moral opposition; and in respect of the iniquity of war, this is especially the Church's responsibility.

We shall delude ourselves if we imagine that this can be done easily or cheaply. The way of the world's redemption is the way of the Cross; and it may have to come to that before the world is redeemed from the curse of war. Timidity and compromise will never avail; an emasculated Gospel will not save; Christ crucified must be proclaimed as the way of international salvation, and men and nations must be called to that greater heroism which dares, for Christ's sake, to be faithful to the Prince of Peace even when the embattled kingdoms of the world prepare for conflict.

The international obligation of the Church of Christ in this matter has never been put more effectively than by one whose name is intimately associated with the International Congregational Council, the late Dr. Alexander Mackennal, and I close this section with his words, uttered from the platform of the Free Church Council at the beginning of this century:

"The hardest lesson we have to learn is that a nation which would fulfil the perfect law of Christ may have to give its life for its testimony. For many years the thought has pressed upon me that, if England is to fulfil her noblest destiny, she may be called to be a sacrificial nation; and I have had the dream that the sacrifice might be in the cause of Peace. If England, in the plenitude of her power, should lay down every weapon of a carnal warfare, disband her armies, call her fleets from the seas, throw open her ports, and trust for her continued existence only to the service she could render to the world and the testimony she would bear to Christ, what would happen?

"I know not. . . . It might be that Christ . . . would declare that the purpose of such a sacrifice would be sufficient, that the example would be enough, and that the nation would continue to be, living and strong in the gratitude of all peoples.

"But if otherwise, what then? Such a martyrdom would quicken the conscience of the world. . . . And of one thing I am sure, — so long as the vision of a nation martyred for Christ's sake appears absurd and impossible,

there will never be a Christian nation. This also, I believe, that until our advocates of Peace apprehend that such a martyrdom may be within the counsel of God, their advocacy will lack its final inspiration and its victorious appeal."

Here is an alternative to war that demands all the heroism of battle, and which yet has within it all the saving efficacy of the Cross. And that Gospel the Church must preach, if she would fulfil her international obligations in Christ.

2. *Statecraft and Policy*

The Church can only mediate Christ's life in this realm in the measure that she expresses and seeks to realize the will of her Master in regard to all matters of international relationship. But in so doing, she needs to beware of herself entering the political arena or using the accepted devices of the diplomatic and political world; otherwise, she very quickly loses her specific character, and is easily confounded with agencies of a purely political nature. Christ's life, however, can never be mediated except with the consent of those to whom it is given; and thus the Church's method must necessarily be that of commendation and persuasion; never that of coercion, or the forcing of Christ's will upon an unwilling world.

Her international obligations, therefore, in respect of statecraft and policy are fulfilled when she inculcates in the people the habit of a Christian judgment in "foreign affairs." This habit is not as yet conspicuous in any people, nor even, — in political concerns, — among members of the Church; the tendency all too largely has been and is for members of the church to hold judgments which are dictated by political or national considerations, rather than by a concern first and always for "the Kingdom of God and His righteousness." This of course is due to the often unconscious "pull" of the patriotic impulse; and so long as the interests of one's country and those of Christ's Kingdom coincide, all is well. It was so, for instance, in regard to the abolition of slavery in the British dominions. But, with the growing complexity and extent of foreign policy, such coincidence cannot be taken for granted; and there is need therefore for the deliberate cultivation of that approach to the problems of international life which shall seek out and express Christ's will, irrespective of purely national interests.

For example, one notices a disposition to accept as an axiomatic Christian principle the idea of "self-determination," as applied recently to several of the newly liberated nationalities of southeastern Europe. I have even heard it pleaded that here we are in touch with something which reflects the very genius of Congregationalism. But while self-determination as a political ideal undoubtedly does not run counter to the principles of Independency, yet is it not true to say that it falls very far short of our ideal? The claim, at any rate, among Congregational churches is not for "self-determination," but for determination by submission to the will of Christ, sincerely sought in and by the Christian assembly. It surely follows therefore that the special witness of Congregationalism in this matter is to press upon the world something far more radical than the "self-determination" with which we are familiar in the realm of politics. It is a Christian judgment that is needed if the new "self-determined" states are to take their place in that world-unity for which Christianity stands.

So in regard to every aspect of international policy. The idea of a League of Nations is rightly claiming the attention just now of all who have more than a parochial outlook upon life; and nothing is more important than a Christian judgment, both in regard to the idea and in regard to its execution in practical politics. What is to be the ideal aimed at in a League of Nations? — a world in which the nations *cannot sin*, because

Peace is "enforced" by the methods of warfare? or a world in which *none* *wants* to sin, because the League is based upon mutual good-will and the peoples involved are moved in their international life by the endeavor to realize the will of Christ? It needs little acquaintance with foreign politics to predict that the former ideal will break, — sooner or later, — under the insurgence of human nature; and that the latter ideal therefore is one behind which the Church is called to place the weight of her witness. Moreover, it is possible for the Church to urge the latter ideal upon the nations without in any way compromising her witness to the way of Love in Jesus Christ. The former ideal may be the utmost that a sub-Christian world can for the time being achieve; and to that extent it is to be welcomed as an advance upon unlimited national rivalries. But a truly Christian judgment will not rest in the merely possible; it will stand for the impossible, in the confidence that in no other way can God bring that impossible to pass.

To sum up. The Church's task is twofold: — to embody Christ's life, and to mediate Christ's life. In doing this, she is inevitably faced with international obligations, since Christ knows neither nationality, race, color, or diversity of language; in Him, all are one. But the Church's obligations are not those of the world-states of today; she transcends political divisions; her children are found under every flag, and wherever found, their supreme allegiance is to the Church's Divine Head. Fidelity to Him, at whatever cost and whatever the consequence, is the only proof of the embodiment of His life, whether in the Church or in the individual. And His life can only be mediated to the world as the Church and her children, jointly and severally, embody what they commend; and so urge upon men and women everywhere an unflinching and willing obedience to the way of the Master.

Rev. Leyton Richards

THE CHURCH IN ITS RELATION TO YOUTH

I

In one of William Bradford's recollections of the Church at Amsterdam, with which John Robinson and the refugees from Scrooby were first associated, there is a characteristic picture of an old deaconess, who "honored her place and was an ornament to the congregation. She usually sat in a convenient place in the congregation, with a little birchen rod in her hand, and kept little children in great awe from disturbing the congregation." This worthy lady, recalled by Bradford with such evident relish, might almost be taken as a symbol of the attitude of the church to the child, not only in the Puritan period, but even in the early days of the Nineteenth Century.

FROM THE SEVENTEENTH TO THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

In the growth of the Church which succeeded the years of the Revolution no assured place was accorded to the child. The Christian family was exhorted to bring up its children in the nurture and admonition of the Lord, and the home was the center of such religious teaching as they received. The pastor on the occasion of his visitation might catechize them, but the Church as an organized body took no responsibility for the Christian training of the young such as we recognize today. It is a sad illustration of the Church's sense of the trust it held in the childhood of the nation that, when the industrial revolution at the end of the eighteenth century led to the appalling exploitation of child labor, it raised no united and emphatic voice against that blot upon the beginning of our modern prosperity.

It was only in the beginning of the nineteenth century that this practical neglect began to give place to an uneasy sense of responsibility, which, however, carried with it little comprehension of the needs of the child. The Church did what it deemed good for the children with but slight regard to what was best. The time for studying the nature of the child, and considering the question of its religious education from its own point of view, was not yet.

While these generalizations are broadly true, there were both individuals and communities which felt and tried to realize a deeper Christian responsibility toward the child. The eighteenth century saw the beginning of the Sunday School movement under the inspiration of Robert Raikes, and it is to the credit of some of our Independent churches that they were among the first to perceive the worth of the idea and to avail themselves of it.

Still the early development of the Sunday School was the product of individual effort rather than of corporate action. There are some trust deeds in the churches of this initial period which, by prohibiting the establishment of a school, show their definite hostility to the movement. In some cases the attitude of the church as such was barely permissive; no close union with the church to which the zealous promoter belonged being sought, and no responsibility being taken by it. One unhappy result of this was that in certain districts the school grew up as an agency quite separate from the church, even while relying upon its adherents for the supply of teachers and financial support. Honor must also be done to the churches which speedily recognized and welcomed the work begun by devoted men and women, as an enterprise which would prove an ally of no small importance to the church.

It was, however, inevitable that, as the result of its dependence upon individual initiative at the start, the growth of the Sunday School was casual and spasmodic. Many years elapsed before it took its right place as an integral part of the Church, indissolubly linked with its activities.

AT THE BEGINNING OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

The latter part of the nineteenth century saw indifference and lack of comprehension gradually giving way to the earnest desire to gain some knowledge of the working of the child's mind, to learn the art of stooping to where the child was, ceasing to expect the experiences of adult life in youth. Those of us who passed through Sunday Schools in the last two decades of the past century carry with us memories of the devotion and patience of teachers we are not likely to forget. Such acknowledgment may be made fully and gratefully, even when we add that the beginning of the twentieth century marks a development of Sunday-school work more important than anything in its previous history.

THE DEVELOPMENT IN CONGREGATIONALISM

It was not till early in the present century that the need for reform in the Sunday School, if it was to keep pace with the growing educational development of the country, became widely evident. One indication of the feeling of this is the fact that in the year 1906, the Congregational Union, which some time before had begun to include annual statistics of scholars and teachers in its Year-Book, sanctioned an exhaustive enquiry into the condition and efficiency of its Sunday Schools. This was effectively carried out by the Rev. W. Melville Harris, M.A., and the results embodied in a volume entitled "Our Sunday Schools: as they are and as they may become."

The consequences of this survey, with its estimate of the numerical strength and relative efficiency of our schools, have been far-reaching. The necessity that Church and School should be drawn into closer association was one of the things which the enquiry made abundantly evident, and some of the recommendations of the editor are increasingly in operation. It is now very generally the custom that the appointment of a school superintendent should be ratified by the church meeting. It is not so widely true that the superintendent, as such, is a member of the diaconate, though in practice he often holds both offices. The custom of holding some service of dedication for teachers is increasing.

THE FORMATION OF THE YOUNG PEOPLE'S DEPARTMENT

The most important result, however, of this enquiry was the formation in 1908 of a Young People's Department, one of its express aims being to make the Sunday School more valuable both to the scholars themselves and also to the church by the advocacy of carefully considered reforms. In the elaboration of the machinery for its work the department has secured the appointment of county committees for work among the young. From the members of these, as far as possible, the central council of the department is formed, and has done splendid work during the past twelve years by making itself a bureau for advice and counsel in all branches of young people's work. It has sent out speakers on the subject of Sunday School reform, it has been ready to give expert advice with regard to building and equipment, and has organized study circles and examinations on subjects germane to Congregationalism, for which the necessary text-books have been provided. The county committees also, as links between the central organization and the individual churches, have done in many cases fine and effective work in carrying out the plans of the department, and rallying the young life of their districts.

THE GRADED SUNDAY SCHOOL

But by far the most significant work of the department has been its advocacy of the Graded School. We owe a profound debt of gratitude to Mr. G. Hamilton Archibald, who, under the auspices of the National Sunday School Union, some twelve years ago familiarized us by his lucid exposition and indefatigable enthusiasm with the principles of the graded school. The idea, startling at first, soon began to capture the imagination of those most concerned with the development of young people's work. The Primary Department has won wide adoption, and that first step in grading is leading inevitably to an increasing demand for Junior and Intermediate departments; since experience shows that children coming up from a well-conducted primary do not settle easily into the old ungraded main school.

FURTHER CONSEQUENCES OF THE GRADED SCHOOL

Mr. Archibald's advocacy of this system soon led to other important results. It became evident that the supreme need of the movement was trained leaders, and to meet it Westhill Training College was opened, largely through the enlightened interest of the Cadbury family. Associated as it now is with the Woodbrooke Settlement and the allied educational and missionary institutions which are at work there, its scope and usefulness are continually developing. Beginning with the training of women students, both for full Froebel certificates and also by shorter courses in the best methods of school and social work among the young, it is now extending the same opportunities to men. Among its most recent features are courses of training for Band of Hope workers, and, during the preparation of this report, an interesting appeal has been received to provide training for Indian ladies, who may be able themselves on their return to India to train other leaders for work among native children.

THE QUESTION OF THE LESSON COURSES

The development of the graded-school organization immediately affected the Lesson Courses, rendering the old international or uniform lessons unacceptable to workers in the graded school. The result has been that the Lessons Committee of the Sunday School Union has been enlarged and reorganized on a wider basis, so as to include representatives of all the principal denominations. The work is done through a series of sectional committees; and with the commencement of the present year the British Lessons were placed upon a graded basis, the Junior topics, with simplified lesson material, being assigned for use as the uniform lesson in those schools which are not yet graded.

In both the developments last referred to, Congregationalists have taken a prominent part, and the Lessons Council in particular owes much to the wise and skilful chairmanship of Principal Garvie of New College.

WEEKLY ACTIVITIES

This brief review of the past progress and present state of work among the young cannot be closed without some reference to the advance that has been made in week-day activities. During the last half century there have been a number of movements within the church, designed to draw out the talents and latent powers of youth. The Mutual Improvement Society and other kindred organizations, which flourished in the early days of the present writer, were followed by the advent of the Christian Endeavor movement to this country, about the same time that the idea of the Young People's Guild was being conceived here. The Endeavor found on the whole the readier reception, and ran for a time with great success. But of late years many churches seem to have found something wanting in it,

chiefly perhaps a failure to meet the more robust and intellectually alert needs of the modern youth; and in consequence there have sprung up in many places composite societies, having some of the features of both Endeavor and Guild.

In the past few years, too, some use has been made of Study Circles. It is not possible to claim that they have had a wide, popular success. But on the Missionary side at least, both in conjunction with the summer schools, and also when they have been used as preparatory to the organization of a missionary exhibition or pageant, they have done valuable intensive work. We have seen, too, interesting developments along this line, when a well-run teachers' preparation class has been tempted to extend its studies beyond the practical necessities of its work. We are convinced that the methods of the Study Circle have in them elements of real and permanent value, and that, with whatever modifications experience may suggest, we shall have to make further use of them in our attempts to cultivate right thinking on the great issues of life among our senior young people.

For the younger members of the school there was for some years little effective week-day organization with the exception of the Band of Hope. But the need of it was always there, as is witnessed by the success which in recent years such movements as the Boys' Brigade, the Boys' and Girls' Life Brigades, the Girl Guides, the Camp Fire Girls, the Home Fire Girls, and the Boy Scouts have found. They are all capable of such excellent service that it is not necessary to judge between them. They have their distinctive features and merits, and there is evidence that in practice they learn from and modify one another. The special merit of the Boys' Brigade is its maintenance of the religious element, the Bible Class being an essential part of its scheme. Of the Scout movement a widely experienced member of the commission says, "it fits boy nature as a glove fits the hand, and its special merit is that it works from within outward, and not, as other organizations frequently do, by a discipline that seeks to control the spirit by external methods." The recent amalgamation of the Scouts with the Boys' Life Brigade is one from which mutual gain is likely to accrue.

PUBLIC WORSHIP AND CHURCH MEMBERSHIP

This section of the report could not be properly closed without some reference to such endeavors as have been made to familiarize young people with the habit of public worship in the church, and to lead up toward the goal of our whole work, the winning of them for Christ and the membership of His Church.

Some time ago Sir W. Robertson Nicol popularized the idea of a League of Young Worshipers, and its simple organization has been found effective in churches which have adopted it in bringing an increased number of children into the worship of the church on Sunday orning.

The conviction has grown in strength, in proportion as Sunday-school work has improved in its methods, that the question of church membership needs to be dealt with in a more carefully planned way. The minister's class preparatory to church membership is now a recognized institution in most of our churches, consisting generally of a course of four or five meetings, to which young people who are ready for this important step are invited, and in which the conditions, principles, privileges, and obligations of membership are expounded. And now there is an increasing sense that it should be made possible for our young people to be brought into real association with the church at an earlier age than that at which full participation in the responsibilities of membership is desirable. Some years ago the Rev. Albert Swift sketched out the idea of the Christian Band; and, quite recently, a kindred conception has been admirably worked out, and to some extent experimented with, in the Rev. Luke Beaumont's scheme

of the Graded Church. Further reference to these aspects of our work will be found at a later stage of the report, as they still belong rather to the range of things to be attempted than that of things actually achieved.

II

THE PRESENT PROBLEM AND THE FUTURE OUTLOOK

From this survey of work which has either been accomplished or initiated during the past half century, we turn to face the problems of the present with grateful recognition of these bygone labors. There is hardly any aspect of the task which yet lies before us, to which some valuable contribution has not already been made, and the experiments of the last two generations, in both their failures and successes, are worth much to us. Others have labored, and we have entered into their labors. Beyond everything else they have helped to create and stimulate a large body of earnest workers, mostly emancipated from older traditions, and eager for fresh adventures in the attempt to win and keep the youth of our day. It is, therefore, with the hope and courage born of great indebtedness that we turn to face an outlook which still bristles with difficult and perplexing problems.

THE PROBLEM OF DECLINING MEMBERSHIP

Whatever advance has been made, the factors which complicate our task and the hindrances which beset it have kept pace with our progress. We are yet facing that declining membership in the Sunday schools of the country which has been evident over a number of years past, the chief leakage being among the seniors, and in a lesser degree from the intermediate side of the school. In considering the gravity of this fact we must remember that we are not concerned merely with the net decrease when fresh additions at the other end of the school have been subtracted. We cannot strike a balance between gains and losses when the lives of the children are concerned. Indeed the fact that we are still receiving new scholars into the primary and junior departments of the school only lends a keener urgency to the tragedy of their loss in the adolescent years.

THE CAUSES OF DECLINE

The causes of this decline are variously sought. Many of our children come from homes which have no other point of contact with the church than through them, or whose religious observances are of the most casual and incidental kind. It is not to be wondered at, therefore, that in the restless years when youth is reaching up to manhood and womanhood the home has no convincing authority, even if it cared enough to try to exercise it, by which to bind the children to the school. The parental example of indifference to religion is unfortunately the strongest support of the growing girl's and boy's opinion that they are now too big for Sunday School.

This fatally easy tendency to slip away is aided by the growing laxity of Sabbath observance which prevails, and the multitude of counter attractions, not only on the Sunday afternoon, but generally through the life of the week. The church is surrounded today by a host of competitors for the interest of the young people, competitors who are not always guided by scrupulous consideration of what is healthy and helpful for them. The young folk themselves have today more leisure and more money than they have ever enjoyed; and, faced with prodigal attractions of pleasure, the danger of the waste and dissipation of their lives is very great. This tendency has certainly been exaggerated by the war. Many of them have come much earlier to a position of economic independence, earning wages quite out of proportion to their sense of the value of money, and living during the war period under conditions which have tended to loose yet more completely the already shaken authority of the home. The hosts of

young people who were taken from school at too early an age, and whose education for life has been continued in the rough experience of munition works, present serious problems; and the general slackening of moral fibre through years of war makes all forms of educational and Christian work at the moment extremely heavy and difficult.

OUR OWN DEFECTS

Such facts as these would make the task of dealing with the declining numbers in the schools difficult, even if our organization were efficient at all points. But our examination of the causes of decline cannot be considered complete without some judgment of our own weaknesses. It is still true, despite the fine work of the past two decades, that there are Sunday Schools which are very inefficient, and that, even where the attempt has been made to bring them into line with modern requirements and newer methods, many have yet to face grave problems rising from the need of better equipment, trained leadership, and a staff of competent and able teachers.

There is no doubt that our work is suffering in many ways from in-adaptable premises and inadequate equipment. While the educational equipment of the state is steadily improving, some of our schools are still lamentably deficient. The furniture is meagre and bare, and if any attempt is made at the adornment of the rooms with pictures, they are frequently of an antiquated, poor, and even fantastic quality, in striking contrast with the excellent prints which are to be found in growing numbers on the walls of the day school. Of recent years it is true that we have seen some admirably planned and finely furnished schools erected, but speaking generally our churches have yet, as is emphasized in the next section, to adjust themselves to the larger demands created by the new conceptions which have been reshaping the ideals of Sunday-school work during the past ten or twenty years.

But more critical than the material conditions of the work is the question of leadership and competent teaching. The development of the graded school has drawn into the primary and junior departments a very fine type of worker. The earnestness, devotion and study which some of our younger women are giving to this task marks a real advance, and is full of promise for the future. But the difficulty of securing equally able teachers for intermediate scholars remains a very considerable one, and we have all too few who are at once able and willing to become leaders of our senior boys and girls.

THE NEED FOR THE CHURCH'S GREATER CONCERN

This may lead us to say that the most urgent need of the hour is the arousal of the Church, as a church, to a full and intelligent responsibility for the religious life of its younger people. It must see that a merely sporadic interest is no fulfilment of its obligations, that to leave the task to a few enthusiasts who by themselves have not the means of accomplishing it, is only to play with a supreme duty. The church itself is called upon to face the serious facts of decline, on which comment has been made, and to see that they are not only the concern of the school, but mean loss to the church also. These scholars who drift away from us in the "teen" age are not simply lost to the school, they are lost to the church. They go to swell the great evangelical task which waits at the door of every Christian community, and on which prayer, earnestness, and money have constantly to be spent. We have to devote time and effort in the endeavor to win those back whom it would be a wiser and more economic policy to try to keep from an earlier age.

Let the church bring a more statesmanlike vision to the consideration of the educational side of its work, and examine whether even its present

expenditure on its Sunday Schools is not failing in adequate return, unless this leakage can be stopped.

The Education Act, which was one of the memorable achievements in our national legislation during the last year of the war, largely rests upon the recognition of the fact that previous educational measures have been crippled in their efficiency by the early age at which the children passed out of touch with the school. At the time when the privileged public school boy and girl were beginning to rouse to a more vital interest in the processes of their education, the elementary school child was setting out to earn his living, his schooling finished, and his further education left to the hazardous and often sinister influences of his daily world. The compulsory continuation classes which are to extend for growing boys and girls of this class from the age of fourteen to eighteen, with their intended provision for physical, vocational, and humanistic training, are an attempt to make the previous years of the elementary school more effective, by the maintenance of an educational influence over the most critical and decisive years of adolescent life. One would like to hope that the church will grow wide enough awake to the far-reaching character of these proposals to realize that the action of the state should inspire it to fresh activity within its own proper field.

TO WHAT PURPOSE IS THIS WASTE?

It should see first of all that it, too, is faced with the same problem and danger, that the time and thought it spends on elementary religious training may be wasted and robbed of real value unless it can secure its continuance during those same years for which the state is rightly making provision on the secular side. Nothing can make this plainer than the evidence, which is so plentifully accumulated in Dr. Cairns' book, "The Army and Religion," of the pitiable ignorance of great numbers of the men with regard to the Christian faith. Many of them must have passed through the Sunday Schools of the land; and the fact which the war has helped to make almost tragically evident is a criticism of the work of the Sunday School of the same kind as that which has been frequently directed against the elementary secular education of the country. It is a proof, not that the work done was not well done as far as it went, but that it stopped too soon, that it left off before the mere knowledge of facts could be translated into the knowledge and appreciation of vital values.

THE POSSIBLE DANGER OF THE EDUCATION ACT

Moreover it behooves the church to see that if the present Education Act does not stimulate our own efforts, it may quite easily serve to complicate our problems and further endanger our future. It has been pointed out by more than one authority that the weakest link in the suggested scheme of continuation classes is the one that has most possibility of spiritual value in it, the element of purely cultural and humanistic study. The difficulty of doing anything really effective in the allotted time may sink it to a very insignificant place in the programme, and at the best it is hardly likely to provide a sufficient counterpoise to the dominantly self-interested elements of physical and vocational training.

There is no room to question that the church may make itself an invaluable ally of the state in the best spirit of Mr. Fisher's proposals, especially on the side of this wider human culture of youth. It must spare no pains to keep its hold upon the young life of the land, and to educate its religious and more finely human consciousness, side by side with these other developments of the body and the mind.

In that we have not the weapon of compulsion which the state is able to wield, we must win and keep by moral persuasion those whom we cannot coerce. On a level of equal importance with the challenge of its missionary

work stands this educational task of the church as one of the two prime claims upon its life today. We must face the facts which have just been indicated, and accept the consequent obligations they lay upon us. The future of the church, more seriously and poignantly than ever before, rests upon our ability to recover those years in the life of youth which are in so many cases being lost to us. We are trustees of the Church of Christ, not for today alone but for tomorrow, not for our own generation but for the world; and we must keep the childhood and youth of today for the sake of a world which tomorrow will need true women and brave men.

SOME PRACTICAL POINTS OF OUR OBLIGATION

Such a general statement as this would lack point if it did not indicate something of what we believe the outcome must be. The obligation of the church to its young people is one which is not to be met without cost, and the call must be sounded to a more generous expenditure upon this work. Its needs will have to take a more prominent place in the finances of the church.

Firstly, it must be prepared to see that its young people's work is given the accommodation and equipment which are necessary for its adequate fulfilment. It is unfortunate that frequently in the past the church hall and other accessory premises have been planned on very conventional ideas of what was required, and with little understanding of the real needs of modern Sunday-school work. In fact schools have sometimes been made as difficult to work in practice as an ordinary builder's idea of a comfortable dwelling-house is from the domestic point of view. Today there is no reason why any church, contemplating the erection of a new school, should repeat the mistakes of the past, since for the asking it may have the expert advice of those who have carefully studied the requirements. Where our buildings are already standing we must be prepared to adapt and extend them to see that in light and comfort, in decoration and attractiveness, they provide conditions under which both the Sunday and the week-day activities among young people can be undertaken with fair chance of success.

THE CONSECRATION OF OUR BEST TO THE SERVICE OF YOUTH

But, as was suggested in the examination of the causes of the decline in Sunday-school attendance, the question of the staff is far more important than that of the building. There cannot be any shadow of doubt that it is the personality of teacher and officer that is the chief factor in successful work. If the buildings are of the most modern type, and the equipment everything that can be desired, and yet such equipment and building are being used by an incompetent or negligent staff of workers, the only result must be failure. It is fairly safe to say that the only cases in which our senior youths and maidens are being held and won into the church are those in which some strong and efficient individuality is at the head of the department or the class. Such leaders must be multiplied. Unless the church is prepared to give its very best men and women, especially its best-educated men and women, to the work of the school, to hold out before them this task as one of the highest vocations of God within the church, and in His Name to summon them to it, we shall neither stay the processes of decline, or make the progress which the task demands.

The importance of personality cannot be too strongly emphasized. We need leaders and teachers, not only of that marked individuality which captures the imagination, but also who are rich in those broad and representative human qualities which mould character on large and sympathetic lines, and who are able by the fulness and many-sidedness of their life's appeal to attract and draw under their leadership many different types of

youth. At the same time it must be admitted that the word *personality* is sometimes used in a rather loose way, as though mere charm and geniality of manner might be a substitute for more serious preparation. Personality counts everywhere, in the industrial and commercial world, on the field of war, and in the intellectual arena; but in all of them an equally essential condition is that a man knows his task. So also in the religious sphere personality and ability must go hand in hand. It cannot be too clearly said that modern work among young people is highly skilled labor and requires expert leadership. It is not everybody's task, nor is it to be undertaken lightly. It has been the subject for some years now of special and careful thought, and through the painstaking study of the various periods of childhood and youth, it has acquired laws and technical arts of its own.

The call to the best in the church to undertake it involves the request to study their work, and to train themselves for its effective fulfilment. That means that the church must not only be ready to give its best in service, but that it must help them to secure adequate training. The existence of an institution so finely conceived and carried out as the West-hill Training Centre affords opportunities for this of which we should make full use. If churches able to afford it would create one or more annual scholarships or bursaries, by which some of their promising younger workers might be sent to Woodbrooke for a three or six months' course in some aspect of the work, they would reap a benefit in efficient leadership which would be quickly felt. The evidence of that is already manifest in the primary departments of churches which are fortunate enough to be under a leader who has taken such a special course of training.

In every department superintendents, leaders, teachers, need to take advantage of all the help they can secure on the technical side of their task; in child study, the principles and art of teaching, and the conduct of the devotional service. It must be remembered also that, in the working out of the modern graded school, the weekly training class for the teachers is essential to full success. Only so can the adequate preparation of the lesson be maintained, and the weak places in the teaching staff strengthened.

(*Note.* — It might be feasible for the Young People's committee of a county association to establish a series of bursaries which could be used to give workers in the smaller schools some opportunity of training. In the recognition that the conditions of daily livelihood only permit a few to find the time for such extended courses of study, we may also hope that the future will see the development in the larger towns of evening training centers. The Association of Graded Sunday School Workers in London is an excellent beginning of a work which might be widely extended.)

Many of the possibilities which have been considered in the past paragraphs will depend upon the activity and earnestness of the minister, and suggest a considerable increase of his responsibilities. In the smaller church it may be possible for him to undertake them among his general duties of oversight; and to that end we would urge that the curriculum of our theological colleges should definitely include some courses in the technical aspects of work among young people. But in the larger church it is probably growingly true, as Principal Ritchie says, that the day of the one-man ministry is passing.

It would be a wise policy to add to the paid staff of the church, where it is possible, a well-trained and equipped worker among the young. The suggestion is not really very different from some which are already in practice. We have had the assistant minister, the sisters or deaconesses associated with mission work in poorer districts, and the nurse employed for ministry to the sick. Under present conditions what would serve many a minister best is not an assistant minister, but a minister's assistant, one trained along differently specialized lines from those of the minister himself, and whose special function should be, in co-operation with him, to lead and direct the

young people's work of the church, and to gather round him or her those who have the will and ability to give themselves to this high and fruitful service of the Kingdom of God.

III

THE NEED OF A POLICY OF RELIGIOUS EDUCATION

More, however, is required of the Church than the recognition of such definite obligations as have just been referred to. From the summary of past activities with which the report opened it may be seen that no conscious and deliberated plan holds them all together, and concentrates them to a common end. There is a good deal of overlapping, with little close association or united counsel. For want of co-ordination and development we are not getting their full worth out of many things which in themselves are excellent. It is only a happy accident rather than wise prevision if all ages and stages are being provided for. The movement needs statesmanship, a wider and fuller vision of its aims and ends. For consider what our task really is. It is the religious and spiritual education of our children from the earliest age at which we can begin to influence them, through every phase of Christian discipleship, that we may attach them to the Church of Christ and enlist them in the active service of the Kingdom of God. It is ours to train them both in thought and conduct, to educate them in the Christ way of life, to help them to think rightly and honestly of the problems of both personal and public behavior, and to develop a character which shall make them in all the social and private relations of life loyal servants of Jesus Christ. Surely this cannot be accomplished save under the guidance of a well considered policy of Christian education.

IN EVERY CHURCH A YOUNG PEOPLE'S COUNCIL

One of the early suggestions arising out of Mr. Melville Harris's enquiry in 1906 was that councils of young people's work should be established in the individual churches. At the time little came of it; but as the result of recent consideration a definite scheme along this line, embodied in a detailed pamphlet, is now before our churches.

The initial suggestion is that in every church a central council for work among young people should be formed, its membership consisting of the minister, representatives of the Church, the Sunday School and other young people's societies, together with a few others specially interested in the life of the young, such as parents, expert day-school teachers, and persons engaged in social, municipal or welfare work, and who are associated with the life of the church.

The Council is appointed by, and responsible to, the Church, and its success largely depends on its approaching its work from the outset in the right spirit, realizing that it is far more than a committee, and must be quickened by a devout and prayerful sense of the greatness of its trust. It exists to initiate and direct a policy of Christian education that shall cover the life of the youth of the church from infancy to mature and active church membership. It will seek to co-ordinate existing branches of work, and secure the most useful co-operation between them, and make provision for all activities necessary to retain our young folk within the life of the church by using at each stage of their development the powers and interests which are strongest in them at the time.

ITS SERVICE TO THE SUNDAY SCHOOL

Its first practical aim, as we descend to questions of detail, will be to see that the Sunday School is rendered efficient according to the best modern methods of work. This is to say, it will follow out the graded system as

far as conditions permit, with special reference to the establishment of well managed preparation classes for teachers, which, if we are to utilize our older scholars as helpers in the junior work, are vital to the success of the scheme.

THE SENIOR PROBLEM

It will have to face that problem which has lent urgency to our plea for the churches' larger and more sympathetic concern for their young people, — the Senior Department.

It may be appropriate to say here that this problem is being carefully dealt with by the British Lessons Committee from the point of view of lesson material. It is felt that the lessons must be different in senior classes, both in scope and method, from those which prevail in earlier departments. The Biblical material must be handled in a freer and larger way, the treatment must be more topical than historical, concerned chiefly with the right valuation of the truths of faith and life for which the Bible stands. The difficulties which challenge belief and conduct, and which our scholars meet as they pass into the world of daily work, must be honestly met. We have to present the Gospel with its clue to the meaning and purpose of life in its most cogent appeal, to see that our young people know not only the letter but the spirit of the Word, and are equipped with a vision, heroic, vital, winning, of the Lord of all good life.

It is further recognized that in senior classes there must be an adaptation of study circle methods, to the extent that free discussion and interchange of opinion must be encouraged. The discovery the young mind helps to make is of greatest value to it. Our task is not well done, however clearly we have stated the case for the Christian view of life, unless it is stated in terms which answer the questions latent in the minds of the young and confronts the difficulties they know and feel. Patience, courage, and imagination are needed to meet their point of view, and treat with them on their own ground.

None but the strongest minds, the robustest characters the church can provide are good enough for this particular service. Success or failure turn upon the competence of the leader to deal with big themes, the power of his personality to win the admiration and trust of youth, and a spirit sufficiently young to be accepted as one of themselves.

One note may be added. The senior committee of the Lessons Council in considering this subject has realized that there is very little satisfactory literature in the way of text-books and aids to senior courses. Most of the otherwise admirable publications of the Student Christian Movement are rather too advanced, having in mind youths of a different grade from those which chiefly fill our senior classes. Plans for remedying this defect are in preparation, the literature which is growing round the junior side of the Adult School movement being already a fine beginning in this direction.

THE WEEK-DAY ACTIVITIES OF YOUTH

The next duty of the Council is to see that the Sunday work is flanked and supported by a considered scheme of week-day activities appropriate to the present ages, habits, and inclinations of the scholars. It is through these that leaders should find their opportunity of close contact with the boys and girls, the chance of deepening their influence upon them, and of forging the links of personal friendship.

In the earlier ages we may look to such organizations as have previously been mentioned to provide the patterns for such work, — The Scout Troop, the Brigade Company, the Girl Guides, the Camp or Home Fire Girls. Their merit is that, being group organizations, they give the best opportunity for cultivating personal knowledge and influence among those enrolled in them; and further that they give fine scope for the development of self-government and the idea of service.

These last points are very important, for youth is best trained to Christian service through the exercise of its own powers and activities. We need, therefore, to study exhaustively the possibilities and aptitudes of each developing life, in order to enlist its service along the line of its natural interests, so that the talents with which it is endowed may yield fruit to the full. "We love that which we know how to do well," and by utilizing a lad's budding talent we may often avoid later the slipshod service that at times characterizes religious work.

Equally essential is the cultivation of the sense of responsibility. Side by side with the exercise of youth's gifts should grow that responsibility which is the proper outcome of the sense of power. This will best be developed as in early life we accustom boys and girls to its exercise. By doing less for them, by encouraging them to make decisions and take actions, knowing that they run risks in so doing, we may strengthen their characters. As they feel they are trusted with high powers, they will rise to the occasion, accepting the onus of their experiments and mistakes. In a word we need to use the daring of youth for its own upbuilding, recognizing that the reluctance of young manhood and womanhood to assume responsibility is often due to the fact that its exercise has not been demanded in earlier years.

THE ADOLESCENT YEARS

In the older ages from 14 to 16, and from 17 upwards, we need to seek for a skilful combination of group work with larger gatherings which may help to cultivate the ideas of unity and fellowship, saving the members from becoming isolated and sectarian in their interests, and sustaining the outlook of a many-sided Christian development. The group activities of this period will include the Preparation Classes of those who have already been drawn into junior work, various forms of club life, including gymnasium and drill classes, the use of the Study Circle, particularly when it can be linked with some practical aim, and possibly groups for manual work. In working parties, etc., girls have already a natural form of service, but we have so far found few ways of consecrating the hands of our lads. It is suggested that it might sometimes be possible to start a church workshop, where, under training and supervision, models and maps for the junior department, articles of use in medical missionary and hospital work, etc., might be made. In a similar way perhaps outdoor work might be organized, such as tending the paths, flower beds and shrubs round the church, and the cultivation of plants for church decoration.

Much more might also be done in the way of organizing junior choirs; and in some districts crèche and play center work and the arrangement of cripples' parlors may present avenues for service.

It cannot be too strongly emphasized that while the idea of entertainment has its legitimate place and should find full expression, the dominant purposes running through these week-day gatherings should be twofold. Firstly, the cultivation of the Christian habit of thought toward the great issues of life. A great opportunity will be lost, if at this critical age, when through their industrial and business occupations our young people are being brought into contact with the questions and problems which are stirring in the public mind, we are not helping them to discuss them frankly and freely in the light of their religious principles. Secondly, the extended development of the habit of service, that they may grow naturally into the realization that this is of the very marrow of the Christian life. Experience shows that during their most difficult and taxing years we may hold them by a task to which they have set their hands, by something they are pledged to do, more than by anything we are doing for them.

THE EDUCATION ACT ONCE MORE

It may be well to add the note that the Central Council in planning this side of its work should take full and intelligent account of the Education Act of 1918. It is not yet possible to say to what extent co-operation between the church and the state may be carried on; but it is certain that neither can afford to be antagonistic to the other. Well-organized work on scout and brigade lines, efficient gymnasiums and physical training classes under competent leadership, may be accepted by the Board of Education as fulfilling part of their program. Moreover, as has already been indicated in earlier references to the Act, the church may do much to keep its cultural ideals high, proving an invaluable ally on its humanistic side, helping to cultivate tastes for the best in literature, art, and music; and so safeguarding the elements in the scheme which are most liable to be crushed into a subordinate position.

OUR PUBLIC SCHOOL BOYS AND GIRLS

In much that has been written in the report, especially concerning the Sunday School, we have necessarily had under contemplation children of the elementary day-school type. But it must not be forgotten that in many of our churches we have also boys and girls who have only in exceptional cases any contact with the Sunday School, — the children of homes which are able to give them the educational advantages of the Grammar and Public Schools of the country. Even if the development of the graded system brings some of these in their early years, as in fact it is to some extent doing, into the well-managed primary and junior department, we must recognize that during the public-school period they pass largely out of our hands as individual churches. But we owe a grateful debt to the fine religious influence exerted by some of our headmasters, and to the Christian Student Movement which, particularly through the organization of the public school camps, has developed a free open-air fellowship whose robust and manly Christian spirit is an effective appeal to decision for Jesus Christ.

This note is made just here because we would point out that it is part of the duty of such a Council as we contemplate to take cognizance of this class of the church's young people, to see that they are kept in touch with the church, to recognize that they have a contribution to make to our life, and to urge upon them the responsibility of privilege. Those who have had the advantages of the best type of public school discipline, and who couple with its traditions genuine devotion to Jesus Christ, have gifts to bring to our work which should greatly enrich and strengthen it. There is no reason why the splendid service which public school and 'varsity men have done in settlement work should not be rendered also in many of our churches. They might bring a very healthy spirit into our young people's clubs and other week-day work. They should provide us with the kind of leaders we need for some of our senior classes, and might well organize among them summer camps, full of that happy comradeship they have often shared themselves, and capable of becoming centers of the manliest type of Christian influence.

THE CLOSER RELATION OF OUR YOUNG PEOPLE TO THE CHURCH

One other aspect of the work of the Council remains to be dealt with, the most important of all, the fulfilment of which is the ultimate test of our success or failure. Our supreme end is a spiritual one. Whatever our place in the task, we are servants not merely of the school, the troop, or the club, — we are servants of the church to the ends of the Kingdom of God. All our activities lie within the church and should be to the enrichment of it.

Ideally that is true, and none would care to deny it. But in practice we have to recognize that there is still a gulf between the church and the

school. How it should be bridged has been discussed again and again. But a wiser, bolder, truer outlook will say, Do not bridge it, rather let us fill it up and abolish it. It ought not to exist at all.

THE PLACE OF OUR CHILDREN IN PUBLIC WORSHIP

We have, therefore, the task of building up a closer association between the school and the church. The sense of difference has been so subtle and penetrating in the past that it will take both time and patience to produce the proper atmosphere and spirit of corporateness. We have to familiarize our young people with the church, and the church with its own young people.

The service of the Sunday School, however devotionally rendered, is no substitute for the public worship of the church. By some such order as that of the League of Young Worshipers we must try to gather our scholars into the church for the earlier part of the morning service. We may rightly claim that their presence and needs shall be recognized in the arrangement of the service, that in hymn and prayer, and in some word from the minister, it shall hold something for them.

In other ways, too, we might make the church's part in their life more evident. Parade services of Scouts and other similar troops may help. To take the induction of new scouts as part of the morning service in the church lends a fresh impressiveness to the little ceremony. The Sunday School Anniversary may be arranged in such a way as to emphasize more fully the unity of church and school. The use of the morning service as one of public promotion, at which the children who are ready pass up from one department to another, gives a new importance to the act in the eyes of both the children and the onlookers; and offers the minister an excellent chance of demonstrating that church and school are one, as the many steps of a staircase, being many, are yet one staircase.

THE QUESTION OF CHURCH MEMBERSHIP

But it is not only by these external and to some degree spectacular means that the end we seek is to be attained. Life develops from within, and what we are seeking is, not simply the recognition of the church by attendance at its public worship, but the gathering of our children through personal choice of, and devotion to, Christ into the fellowship of the church.

The hour of such decision we can neither force nor wholly anticipate. We have to wait and watch patiently for the movement of the Spirit of God upon the young life. But the careful study of childhood and adolescence suggests that there are two periods (one about 11 or 12 years of age and the other about 16) when normally there is marked spiritual sensitiveness, and the likelihood of a definite step being taken. How such spiritual crises can be met and utilized in individual cases must rest with the sympathy and influence of those who are in closest touch with the children.

Still it is quite certain that in some of our boys and girls there emerge genuine if elementary experiences of the Christian life at an age when none would admit that they were ripe for full membership with the responsibilities which it involves in our Congregational churches. That, however, surely does not mean that the church should take no cognizance of them, or make no effort to gather them into its fold. They ought to be brought into some definite church association, and grow and be trained, not alongside, but within it, to the full status of church membership.

The suggestions which the Rev. Luke Beaumont has detailed in his pamphlet entitled "The Graded Church" are worthy of careful consideration; and the words of the present secretary of the Young People's Department, the Rev. Arthur Hallack, may be quoted as expressing the ideal to be sought after. Pleading that the door into the church shall be opened at the time of the children's first clear impulses toward Christian discip-

ship, he says: "This first step toward church fellowship has been called by some junior membership, a term which is perhaps open to the objection that, if these junior members do not mature into full fellowship, the fact that they have once been called members and then ceased to be such, may stop them from seeking membership in later years. It may, therefore, be better to consider this step as rather tentative, and call them church associates. Having signed a card testifying to their love to Christ, and promising, not only to attend the church services regularly, but also the minister's class, they may be admitted as church associates on the testimony of the minister and their teachers. The minister will then have a group of young people who have already taken the first step toward fellowship, and are prepared to receive the instruction he can best give concerning the church, its sacraments and principles. After a year or two he will find that many of them are ripe for another step, manifesting the wish to become communicants. As such they may become members of a special senior class, and continue to be prepared for full membership. In this way the graded school may give place to the graded church, each department being but a step to full fellowship."

We cannot emphasize too much the importance of the place of the minister in such suggestions as those here made. That he should come personally into intimate relations with the young people at this critical period is of real urgency. Whether some scheme of junior or associate membership is adopted or not, the minister's class for candidates for church fellowship, regularly held, should take a more important position even than it does at the present time.

THE NEED TO GIVE YOUTH ITS CHANCE IN CHURCH SERVICE

Another point that may be urged is this. In surveying the suggested work of the Council, we have already spoken of the development of the idea of service and the provision of suitable opportunities. That means that when our young people come into full church membership, they must be held here, too, by the bond of service, by the church using their energy and ability. The tendency to concentrate its chief work in old and mature hands may have much to justify it, and may make for efficiency. But it is open to question whether there would not be a higher wisdom in enlisting in more responsible service the capacities and adventurous spirit of youth. In a great and terrible war it has shown what it is capable of in both leadership and sacrifice. If youth was worthy to risk its life for us, it is justified in claiming a larger share in that spiritual warfare where daring and courage count as on the battlefield, and where the fight goes not so wondrous well with us that we can affirm that it might not go better under the inspiration of younger heads and hearts. Few of our diaconates but would be the better for an infusion of younger blood. The striking appeal which missionary talks and lectures made to many on active service during the war perhaps hints that in some of our churches the missionary interest might be quickened by enlisting some of our younger people to responsible leadership. The plea is, not that experience should be displaced, but that it should be yoked more equally with those gifts that youth so obviously brings to its undertakings. It is surely true that we shall not hold our best young manhood and womanhood, even when we have nurtured and trained it for the church, unless we are ready to face it with large calls of service, to speak to it in the language of heroism and sacrifice, and to trust it greatly.

TOWARD THE FELLOWSHIP OF THE KINGDOM

The topics which have been discussed in the above paragraphs may serve to illustrate the hopes we hold that the establishment of Young People's Councils may help to solve some of the problems with which we are faced today. The function of the Council is to be at once Parental, Educational, and Missionary. Like a wise parent it should watch over all sides of the

life of the young people, spiritual, mental, moral, social, recreational, and determine to make the church a true home for them. It should build up such a policy of Christian education that it shall be impossible for them to pass through their various institutions and still be ignorant of the elements of Christian thought, service and life. It must be missionary in its spirit, with its eyes and heart upon the world round about the church, with the determination to reach those who are still outside, gathering the unrealized wealth of childhood and young life into its midst.

Lastly, and not least in importance, it must establish and develop relations with the whole denomination to which it belongs, indeed to the Church Universal. The Council in the particular church should link itself to the Young People's Committee of the County Association, thus getting into touch with other councils, both for the inspiration it may receive, and also for the sake of what it can impart out of the experience it is gathering.

For it is fellowship that will quicken our purposes more than anything else, and the more numerous the ties that bind us to those who are doing kindred work, the more frank and constant the exchange of ideas, methods and experiences, the more likely are we to attain the end of our labors, — the fulfilment of the childhood of our schools and churches in the grace of discipleship, the strength of Christian character, and the joy of His service, Whose is the Kingdom and the Power and the Glory for ever and ever.

When our sons shall be as plants grown up in their youth,
And our daughters as corner-stones hewn after the fashion of a palace;
Happy is the people, that is in such a case;
Yea, happy is the people whose God is the Lord.

Rev. G. E. Darlaston
Rev. Arthur Hallack
Rev. W. M. Harris
Rev. F. Johnson
J. C. Meggitt
Rev. W. Charter Piggott
Rev. D. L. Ritchie

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